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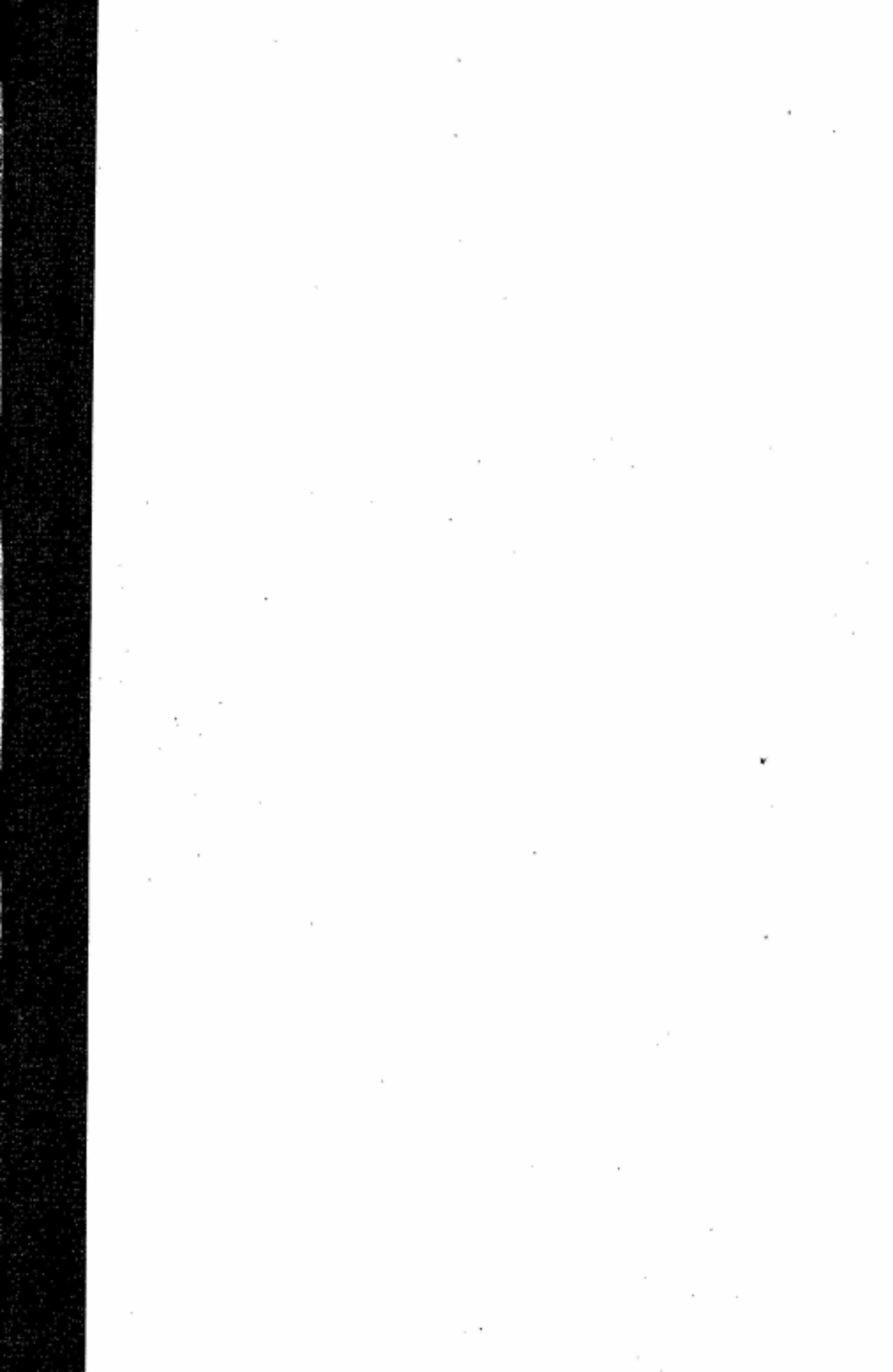
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**Archaeological Journal.**

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\* These illustrations have been chiefly contributed by Professor Phillips and Mr. A. W. Franks.  
 † This cut is here placed erroneously. See the cut referred to in the text, placed at p. 304.

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\* This valuable Map has been most liberally presented by Dr. Guest, the author of the memoir which it illustrates.

† For the accurate Survey from which this Plan is prepared, the Institute is indebted to Mr. Hillary Davies, of Shrewsbury, with the obliging sanction of the Excavations' Committee.

‡ These illustrations are contributed by the Rev. J. H. Austen.

§ These illustrations are contributed by Mr. W. Laurie, of Downham Market, the owner of the object.

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\* For these illustrations the Institute is indebted chiefly to the kindness of Lord Braybrooke.

† The dimensions of the original plate are only 17 in. by 10½. It exists in the private chapel of the Superior of the Beguinage at Bruges: this illustration is kindly supplied, through Mr. G. Waller, by Mr. Weale of Bruges, and the curious miniature memorial will be described in his forthcoming work on *Monumental Brasses on the Continent*.



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Page 82, line 2, *for* 1848, *read* 1858.

Page 85, by an inadvertent oversight a woodcut of a cross-slab at Laon, of the fifteenth century, has been here given in lieu of a memorial bearing date 1268, which will be found at p. 304 in this volume.

Page 88, line 25, *for* Woodstock, *read* Wokingham.

Page 97, line 12 from foot, *for* Hertford, *read* Hereford.

. . . The curious seal of Richard de Peshale here described, and figured in the Sussex Arch. Coll. from a very imperfect impression at Magdalen College, Oxford, appears to be the same which is given in perfect state in the notes on Joh. de Bado Aureo, p. 90, appended to Upton de Studio Mil. It is there stated that the family was a branch of the Swinertons of Staffordshire, and was seated at Peshale in that county; that they retained the coat of Swinerton, a cross patonce, differenced by the lion on an inescutcheon, taken, as had been conjectured, from the arms of Ranulph, Earl of Chester. A younger brother of Richard de Peshale, whose seal is also there figured (date 3 Rich. II.), bore the cross patonce without the inescutcheon, but with a wolf's head erased, crowned, in canton.

Page 210.—In illustration of the subjects on the curious brass from Ypres exhibited by Mr. J. G. Waller, see the Memoir by Mr. J. Winter Jones on the Origin of the Division of Man's Life into Stages; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 167, plates 6 and 7.

Page 253.—Since the publication of this Memoir on the Gothic Regalia, a beautiful work has been produced in France, with coloured representations of all the crowns, crosses, &c. It is thus entitled, —Description du Trésor de Guarrazar, accompagné de recherches sur toutes les questions archéologiques qui s'y rattachent. Par Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, 4to., Paris, 1860.

Page 355.—The weight of the armlet from Kertch is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Troy, 1 gr.

## The Archaeological Journal.

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MARCH, 1859.

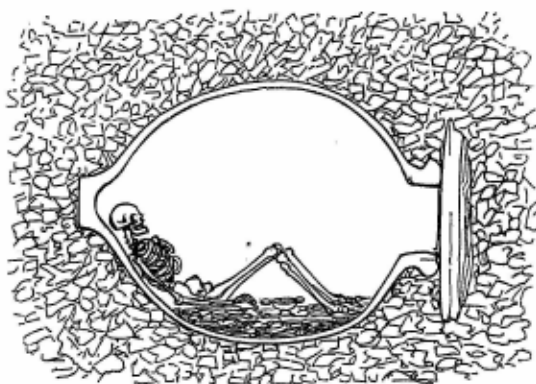
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### THE TUMULUS OF HANAI TEPEH IN THE TROAD.

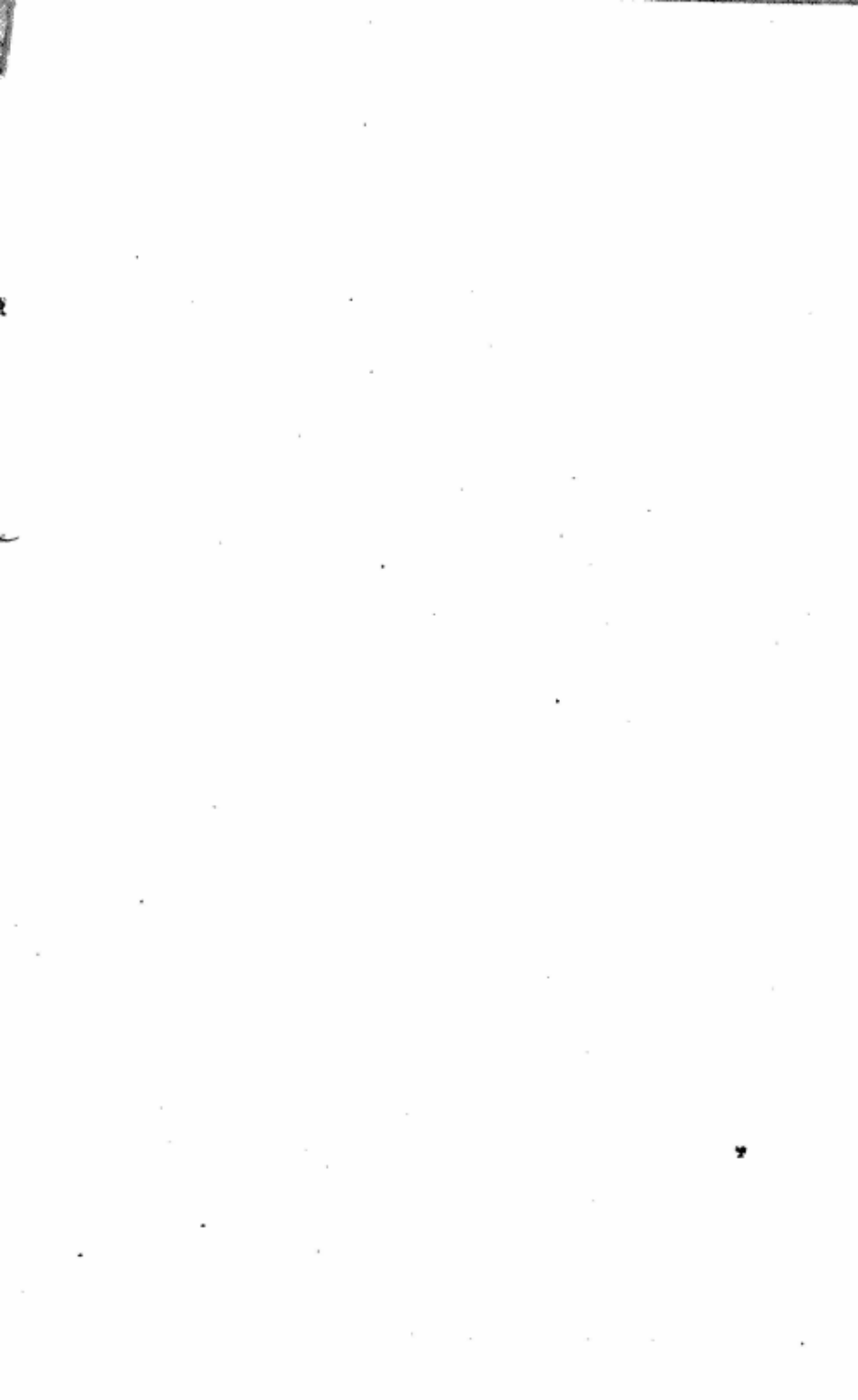
THE tumulus, which is the subject of the following observations, is situated on the extreme angle of a low flat range of hills of tertiary formation, abutting on the plains of Troy opposite Bounarbashi, and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile distant from it. Its foundation rests on a stratum of rock that runs not far beneath the natural surface on the upper side; and it is nearly washed at its lower base by the River Kemar, or ancient Andreios, a little before its junction with the Simois. In nearly all that has been written on the Troad, to which I have had access, I find that this tumulus is considered as a natural hill. Dr. Forschammer, in his observations on the topography of Troy, published in the Journal of the Geographical Society for 1842 (vol. XII.), remarks that "the three tepehs near Akchekioi are natural—some doubts may exist as to the character of Hanai Tepeh in the direction of Bounarbashi, but its immense size renders it being artificial improbable; excavation alone can settle this point."

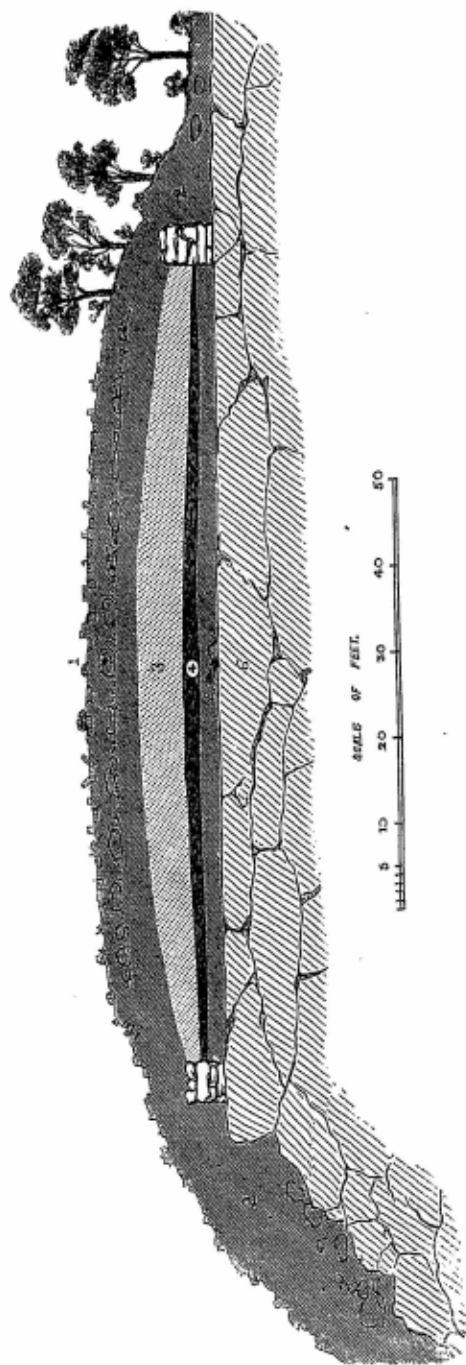
Being desirous to determine the true character of this mound, I resolved to excavate, and commenced operations by sinking a shaft in its centre. Immediately below the surface were some tombs, evidently Turkish, containing skeletons in a tolerable state of preservation,—doubtless those of the inhabitants of the village of Akchekioi, which existed in the neighbourhood some forty years ago. A little below these tombs were others of a different description and of far greater antiquity, consisting of large earthen jars, and forming part of an extensive necropolis which stretches to this point from the south and east. I have discovered

similar tombs in other parts of the Troad and the Chersonesus of Thrace, and they have likewise been found in Greece, Roumelia, Anatolia, Mytilene, the Ionian islands, and other places, as well as latterly in the Crimea, near Balaklava, by Colonel Munro. The following description of the tombs on Hanai Tepeh will equally apply to those excavated by myself in other parts of the plains of Troy (see woodcut). The jars are of all sizes, ranging from about 2 feet 2 inches long, by 1 foot 8 inches wide, to 6 feet long, by 4 feet 7 inches wide (the largest found in the tumulus itself were about 5 feet in length), and constructed of



coarse red clay, intermixed with gravel. Many of them appear to have cracked in baking, and are mended with leaden rivets. They are all placed in a horizontal position, sometimes within an excavation made in the rock. A flat micaceous stone covers the mouth, which invariably faces the south or south-east. Contained within are the unburnt bones of skeletons, which generally fall to powder on exposure to the air; they are found placed on a thin layer of pebbles in the lower side of the jar, reclining on their backs with upraised knees, surrounded by terra-cotta penates and painted vases (*lecythi* and *pateræ*), many of them being of the best period of the art, the fourth century before Christ, but for the most part appertaining to the archaic style (these, I may remark, were the first discovered in Asia Minor); likewise blue, green, and yellow glass vases, and other small objects. Amphoræ are sometimes found within the larger jars and sometimes without, containing the





SECTION OF THE TUMULUS OF HANAI TAPPEH, IN THE TROAD.

- 1 Turkish Tombs.
- 2 Artificial soil in which are found ancient sepulchral jars.
- 3 Stratum of calcined bones.
- 4 Wood-ashes and fragments of pottery.
- 5 Stratum of soil, containing a skeleton.
- 6 Natural rock.

skeletons of children, accompanied by vases of smaller dimensions. Very few of the large jars are found in a perfect state; in most cases a small portion of the lower part remains, the upper being destroyed by the plough, the displacement of the surface soil, or other causes.<sup>1</sup> Another variety of tomb was also found among those above-mentioned, in Hanai Tepeh (chiefly at its base), and apparently belonging to the same period—these consist of large oblong tiles



placed at right angles, under which the bodies were laid at full length; in these tombs bones alone were found (see woodcut).

Having penetrated to the depth of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the surface of the tumulus, a layer of a light whitish substance,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  feet thick, was reached, which has since been examined and proved to be calcined bones, probably human. From its dry state it did not appear that any rain or damp had ever penetrated into this substance, which was of such a loose, powdery nature that the dust raised by the workmen occasionally prevented them from continuing their labours, and there was some danger of its falling in with the superincumbent earth and filling up the shaft. Rounded granite pebbles, such as are found in the beds of rivers, and bearing the marks of violent heat, were intermixed with the lower part of this stratum. Below this again was a layer of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot of wood ashes intermixed with small pieces of charcoal as well as fragments of coarse pottery; and finally, reposing on the solid rock, another layer of earth, 2 feet thick, in which a skeleton was found extended at full length, with a large unhewn stone at its head. It was in tolerable preservation, no doubt owing to the exclusion of air and damp.

<sup>1</sup> The largest and most perfect jar was found near the site of the ancient Dardanus in an extraordinary manner. Some bee-hunters in search of honey traced a bee to a hole in the ground; they were surprised on digging to find the jar, and the interior of it filled with honeycombs. They removed their prize, but overlooked some vases which I was so fortunate as to discover, buried in a

little earth which had filtered into the tomb. An idea may be formed of the size of the jar from the fact that, when emptied, six persons entered it together, and it contained them all in a sitting posture.

Some of the above particulars, with a sketch of the interment in the large jars, appeared in the Illustrated London News of the 26th April, 1856.

Thus it appears that this mound served as a place of interment at three, if not four, different periods.

My next step was to commence a trench on the southern side of the tumulus, towards its centre. A wall was soon exposed to view, and was traced all round the mound, 5 feet in thickness, and 95 in diameter, consisting of large rough stones without cement, which repose on the rock. The purpose of this wall seems undoubtedly to have been that of enclosing the calcined bones, which are found heaped up within it, rising gradually from the sides towards the centre. Three or four vases of coarse pottery and rude form were found within the wall and close to it. (See woodcut.) The height of the specimen figured is 9 inches.



In the construction of this tumulus there is certainly a perfect analogy with those in use in the heroic age of Troy, as more particularly described by Homer in reference to the funeral pile of Patroclus :—

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμελίᾱ τε προβάλουντο  
 Ἀμφὶ πυρὴν· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἔχεναν.  
 Χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κλον.

Il. ψ'. 255.

"Next they marked out the tomb, and threw the foundations round the pile ; then cast upon it the dug earth, and filled up the tomb." (Iliad, xxiii. v. 255.)

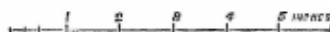
It appears that the wall must formerly have stood higher than at present, judging by the remains of trenches still discernible over it, and by the appearance of the top of the wall itself ; and it may be presumed that the inhabitants of Akchekioi carried away the materials for building purposes.

Having thus described the situation, construction, and contents of Hanai Tepeh, its origin and the relation it bears to the ancient Troad now remain to be determined.

I shall premise by assuming that in the Iliad is preserved to us the main design of certain historical facts of comparatively recent date at the time of its composition, and unanimously concurred in by every nation and people of antiquity within the sphere of the events it records. Some participation in this faith, however disciplined and qualified, seems



\*



Painted fictilia and other relics, found in the tumulus of Hanaï Tepeh.

\* Small Vase of coloured glass.





to me a necessary condition of the utility of researches into periods beyond authentic history, for, if we reject such a mass of broad and concurrent testimony, in overturning it—what can we hope to find of sufficient weight, at this distance of time, and with the meagre facts that have come down to us, to establish in its stead? The internal evidence of Homeric truth so universally admitted, though in a restricted sense, and however embellished and harmonised by poetry, is certainly found to be illustrated and confirmed in all that relates to topography, by the most admirable exactness.

Writers on this subject mention only the “common tomb of the Greeks,” and nothing about that of the Trojans,<sup>2</sup> when the truce was concluded between the two contending armies. That the Trojans did not burn their dead on the same pile with the Greeks is shown by Nestor’s speech to his countrymen in the seventh book of the *Iliad*, v. 331, where he recommends “bringing the bodies of the Achæans with oxen and mules to burn them at a little distance from the ships that they might each carry home the bones to the children on their return, and raising one common tomb.”

Τῷ σε χρὴ πόλεμον μὲν ἄμ' ἡοὶ παῖσαι Ἀχαιῶν,  
 Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς  
 Βουσι καὶ ἡμιόνοισιν· ἀτὰρ κατακρήσομεν αὐτοὺς  
 Τυτθὸν ἀπο πρὸ νεῶν, ὥς κ' ὁστέα παισὶν ἑκαστος  
 Οἰκάδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὖτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν·  
 Τύμβον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν ἓνα χέομεν ἐξαγαγόντες,  
 Ἀκριτον ἐν πεδίῳ·

Further, in the same book, v. 416, it is said that men were sent on either side to collect the dead, and that it being difficult to distinguish each man, they washed them with water to enable them to do so. The fact of such separation precludes the idea of a funeral pile common to the Greeks and their enemies. If the counterpart of the “one common tomb” of the former is sought for, the tumulus of Hanai Tepeh, being situated but  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 miles from the site of Ilium (Bounarbashi), far removed from the ground occupied by the Greeks, and visible from many parts of the Troad, appears a most suitable place to have been selected by the Trojans for such

<sup>2</sup> Except Chevalier, who presumes that this tomb exists on the Pergamus of Troy.

a purpose. The marvellous quantity of calcined bones contained therein induces the supposition that it was the funeral pile of a very great number of bodies, and is suggestive of that most probably raised by the Trojans after the first truce mentioned in the *Iliad*.

FRANK CALVERT.

DARDANELLES, *Sept.* 8, 1856.

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The Institute is indebted to the kindness of John Anthony, Esq., M.D., for the communication of the foregoing memoir, the first fruits of the interesting researches which Mr. Frank Calvert, in the course of his residence with his brother, H. B. M. Consul at the Dardanelles, has prosecuted with unusual advantages. We hope to place before our readers at no distant period further results of his valuable investigations.

THOUGHTS ON ANCIENT METALLURGY AND MINING AMONG  
THE BRIGANTES AND IN SOME OTHER PARTS OF BRITAIN,  
SUGGESTED BY A PAGE OF PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY.

BY JOHN PHILLIPS, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.,

President of the Geological Society, Reader in Geology in the University of Oxford.

To one who meditates on the progress of natural knowledge, the difficulty of penetrating to a true estimate of its condition in past ages often appears unconquerable, except in cases which admit of the interpretation of ancient results by modern laws and theories. Once in firm possession of such laws, we enclose the old phenomena, so to speak, in a field to which are only such and such possible avenues, and thus can sometimes declare the very mode by which the alchymist was led to his golden error, and the Chaldaean shepherds were guided to brighter truths. Without this principle of interpretation many almost modern writers, nay authors of this very century, can sometimes not be understood. The laws of modern Geology and Zoology, for such there are and well-founded too, are as much required to put a true construction on some of the writings of Lister and Linnæus, as the methods of Ray, Linnæus, and Cuvier are required for the just estimation of Aristotle. We shall probably find the darkest pages of antiquity to be precisely those which refer to subjects where our own knowledge is least clear, least collected into laws of phenomena, and most removed from laws of causation. Ought we not, before declaiming on the ignorance of the ancients, to be careful to make allowance for the differences of form in which knowledge presents itself at different periods, as well as for the incompleteness of *their* records, and the imperfection of *our* interpretations?

Pliny's Natural History appears to me to be precisely in the position of difficulty which has been already alluded to. Its vastness, variety, and seeming disorder, may well deter the most comprehensive master of modern science from duly weighing its mass, or even measuring its surface; and the evident incompleteness and almost haphazard character of

its chapters are apt to disgust the student of special branches of science and art. Yet, probably, if for each important branch of human knowledge handled by Pliny, a special editor were set to work, well versed in the philosophy of his subject, Pliny would take a higher degree on examination, and the history of human knowledge be amended.

From the thirty-seven books of diffuse and erudite learning the genuine work of Pliny the Elder, let us fix on the part which treats of the nature of metals, and, passing over his lamentations on the useless excess of gold and silver—which may be recommended to the Chancellor of the Exchequer—his accounts of the uses and properties of gold, electrum,<sup>1</sup> chrysocola, silver, quicksilver, stibium, scoria argenti, spuma argenti, minium, cinnabar, brass, cadmium, iron, and many compounds of metals, let us pause at the 16th chapter of the 34th book, which treats of the metals of lead, white and black.

He first treats of the most precious of these, the white, called by the Greeks *cassiteros*, and fabulously declared to be sought for in Isles of the Atlantic, to which it is brought in wicker vessels covered with leather, (*"vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis"*). But now it is ascertained to be indigenous in Lusitania and Gallicia, in sandy surface soil, of a black colour, and only distinguished by its weight. Small pebbles (of the ore) also occur, principally in dried beds of streams. The miners (*"metallici"*) wash these sands, and what subsides they melt in furnaces.

It is also found with the gold ores (*"aurariis metallis"*) which are called stream works (*"elutia"*), the stream of water washing out (*"eluyente"*) black pebbles a little varied with white, and of the same weight as the gold. On this account, in the vessels in which the gold is collected, these pebbles remain with it; afterwards they are separated in the chimneys<sup>2</sup> (*"caminis separantur"*), and being melted are resolved into *"plumbum album."*

In Gallicia *"plumbum nigrum"* is not made, because the adjoining Cantabria (Asturias) so much abounds in that metal.

Not out of white plumbum as out of the black can silver be extracted.

<sup>1</sup> Gold, with one-fifth of silver.

<sup>2</sup> What distinctive meaning should be attached to *fornaces* and *caminis* is uncer-

tain. It seems that the *caminis* may indicate if not what we call chimneys, at least cavities in or about the furnace.

To solder together (pieces of) "plumbum nigrum" is impracticable without (the use of) white plumbum, nor the white to the black, without the addition of oil. Nor can (pieces of) white plumbum be soldered together without the aid of the black metal.

That (plumbum) album was in esteem during the Trojan time Homer is witness, who calls it *cassiteron*.

Of "plumbum nigrum" the source is double: either it comes from its own vein, without admixture, or grows with silver, and is melted while mixed with that metal. The part which is first liquid is called "stannum;"<sup>3</sup> that which flows next is silver; that which remains in the furnace "galena,"<sup>4</sup> which is the third portion of the vein (or ore). This being again melted<sup>5</sup> yields "plumbum nigrum," (the other) two parts (of the ore) being deducted.

This chapter is a text on which a thirty-eighth Book of Natural History might be written, embracing the history or fable of the *Κασσιτερίδες*, the ancient arts of metallurgy, and the eager trade in metals which allured the Phœnician sailors on the Atlantic, and led the Roman armies to Britain.

What is *κασσιτέρος*, for which plumbum album is the equivalent? what is stannum, obtained from mixed ores of silver and lead? what is galena, elsewhere called molybdæna (cap. 18). We need not ask what is plumbum nigrum, for by that is clearly designated lead.

That *κασσιτέρος* or *κασσιτέρος* was tin, appears to be generally allowed. The mineralogists and miners who know the mode of occurrence and character of tin ore, will have no doubt that plumbum album of Pliny is tin, and that author twice positively and expressly identifies this with *cassiteros*.<sup>6</sup>

The uses to which, in the Iliad, Homer puts *κασσιτέρος* in the thorax and shield of Agamemnon, in the shield and greaves of Achilles, in the brazen thorax of Asteropæus, and in the chariot of Tydides, are such as imply easy fusibility

<sup>3</sup> Analogous to this is the process of separating silvery lead from mere lead, invented by Mr. H. L. Pattison.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. xxxiv. cap. 18. "Est et molybdæna, quam alibi galenam vocavimus, plumbi et argenti vena communis."

<sup>5</sup> At the present day we should per-

form this melting of the residual galena, in the slag hearth, with a flux.

<sup>6</sup> Supposing the word to be Greek, Eustathius gives for its roots *κασσι* and *τερος*—as if easily attacked by fire; *κασσα*, *meretric*, has also been suggested, as if it was false silver.

and ductility, and indicate that the metal was highly valued and almost precious.<sup>7</sup>

In the *Odyssey*, full as it is of pictures of regal and domestic life, we find no mention of *κασσιτέρος* in house ornament, while gold, electrum, silver, and brass abound.

Virgil puts no tin into the arms of Æneas; perhaps the metal was then of too vulgar use, employed too much by tinkers, to be fit for a heroic shield. Electrum is substituted, and iron is the staple article in the Vulcanian workshop, as brass was in that of *Ἡφαίστος*, a thousand years before.

The picture of the great artist, the Tubal-cain of the West, the cunning worker in metal, who melted, alloyed, inlaid, carved, and polished his work, whose multiplied bellows breathed at the will of the god, softly or fiercely, whose brass was hardened to wound or tempered to bend, is perfect, and might be paralleled on a small scale till within a few hundred years in the famous smiths of Wales, who made their own iron, and were by the laws of that country, as renewed by Howel Dda, allowed to sit near the priest of the household in the king's presence.<sup>8</sup>

Why Pliny treats as a fable the story of the Cassiterides yielding tin, is somewhat difficult to say. He classes the Cassiterides with Hispania (*"ex adverso sunt insulæ,—Cassiterides dictæ Græcis, a fertilitate plumbi"*),<sup>9</sup> and speaks of

<sup>7</sup> The following are the principal passages in the *Iliad* where *κασσιτέρος* is mentioned:—

XI. 24. In the thorax of Agamemnon were 10 bands (*αἶμοι μέλανος κύνειοι*, 12 of gold and 20 *κασσιτέριοι*).

XI. 34. In the shield of Agamemnon were twenty white bosses (*δρυφαλοὶ*) of tin, and in the middle one of black (*κύνειος*).

XVIII. 474. For the shield of Achilles *Ἡφαίστος* throws into his crucibles brass unconquered, *κασσιτέρος*, honoured gold, and silver. 564. He pours the tin round the border.

XVIII. 574. The cows with uplifted heads were fabricated of gold and tin: *Αἱ δὲ βόες χρυσοῦ τετεύχαστο κασσιτέρου τέ*.

XVIII. 612. The greaves of Achilles are made of soft tin (*ἐκαστοῦ κασσιτέρου*). ;

XX. 270. In this shield were 5 plates the 2 exterior ones brass; within these two *κασσιτέριοι*, and in the middle of all one of gold.

XXIII. 503. The chariot of Diomedes

was adorned with gold, and tin: *ἀρματα δὲ χρυσῷ περικασμένα κασσιτέρῳ τε*.

XXIII. 561. In the brazen thorax of Asteropæus the border was of glittering tin (*πὲρ χεῦμα φαεινὸν κασσιτέριοι*).

What is in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* called *κύνειος*, and is apparently a much-valued substance, is difficult to be identified. From its colour, Lapis Lazuli, Turquoise, and Carbonate of Copper have been suggested. As it is only mentioned in connection with the arms of Agamemnon, which were the gift of Cinyras, king of Cyprus, the latter mineral may be thought to have the best title, especially if, as at Chessy, it occurs blue in Cyprus. Millin, indeed (*Minéralogie Homérique*, p. 160), supposes *κύνειος* to be another name for tin; but surely with little reason. It was used for ornament in the palace of Alcæon.—*Odyssey*, vii. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, vol. i. pp. 11, 73. The place of the smith of the court is fixed on the end of the bench, before the priest.

<sup>9</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 22.

Mictis, on the authority of Timæus the historian, as six days' sail from Britain, and as yielding "candidum plumbum."<sup>1</sup> If the Cassiterides are the Ocrynian Promontory and the Scilly Isles, from which, as recorded by Strabo, the Phœnicians drew their tin (ΙΚΤΙΣ of Diodorus, ΜΙΚΤΙΣ of Timæus, and ΟΥΗΚΤΙΣ of Ptolemy, being Vectis or Wight, from which the tin was carried through France to Marseilles), we may suppose that in the early period, the only route for the tin of Cornwall to the Mediterranean was by sea to the western parts of Spain; but that in the latter period the track by land through Gaul to Massilia was preferred, and the old trade had become a tradition which Pliny chose not to adopt from Strabo, who is never quoted on this subject by the author of the *Historia Naturalis*, but may be obliquely and slightly alluded to. Whether tin occurs at all in any part of the Spanish Peninsula can hardly be doubtful after the assertion of Pliny. He had been procurator in Spain, and by his intimacy with Vespasian,<sup>2</sup> must be supposed in position to learn much of Britain, from the despatches of Petilius Cerealis, Ostorius Scapula, and Agricola. But he was suffocated by the fumes of Vesuvius, in '79, one year after the appointment of Agricola to Britain; and for the greater part of his literary life, Britain was a scene of never-ending war and confusion. Besides this the Cornish Promontory appears to have been at no time much occupied by Roman stations, or traversed by roads, and it may be thought to have had then, as afterwards in Saxon and Norman times, a history and commerce quite distinct from and little known to the Belgic settlers in Albion. He might be mistaken respecting Britain, of which perhaps he could know only Albion; but his positive assurance of the occurrence of tin in Spain is confirmed by a passage in Bowles's *Natural History of Spain*, and, as I hear from Mr. Kenrick, by a later German writer, Hopfensach; it occurs, in fact, according to one of our best books of Mineralogy, in beds in the mica-schist of Galicia.<sup>3</sup> Oxide of tin has been found, besides, on both sides of the Erzgebirge in granite; at Puy de Vignes, the department of Haute Vienne, also in granite; in Wicklow (granite); on the east coast of Sumatra, in Siam and Pegu,

Aristotle adds to *κασσινέρον* the epithet *Κελτικόν*, implying its local origin in the west of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. iv., cap. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Vespasian became Emperor, A.D. 69.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Phillips' *Mineralogy*, 1823.



in Banca and Malacca. It has been found in Mexico, Chili, and Greenland, and mixed with other matters in Finland and Sweden.

Upon the whole, the case is probably thus: it is the old Phœnician trade, destroyed with Carthage, which Strabo describes, and Publius Crassus went to explore in the *Κασσιτερίδες*. Diodorus Siculus narrates the course of trade in the days of Augustus from Ictis, when Gaul offered an easy route to the Mediterranean; but one hundred years of war and commotion interrupted this trade of Cornwall with the East, and Pliny was suspicious of the fables of Greece, and knew that tin was obtained in Spain. Notwithstanding this fact, it appears that Cornwall and the Asiatic Isles have been the principal, almost the only sources of the tin of the ancient world, that of Zinnwald, in Wirtemberg, being quite unknown till a much later date.

Stannum is evidently an alloy of an argentine or tin-like aspect, a variable pewter, a metal more easily melted than copper, for the lining of which it was much used in Pliny's days, to obviate the danger of cupreous solutions. This process we now call tinning, and stannum<sup>4</sup> with its variable meanings is perhaps the common parent of the French *étain*, meaning as often pewter as tin, and of the German *Zinn*, which like "tin" in the English workshops, is used sometimes for pewter when lining vessels, and solder when covering surfaces which are to be joined. Our German silver, Britannia metal, &c., belong to this class. The process of illination with stannum must have been well executed to justify the exclamation of Pliny, that it did not augment the weight of the vessel to which it was applied. The Brundisian specula made of it yielded to silver, indeed, at last; but they are declared to have been of admirable efficiency.

Stannum, then, is an alloy of tin with lead, tin with brass, tin with antimony, lead with silver, or other variable mixtures of metals often associated in nature.

Pliny mentions adulterate or alloyed kinds of stannum, composed of one part *white brass* to three parts of *candidum*

<sup>4</sup> Pliny's notices of stannum are frequent. See *Hist. Nat.* with the notes by Harduin, vol. ii. 429, 22; 528, 7; 530, 30, 31, &c., edit. Paris, 1827, 10 vols. 8vo.

*Stanno et ære mixtis*, 627, 11—*illitum æneis vasis saporem gratiorem facit*, 669, 14—*discerni vix possit ab argento*, 669, 26—*seramentis jungitur*, 669, 11.

plumbum ; of equal weights of candidum and nigrum (which is called argentarium) ; of two parts of nigrum and one of candidum (called tertiarium) ; with this last lead pipes were soldered.<sup>5</sup> Fraudulent dealers add to the tertiarium equal parts of album, call it *argentarium*, and with it plate or line other metals.

He gives the prices of these compounds and those of pure album and nigrum, the former twenty, the latter seven denarii for one hundred pounds.

Plumbum album, he says, is rather of an arid nature ; the nigrum is entirely humid ; therefore the white is of no use unless it be mixed with another metal. Silver cannot be leaded (lined) with it, it will be melted first. It is affirmed that if there be too little nigrum mixed with the album, the silver will be corroded by it. Album is melted into brass-work (inlaid, an invention of Gaul), so that it can hardly be known from silver—these works are called *incoctilia* (silvered). He then speaks of the application of this invention to the trappings of horses, and carriages, and other curious productions of Alesia and the Bituriges ; a subject which my friend Mr. Kenrick has handled with his usual felicity.<sup>6</sup>

One of Pliny's sentences is remarkable as narrating a class experiment fit for a chemical school : " Plumbi albi experimentum in charta est, ut liquefactum pondere videatur, non calore, rupisse." The meaning seems to be, that the metal is fluid at so moderate a heat as when fused to break by its weight, not burn by its heat, the *charta* on which it is poured. Tin melts at 440°—442° ; lead, at 612°.

What follows is a very important passage : " India neque æs neque plumbum habet, gemmisque suis ac margaritis hoc permutat."

May we be justified by this sentence in refusing to credit the supposition that tin (plumbum album) was brought overland or by other routes from the Asiatic Isles and shores towards Western Europe ? If so, Cornwall chiefly, if not wholly, supplied the tin which entered so many ways into the comforts and necessities, during peace and war, of all the nations surrounding the Mediterranean and Euxine, Baltic

<sup>5</sup> " Hoc fistulæ solidantur." This is the solder of our tinmen.

<sup>6</sup> See a memoir by the Rev. John

Kenrick, Trans. of Yorkshire Phil. Society, 1848, p. 52.

and German Ocean ; in fact, the world, as distinctly known to the Roman geographers.

Let us now inquire into the means whereby the ancient people reduced the metals which they were so earnest in seeking across mountains and oceans at the point of the sword. To confine the inquiry within reasonable limits, we shall speak chiefly of tin and lead, the only metallic products, as it appears, which were regarded by the ancients as abundant in Britain. Iron is mentioned by Cæsar as of limited occurrence : " in maritimis ferrum, sed ejus exigua est copia."

Gold, the most widely if not most abundantly distributed metal, found near the surface of the earth in a pure and malleable state, easily fused, uninjured by fusion, was probably the metallic substance on which the earliest processes of fire were tried, and they could not be tried unsuccessfully.

Tin, the ore of which has been found at the surface in many situations with auriferous sand and gravel, cannot have been long unknown to the gold-finders of the East and the West. Some one of the many accidents which may, or rather must, have accompanied the melting of gold would disclose the nature of the accompanying white metal, whose brilliancy, ductility, and very easy fusibility would soon give it value.

The melting of *Tin Ore* is, however, a step in advance of the fusion of *Native Gold*. The gold was fused in a crucible<sup>7</sup> made of white clay,<sup>8</sup> which only could stand the heat and the chemical actions which that generated ; but tin ore would in this way of operation prove totally infusible. It must be exposed at once to heat and a free carbonaceous element. The easiest way of managing this is to try it on the open hearth. Perhaps some accidental fire in the half-buried bivouacs of the Damnonii may have yielded the precious secret. As to the fuel, we are told that pine woods were best for brass and iron,<sup>9</sup> but the Egyptian papyrus was also used, and straw was the approved fuel for gold. In the metalliferous country of Cornwall and Devon, peat is plentiful, and the charter of King John, in the year 1201, grants to the miners the privilege of digging tin, and turves to melt the

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. iv. cap. 33, p. 617, ed. Harduin.

example.

<sup>8</sup> Such as now called Cornish clay, for

<sup>9</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 33, p. 621.

tin, anywhere in the moors, and in the fees of Bishops, Abbots, and Earls, in those counties, as they had been used and accustomed. This charter was confirmed by Edward I. Richard II. and Henry IV.<sup>1</sup>

These and other singular privileges extending as far as the lands on which the Crown claimed rights, are long anterior to the other rights of property in Cornwall, Mendip, Derbyshire, and the Forest of Dean, and go far to justify the supposition of our modern mining laws being a relic of Roman, or perhaps of earlier than Roman times.

As the bellows was known at least a thousand years before Pliny, we have here all the materials for a successful tin-smelter's hearth. If the smelting work was on waste land, and a little sunk in the ground, we recognise the old 'Bole' or 'Bloomery' of Derbyshire, now only a traditional furnace, but anciently the only one for the lead and iron of that country.

Pure tin once obtained, there must intervene a long series of trials and errors before its effect in combination with lead, brass, silver, &c., could be known; before the mode of conquering the tendency to rust in the act of *soldering* could be discovered (oil being in this respect as valuable to the tinner as artificial Chrysocolla was to the jeweller and goldsmith).<sup>2</sup> From all this it follows that the smelting of tin might be, and probably was, performed by the inhabitants of the Cornish Peninsula. This art they may have brought from the far East; Phœnicians may have taught it them; but all the accounts of the ancient tin trade represent the metal, and not the ore, as being carried away from the Cassiterides. Diodorus mentions the weight and cubical form of the tin in blocks (*δοτραγάλων ῥυθμοῦς*), carried from Ictis to Marseilles and Narbonne, and Pliny says of the Gallician tin that it was melted on the spot.

Did the Cornish or Gallician miners make bronze? For this is generally the compound indicated by the Roman *æris metalla*, though it is undoubted that they also knew of, and distinguished zinc brass. There is, I believe, no instance of a single bit of pure tin or pure copper being found with the numerous celts, which occur in so many parts of England;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the Appendix to De la Beche's Report on the Geology of Cornwall, p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. iv. cap. 33, p. 621, ed. Harduin.

<sup>3</sup> A celt of the simplest form, the axe-

nor is any other proof given that the direct union of tin and copper was effected by the natives of Britain. Copper is so abundant in Cornwall that it might tempt us to the other hypothesis; but this copper is a sulphuret; it is found united to the sulphuret of iron, in deep veins, and in a matrix of quartz; and these are things which render the production of pure copper one of the most refined operations in smelting: Cæsar tells us the brass used by the natives of Britain was imported (*"ære utuntur importato"*). Probably Cyprus,—colonised by the Phœnicians, to which old authors refer as the original source of brass—Cyprus with its ancient copper mines (Tamassus), and which has given its name to the metal, might be one of the points from which bronze radiated over the Grecian, Roman, and Barbarian world. It was from Cinyras, the king of Cyprus, that Agamemnon received his splendid breastplate with twenty plates of tin, and its liberal additions of Turquoise, Lazulite, or rather Malachite, obtained perhaps from the soil of the Island.<sup>4</sup>

The works of Ἡφαιστος, the Crawshay of antiquity, may have been fixed in Lemnos on account of some volcanic appearances there; but the tradition shows at least that the various operations of refined metallurgy were not strangers to the Islands of the Mediterranean; and the uniformity of design and composition in the ancient celts, chisels, μάκελλα, and instruments of war, implies a common, and that not a barbarous origin. The perfection, and variety, and great proportions of the brass work executed in the Grecian states and colonies, may also be regarded as indicating the local seat of the early as well as the later art of working in bronze.

Lead was obtained in Spain and Gaul, from deep and laborious mines;<sup>5</sup> but so abundantly, near the surface, in Britain, as to suggest a law for preventing more than a limited production—a Brigantian law of vend. (*"Nigro plumbo ad fistulas laminasque utimur, laboriosius in Hispania eruto, totasque per Gallias, sed in Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat."* Lib. 34, cap. 17. p. 644). The Romans employed lead in

head without socket or stop-ridge, is preserved in the Duke of Northumberland's Museum at Alnwick Castle. The metal of which it is formed is of a red colour and resembles copper, but no test

has been used to ascertain the fact of its being of that metal. It was found in draining a moss near Percy's Leap, Northumberland.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *ut supra*, p. 683. <sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 669.

pipes (*fistulæ*) and sheets, which were soldered with alloys, as already mentioned. This lead was previously refined, and its silver removed; the silver, indeed, being often the object of the enterprise. How earnestly silver was sought—how well the mining operations were carried on by the ‘old men,’<sup>6</sup> appears from the notice of the Carthaginian mines in Spain, the pits and levels driven by Hannibal being mentioned as in wonderful preservation by Pliny. The same may be said of at least one set of mining works of Roman date, in the extreme parts of South Wales, viz. the Gogofau mines near Llandovery, Caermarthenshire, where gold was extracted with much labour from broken and pounded quartz, of which enormous mounds remain. The adit still exists, and was entered by the late Sir H. T. De la Beche, who found in it a specimen of native gold. In the vicinity, tradition indicates a Roman settlement; and a chain of gold and other ornaments were found, some of which are now possessed by the family of Johnes of Abercothi.<sup>7</sup>

The districts in Britain, where lead veins coming to the surface in abundance might justify the praises of Pliny, are in the South, Mendip; in the West, Flintshire; in the North, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Cumberland, that is to say, the Brigantian Territory; and it is to this last district that the descriptions apply most correctly. Lead cast in Roman moulds, ‘pigs’ in fact of the age of Hadrian and other Emperors, have been found in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, and Sussex. But few ancient mining instruments have ever been found in the lead-bearing districts of Britain,<sup>8</sup> and I am strongly of opinion that much of the lead ore was collected from the surface by aid of water, artificially directed. The process, in fact, is described by

<sup>6</sup> This term is employed by the miners of the north of England. When they meet with the *fodinae* of earlier days, they say they come upon ‘t’auld man’—perhaps auld in the days of the Anglians.

<sup>7</sup> An account of these discoveries was communicated to the Archaeological Institute by Mr. John Johnes, of Dolan-cothi, and it may be seen in this Journal vol. vii. p. 173. There part of the gold chain is figured. See Sir R. I. Murchison’s Remarks on Gogofau, Sil. Syst. pp. 367, 368, and Mr. Warrington Smith’s notices in the Memoirs of the Geological

Survey, p. 481.

<sup>8</sup> Sir R. I. Murchison mentions Roman mining utensils at Shelve in Shropshire, Silur. Syst. p. 279. In the Museum of the Institute at the Annual Meeting in Shrewsbury, 1855, a pig of lead bearing the name of Hadrian was exhibited by the Rev. F. More, of Linley, with two mining spades of cleft oak, stated to have been found in the Gravels Mine at Shelve. They were figured in a notice of Roman metallurgy in Shropshire, by Mr. Thomas Wright.—Illustrated London News, Oct. 4, 1856. See also the Appendix to this memoir.

Pliny, in terms so exactly applicable to the modern 'hushes' of Swaledale, that no doubt can remain of this custom, which is now esteemed rude and semi-barbarous, being of Roman or earlier date in Britain.

As thus from Roman or earlier times our lead mining derives its 'hush,' its levels, and shafts, implements for washing and other processes of the workmen, and the forms, weights, and marks of its melted metal, we may easily admit a similar origin for the melting processes. Lead mostly occurs in the sulphuret, which offers no particular difficulty in the fire. By cautious roasting, its excess of sulphur may be removed, and the subsequent melting with charcoal or a flux be facilitated. Indeed, without roasting and without flux, in many cases the lead will flow out of the ore, if placed among flaming wood or peat, and subjected to a sufficient stream of air.

But the use of fluxes could not long remain unknown in the limestone districts of Northumbria, or amid the fluorine veins of Derbyshire, limestone and fluor being to this day valuable aids in the furnace. Peat was the fuel in Cornwall, and still is in Yorkshire, and perhaps the Roman smelters did really erect their furnaces on waste ground and heaths at Dacre and Matlock, far from the mines of Greenhow and Youghreave, even as is done at present with the cupolas of Lee and Langley mills.

The uses of crucibles (*χόαναι*), bellows, cavities of some peculiar sort (*κάμιναι*) perhaps chimneys, great variety of carbonaceous fuel, the power of purifying and alloying, and knowledge of the properties of alloys, appear quite conspicuous among the ancient arts.

The inscriptions<sup>9</sup> on these masses of lead, are in the same general form as the 'marks' of the different mines now in work, and which, no doubt, are their literal and lineal descendants. Thus the Ald or Auld Gang mine of Swaledale, old in the days of the Saxons;<sup>1</sup> the mines of Greenhow Hill,<sup>1</sup> in the parish of Ripon, West Riding, which supplied sheet and pipe lead for the Roman baths and coffins,<sup>2</sup> at York,

<sup>9</sup> A full account of pigs of lead obtained from British mines during the Roman sway in Britain, will be found appended to this memoir. It will be remarked that they belong to early imperial times.

<sup>1</sup> See the account of Swaledale, and of

the lead-mines near Muker and Reeth in "Rivers, Mountains, and Sea-coast of Yorkshire," by Professor Phillips, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Notices of the leaden coffins found at York are given in the Rev. C. Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 112. Several other

as well as tribute to the imperial treasury; the mines of Middleton and Youldgreave (Aldgroove), in Derbyshire, from which the Lutudæ sent not only lead, but 'exargentate' (that is to say refined) lead from which the silver had been removed, use to this day the pig of the same weight of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cwt., of similar shape, and similar mark to that of eighteen hundred years' antiquity.<sup>3</sup> And, just as at the present day, the countryman whose galloway is tired, drops the leaden load by the way side, for another day's work, so in the days of Rome, the Brigantian lead was thrown down from the tired *caballus* by the side of the ancient mining road, on Matlock Moor in Derbyshire, and Dacre Pasture in Yorkshire.

This fact of the discovery of the Roman lead, *not at the mines*, but at a distance of some miles from them on a track leading *towards* a Roman or rather a pre-Roman station, is of much importance in Archaeology. For thus we arrive, in the first place, at the conviction of the existence of very ancient mining roads not of Roman work, nor probably of Roman but of earlier date, leading toward Cataractonium, Isurium, Eburacum, Mancunium, Derventio, or rather to the Brigantian towns or centres of trade, on which the Romans, following their wont in Africa, Spain, and Gaul, fixed their attention and established their war-camps and their colonies. The politic lords of the world broke up no national industry, set no legionaries to supplant the native miners; but stationing a few cohorts on the ancient roads, in or close to the mining district, as at Hope and Bainbridge, to control a rude population, received regularly the fruits of the industry which they might direct, but did not personally share. Viewed in this light, how complete appears the grasp of the Roman treasury on the mining fields of Britain! The Fosseway from the Ocrynian Promontory crosses the Mendip Hills, the road

remarkable examples of the Roman age, found near London and in other parts of England, are described in this Journal, vol. x. p. 225; vol. xii. pp. 77, 78, 195. See also Mr. Wright's, "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> The modern pig is near one-sixteenth of a fodder, or  $176\frac{1}{2}$  lb. Three Roman pigs found near Matlock, in 1777, 1783, and 1787, weigh 173 lb., 127 lb., and 83 lb., these being as  $1$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the modern pig. In Saxon times the *plaustrata*, or

cart-load, consisted of ten *tabulae*, or pigs; since it is recorded in Domesday that the manors of Bakewell, Ashford, and Hope, in Derbyshire, paid (*inter alia*) "*v. plaustratas plumbi de l. tabulis*." Pegge observes that Fudur, both in Saxon and German, signifies a cart-load (Archæologia, vol. v. p. 374). Ray, in his North country Words, explains fodder as a certain weight, eight pigs, or 1600 lb. The fodder appears to vary in different counties from  $19\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. to 24 cwt.



from Mancunium to Bremetonacum traverses the calamine district of Bowland, the road from Derwentio or Tutbury to Mancunium runs along the west of the great Derbyshire field, and the legionary path from Carlisle to York goes right across the metalliferous country of Yorkshire and Durham.

We may even ask, with some confidence, whether the line of the Hadrian Wall, which cuts off from the North all the richest mines of the Derwent, the Allen, and the Tyne, but abandons the mossy dales of bleak Northumbria, was not drawn with especial reference to the mining wealth of the districts.

May we not regard, as a confirmation of all that has been advanced touching the antiquity of our mining processes, the fact of the existence to this day, though impaired by recent Acts of Parliament, of peculiar rights and privileges in the mining districts? These rights are sometimes guaranteed by, and appear to emanate from royal charters, as in the stannaries of Cornwall and Devon; but they are probably of far earlier date, and have merely been confirmed as old customs by King John and his successors. In Mendip, the Forest of Dean, and Derbyshire, the miners' rights were preserved by royal officers, but the rights themselves transcend all history and tradition. To sink a pit or drive a level in any field; to cover the rich herbage with barren ore-stuff; to cut a way to the public road; to divert, employ, and waste the running waters; and to do all this without consent of owner, and without compensation being so much as asked by lord or villein, landlord or tenant, implies in Derbyshire a settlement of mining rights long anterior to Domesday Book, the charters of Repton Abbey,<sup>4</sup> the neighing of the Saxon

<sup>4</sup> The mines in the neighbourhood of Wirksworth were wrought early in the eighth century; at which period that district belonged to the nunnery at Repton, over which Eadburga, the daughter of Adulph, king of the East Angles, presided as Abbess. She bequeathed to St. Guthlac, who had received as it is reported, the tonsure and clerical habits at Repton, a coffin of lead, and a linen cloth to enwrap his corpse. They were transported to Guthlac's oratory in the swampy island of Croyland, Lincolnshire. "Reverentissima Egburg Abbatiſſa, Adulfi Regis filia, per legatum suppliciter ro-

gante, Guthlacus Sarcophagum plumbeum et in eo linteum ad involvendum se post obitum suscepit." Orderici Vitalis Eccl. Hist., lib. iv. p. 530. On Guthlac's death in 715, his corpse shrouded in the "sydone" sent by Eadburga, was deposited in this leaden sarcophagus.—Compare Leland, Coll. vol. ii. p. 590; Itin. vol. iv. p. 140. This lead was doubtless obtained from the possessions of the old Saxon religious establishments at Repton, part of which were the mines near Wirksworth. In the year 835, Kenewara, then Abbess of Repton, granted to Humbert, the Alderman

horse, and the flight of the Roman eagle. In connection with all that has been mentioned before, the furnaces, the roads, the restricted vend, the foreign trade, they seem to me to indicate a people who came with many inventions from the metalliferous East to the metalliferous West, before the Athenians drew silver from Laurion, or the Carthaginians from Iberia.

To these ancient, these Semitic mining processes, we have added perhaps steel instruments, and certainly explosive agents; the ore-hearth still remains, but it is generally yielding to the reverberatory furnace; silver is no longer obtained by oxidation of some thousand times its weight of lead; steam blows our furnace-fires, rolls and pipes our metals, and flies with iron wings on roads more solid than the Appian way. The world of George Stephenson is much different from that of Julius Agricola; but some features of the past remain to connect the earliest with the latest aspect of our country; and among these the least altered, and the most instructive, appear to be the mineral products and the mining processes. If by these we judge the great Brigantian tribes which surrounded Isurium, that great centre of Roman occupation in the West Riding, they must be placed far higher on the scale of civilisation than the place usually accorded by the Saxon to the Celt.

I presume to think, indeed, that without full attention to the mining history of Britain, as indicated by fragments in classic authors, and illustrated by processes not yet extinct, the opinion which may be formed of the ancient British people would be altogether conjectural, derogatory, and erroneous.

her estate called Wircsworth, on condition of rendering annually, as a rent, to Archbishop Ceolnoth and his successors, lead to the value of 800 shillings, for the use of Christ's Church, Canterbury. Script. Decem. col. 2222; Somner, Ant. Cant., p. 38, App. On the destruction of Repton Abbey by the Danes, in 874, it is probable that the

lead mines became the property of the Crown. As such they are mentioned in Domesday Book. Under *Wercheworde* we find the entry, "*ibi sunt iij. plumbaria*," which is supposed by Mr. Pegge to signify lead mines. See his memoir on a Pig of Lead found in Derbyshire, *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 374; and Glover's Derbyshire, vol. i. p. 73.

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ENUMERATION OF BLOCKS OR PIGS OF LEAD AND TIN, RELICS  
OF ROMAN METALLURGY, DISCOVERED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

IT has appeared desirable to give, as a supplement to the foregoing memoir, a detailed inventory of certain relics of Roman metallurgical operations in Britain, the *massæ plumbi*, ἑλασμοὶ μολιβδῖνοι of Dion, in mediæval times termed *tabulæ*, now commonly known as pigs of lead, with notices also of a few similar objects of tin. I have, therefore, readily complied with the request of Professor Phillips that I should arrange the notes, which for some years past I have collected, and that they should form an accompaniment to his valuable dissertation.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest notices of any *massæ plumbi* found in this country occur in Camden's *Britannia*, describing the pig of lead found in the reign of Henry VIII. near "Ochie hole," Wokey on the Mendip Hills, and the large deposit of twenty pigs bearing the names of Vespasian and Domitian, reported to Camden as having been discovered on the coast of Cheshire.<sup>2</sup> The attention of antiquaries, however, was not called to the subject until the discovery, in 1734, of two pigs of lead on Hayshaw Moor, Yorkshire, which was communicated to the Royal Society, and called forth the elaborate dissertation by Professor Ward which may be found in the *Philosophical Transactions*.<sup>3</sup> The learned writer came to the conclusion that these pigs were part of the tax paid out of the mines of Britain, and he adverts at considerable length to the condition of the country as a Roman province governed by a Legate, under whom was the oppressive *Procurator* who had charge of the revenues. These were derived, as is well known, from *tributa*—capitation tax, tax upon lands, &c., and *vectigalia*, consisting

<sup>1</sup> An interesting notice of pigs of lead and description of those preserved in the British Museum, has been given by Sir H. Ellis, in the *Library of Entertaining*

*Knowledge*, Townley Gallery, vol. ii. p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1607, pp. 168, 463.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xlix. p. 686.

of part of the produce of grain, payments for grazing cattle, customs and revenues, including those from *salinæ* and mines. These last were usually farmed by *publicani*, or, when the undertaking was large, by companies, termed by Cicero "*societates vectigalium*," and usually resident at Rome.<sup>4</sup> The reader may be referred to the memoir in question for a more ample statement of the speculations of antiquaries in the last century on the subject. To Professor Ward's concluding observations regarding these leaden pigs we may heartily assent:—"As they are very remarkable, and perhaps the singular remains of that kind relating to the Roman government, either here in Britain, or any other part of their dominions, they may deserve the further consideration of the curious in their investigations into these subjects."<sup>5</sup>

The question may still be open to discussion, whether the numerous pigs of lead found in this country; and bearing the names of certain Emperors, as hereafter described, should properly be regarded as the produce of mines farmed by *publicani*, or worked for the direct account of the State. In some instances, however, the mines of conquered countries were left in the possession of individuals or towns, on condition of a certain rent being paid. I will now endeavour to record the discoveries of these remarkable vestiges of Roman enterprise in Britain; and to enumerate the relics in question as far as practicable in chronological order. The form, it may be observed, is the same in all cases, and it is shown by the woodcut on the next page. Of other examples, here described, the upper or inscribed surface only is shown.

#### ROMAN PIGS OF LEAD FOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BRITANNICUS. Date about A.D. 44—48.

Tiberius Claudius Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina: born A.D. 42; he shared with his father the title of Britannicus conferred about A.D. 44, for pretended victories in Britain; was regarded as heir apparent until the death of his mother, A.D. 48, and was removed from the succession on the adoption of Nero in his stead, A.D. 50. The precise date of this inscription is not determined; as, however, the young prince was out of power, through the intrigues of his stepmother Agrippina, A.D. 48, and the leaden pig next to be described bears the date A.D. 49, it is probable that Britannicus had been deprived before that period of any

<sup>4</sup> See this subject more fully treated in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, v. *Vectigalia*.

<sup>5</sup> Philos. Trans., vol. xlix. p. 706.

revenues he might have enjoyed as heir-apparent. The date would thus be brought to A.D. 44—48; and in that case this must be regarded as the earliest example hitherto discovered in England. It was found about August, 1853, near Blagdon, on the Blackdown range, Somerset, the northern flank of the Mendip Hills. The countryman by whom it was found brought it to the patent shot-works of Messrs. Williams at Bristol; and on being informed of the historical value of the object, Mr. Williams presented it with most praiseworthy liberality to the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> No other inscription, it is believed, bearing the name of Britannicus, has been found in England. The inscription, as Mr. Franks informs me, may be read BRITANNIO::: AVG P:: (Augusti filius). The letters twice impressed upon the side of the pig probably denote its weight; they appear to read thus:—V · EIP · C OF FIP C · (?). Mr. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 258, proposes to read V · EIP · C. It weighs 163 lbs; it measures 24 inches by 6½; width of the inscribed surface, 3 inches.



Fig of Lead found near Blagdon, Somerset. British Museum.

#### CLAUDIUS. Date, A.D. 49.

In Leland's "*Assertio Incomparabilis Arturii*," printed in his *Collectanea*, vol. v., fo. 23, a, mention is made of lead as suitable from its durability for sepulchral inscriptions, and also of the rich lead-mines in the Mendip Hills, Somerset. Leland then observes, "*Non puduit Romanos, rerum Dominos, trophæum ex oblonga plumbi tabula in ipsis pene eorundem montium radicibus, ad fontes Ochidis fluvii fabulosi ditionis episcopi Fontani, Claudio Cæsari sic inscriptum erigere: TI. CLAUD · CÆSAR · AVG · P · M · TR · P · VIII · IMP · XVI · DE · BRITAN. Hoc trophæum annis ab hinc paucis aratro erutum, et ad ædes Thomæ Houerti, Icenorum Ducis, Londinum translatum.*" Camden (*Britannia*, edit. 1607, p. 168) records this discovery as having occurred near "Ochiehole," now called Wokey Hole, in the reign of Henry VIII., and gives the inscription as above; and Dr. Holland thus translates the passage, with the addition that the leaden relic had been at Lambeth. "Not far hence [Ochie-hole] in the raigne of K. Henrie the Eighth, was turned up with the plough, a table of lead somewhat long, which lay long at Lambeth in the Duke of Norfolkes house, erected sometime for a trophee in token of victorie, with this inscription" (as above given), Camden's *Brit.* by P. Holland, 1637, p. 230. Compare Gough's edition, 1806, vol. i., pp. 82, 104. Lambard mentions this discovery in his *Topographical Dictionary*, under Onky (obviously an error of the

<sup>6</sup> It was presented by James Williams, Esq. See a further notice in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 278.

press for Ouky, or Wokey). The learned Dr. Musgrave has given a Dissertation in his *Antiquitates Britanno Belgicæ*, p. 181, cap. xvi., entitled "De Claudii Tropæo propter Ogonem eruto," showing that it was the most ancient Roman inscription extant in Britain. Horsley (*Brit. Rom.*, p. 328) cites the inscription on Camden's authority, and concludes that the original was lost. See also Collinson's *Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 420; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 133; Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 57.

CLAUDIUS. A.D. 41—54.

A pig found at Matlock, Derbyshire, in April, 1787, according to the account sent to Pegge by the Rev. J. Mason, of Elton. See Pegge's *Memoir* on this pig of lead, *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 45. It is described as the heaviest of the pigs found in Derbyshire, weighing 173 lbs., and consisting of about thirty layers, as if smelted at so many different times. The inscription is,

TI · CL · TR · LVT · BR · EX · ARG.

Pegge originally proposed to read, in *extenso*,—"Tiberius Claudius Tribunitia Potestate Britannicus, ex argento,"—the seventh letter having been read I, and IVT. was supposed to be a blunder for POT. On more careful examination, the pig having been purchased by Mr. Molesworth, F.S.A., the questionable letter was pronounced to be L, and the Rev. T. Crane proposed to read LVT. "Tiberii Claudii Tributum, lutum Britannico ex Argento," tribute paid out of British money.<sup>7</sup> The occurrence, however, of the letters LVTVD. upon other pigs found in Derbyshire appears to confirm the explanation that *Lutudarum* is intended, being the name of a Roman station given by Ravennas next to Derventio, and the site of which there is reason to suppose is now occupied by Chesterfield. Dr. Gifford proposed the reading "Tiberii Claudiani Triumviri Lutudari Britannorum ex argentaria;" but Sir Henry Ellis suggests "Lutudari Brigantum ex argentariis." Pegge concludes that the date of this pig is A.D. 44; and in explanation of the letters EX · ARG., he cites the remarks of Pennant regarding the extraction of silver from lead by the Romans. (*Gent. Mag.* 1783, p. 937; Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 58.) This pig measured 17½ inches in length on the inscribed side, 20 inches on the other.

See Lysons's *Derbyshire*, p. cccv.; Sir H. Ellis, in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, Townley Gallery, vol. ii. p. 290, seems to have confounded this with the next, which he has not noticed; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 142; *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. v. p. 227; and Bateman's *Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 135.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 48; vol. xiii. p. 405.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Bateman observes that he had

been unable to ascertain where the pig formerly in Mr. Molesworth's possession (as above stated) now is.

CLAUDIUS. A.D. 41—54.

Four pigs found January 31, 1824, on the estates of the Earl of Egremont at Broomer's Hill, in the parish of Pulborough, Sussex, a short distance to the east of the "Stone Street," or ancient Roman way from Chichester (*Regnum*) towards London. The inscription, it is stated, was the same on each of them. One is now preserved in the Hall at Parham Park, the seat of the Hon. Robert Curzon, near Pulborough. Another, the inscription on which is here figured, was presented, July 1, 1824, by the Earl of Egremont to the British Museum. It weighs 184 lbs., length 23 inches, width  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, height  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches.



Fig of Lead found at Pulborough, Sussex. British Museum.

According to recent information from Mr. H. G. Brydone, Col. Wyndham's steward, it is believed that the other two pigs, being defaced and the inscriptions illegible, were sent to the plumbers at Petworth.

In *Gent. Mag.* March, 1824, vol. xciv. part i. p. 194, the following notice occurs:—"Sussexiensis states that about ten days ago some labourers discovered at Pulborough, in Sussex, four Roman pigs of lead. They were 22 inches in length, and 6 inches across the top, and 4 inches at the bottom. On each was impressed the following inscription . . . IOLTR · PVT · BR · EXARG." In the same volume, p. 320, appeared a letter dated Greys, and signed J. I. (the initials of the late Dr. Ingram, President of Trinity College, Oxford), relating to the above-mentioned communication, and proposing the following reading, supplying an initial T, and altering one letter, TI · CL · TR · PVT · B · REX · ARG. "Tiberius Claudius Tribunitiæ potestatis Britannicæ (or Britanniarum), Rex Augustus." The learned writer justified his conjecture by the occasional occurrence of v for o, as in *Aquæ Sulis*, for *Solis*; and stated that the title of *Rex* is given to Constantine, on certain coins.

See Horsfield's *Hist. of Sussex*, vol. ii. p. 164; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 143. It is not noticed in the account of pigs in the British Museum, Townley Gallery, vol. ii. p. 285.

NERO. Fourth Consulate. A.D. 60—68.

Pig of lead found August 11, 1783, on the verge of Broughton Brook, near Stockbridge, Hants, on the Houghton side of the stream. It was in the possession of Mr. Thomas South of Bossington. The first notice of the discovery was communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in that year, vol. xliii. part 2, p. 936, where the pig is figured. See also, vol. xlv. part 1, p. 85. It was conjectured that it had been deposited or lost whilst on the way to *Clausentum* for exportation. A Roman line of road passes very near the spot. It subsequently came into the possession of the late J. M. Elwes, Esq., of Bossington, by whom it was exhibited in the

Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute at Winchester, September, 1845. (Catalogue, p. xl.) In the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. v. p. 227,<sup>9</sup> it is figured, and the following description is given by Mr. C. Roach Smith. "It is inscribed on the top, in letters an inch in length, NERONIS · AVG · EX · KIAN · III · COS · BRIT<sup>a</sup>; on one side HVLPMCOS<sup>a</sup>; on the other EX · ARGENT<sup>a</sup> and CAPASCAS<sup>a</sup>, with the numerals xxx. This inscription is peculiarly interesting, as referring to the Cangi at an earlier date [than on the pigs of the time of Vespasian and Domitian] the name being spelt as pronounced, *Kiangi*, and just previous to the reverses of the Romans in Britain from the courage and skill of the heroic Boadicea. Nero was fourth time consul the year before; and this pig of lead would seem to have been on its way from the country of the Cangi towards the south, for exportation, composing probably part of the tribute, the harsh exaction of which was one of the causes of the insurrection." Mr. Roach Smith observes further, that BRIT<sup>a</sup> must be considered as referring to the metal or the province, and not intended for *Britannicus*, as on the pig with the name of Claudius, that title not having been assumed by Nero. The lateral marks are not to be satisfactorily explained, except EX · ARGENT<sup>a</sup> which may refer to the separation of the silver from the ore.

The weight is nearly 156 lbs. The upper or larger surface measures 24 inches by 5; the inscribed surface 21 inches by 3½; thickness 5 inches. There is a hole on one side for the insertion, as supposed, of some contrivance by which it might be lifted.

See Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions, No. 134; Archæological Journal, vol. xi. p. 279; Wright's Celt, Roman, and Saxon, p. 237, where it is figured. It is stated that this pig has been recently removed from Bossington to Cheltenham.

VESPASIAN. Third Consulate. A.D. 74.

Pig of lead found September 29, 1838, in forming the Railway from Chester to Crewe, near Tarvin Bridge, in the township of Great Boughton, about a mile from Chester. It lay at a depth of seven feet from the surface, in a field across which there was a foot-path to Hoole, and about 150 yards from the north side of the road from Chester to London. The place is described as very near the Roman road from Chester to Manchester by Kilsall and Holme Street, and a short distance north of the garden where a Roman altar, dedicated by the twentieth legion to the Nymphs and Fountains, was discovered in 1821. The inscription is as follows:—

IMP · VESP · V :: T · IMP · III · COS.

On the side is inscribed DE · CEANGI. It measures 24 inches by 6 inches; the thickness being 4½ inches. The weight is 179 lbs. It was presented to the late Marquis of Westminster by Mr. A. Gardner, of Chester, to

<sup>9</sup> It is noticed also, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 326.



whose kindness I am indebted for the foregoing particulars. It is now preserved in the library at Eaton Hall. See Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions, No. 135.

VESPASIAN. Fifth Consulate. A.D. 76.

A pig found on the Common at Hints, Staffordshire, near the Watling Street, about four miles from the spot where that Roman Way is traversed by the Rycknield Street, at Wall (*Elocetum*). In the Catalogue of the Rarities in the Lichfield Museum, collected by Richard Greene, taken September, 1782, the following account is given, p. 42: "A Pig of Lead, weight near one hundred and fifty pounds, on which, in raised letters, appear the names of Vespasian and of Titus Vespasian, Emperors of Rome. It was discovered in the year 1772, in digging for gravel on Hints Common, about four miles from Lichfield, and three quarters of a mile from the Watling Street Road, at the depth of four feet beneath the surface of the earth. Presented to the Museum by Ralph Floyer, Esq."<sup>1</sup> On the dispersion of Mr. Greene's museum it came into the possession of the late Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, the Rev. Dr. Webb, and on his decease in 1855, it was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum. It measures 22½ inches, by 5½ inches; thickness, 4 inches; the weight is 152lbs. The inscription is shown by the woodcut; on the side is inscribed DE · CEANG. The territories of the *Ceangi*, or *Cangi*, and the Brigantes, as



Mr. C. Roach Smith has observed (*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. v. p. 226), included Cheshire and Yorkshire, and in these counties, as well as in Derbyshire, the pigs stamped DE · CEANG. and BRIG. have been found.

See the notices of this pig in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xlii. p. 558; vol. xliii. p. 61; liii. p. 935; *Shaw's Hist. of Staffordshire*, Gen. Hist., vol. i. p. 35, and p. 331; *Camden's Britannia*, edit. Gough, 1806, vol. ii. p. 503; *Pennant's Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 55; *Erdeswick's Survey*, edit. Harwood, 1820, p. 320, where the discovery is said to have occurred in 1771; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 136.

VESPASIAN. Fifth Consulate. A.D. 76.

Camden, in his notices of Runcorn and Halton Castle (*Britannia*, edit. 1607, p. 463), records the discovery of twenty pigs on the coast of Cheshire, inscribed with the names of Vespasian and Domitian. On the latter occur the words DE · CEANG., and Camden, discussing the question of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Greene, in his letter Oct. 17, 1772, *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xlii. p. 558, where the pig above described is figured, speaks

of it as "found last winter in digging gravel." It was then in possession of Ralph Floyer, Esq. Weight, 150 lbs.

the locality occupied by the Cangi, inclined to place them in Cheshire, observing, "Dum enim hæc recognovi, a fide dignis accepi viginti massas plumbeas hic in ipso littore erutas fuisse, forma oblongiori sed quadrata, in quarum superiori parte, in concavo hæc legitur inscriptio, IMP · DOMIT · AVG · GER · DE · CEANG. In aliis vero IMP · VESP · VII · T · IMP · V · COSS. Quod monumentum videatur erectum fuisse ob victoriam in Cangos." (Compare Gough's edit. 1806, vol. iii. pp. 45, 61.) Horsley, p. 316, cites these inscriptions, and concludes that the pigs in question were formerly at Halton Castle; but this does not clearly appear from Camden's statement. Pennant alludes to this discovery (Tour in Wales, vol. i. p. 57), and observes that the ore which produced this lead was dug and smelted, either in that part of Flintshire anciently called Tegangle, or the summer's residence of the Cangi, "or from the residence of the same people in Derbyshire or some neighbouring county."

## DOMITIAN. A.D. 81—96.

Several pigs of lead found on the coast of Cheshire, according to the report given to Camden, as stated above. Of twenty pigs thus discovered, probably near Runcorn at the mouth of the Mersey, some, according to his account, were thus inscribed—

IMP · DOMIT · AVG · GER · DE  
CEANG.

Camd. Brit. edit. 1607, p. 463; Pennant's Tour in Wales, vol. i. p. 57.

## DOMITIAN. Seventh Consulate. A.D. 81.

A pig of lead, one of two found in 1734, on the estate of Sir John Ingleby, Bart., on Hayshaw Moor, in the manor of Dacre, and about eight miles N.W. of Ripley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. They are described as having been found standing upright, near each other, at a depth of about 18 inches. The place where the discovery occurred has sometimes been described as Hayshaw Bank, near Dacre Pasture.

On June 26, 1735, Dr. Knight communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a letter from Mr. Cooper, one of their members, giving an account of this discovery upon a barren moor near Ripley by a labourer; about Christmas in the previous year. He stated that the weight of one piece was 16 stone; that of the other, a little less. They remained in possession of Mr. Ingleby, son of Sir John Ingleby, of Ripley. On Nov. 20, 1735, Vertue brought a drawing of the inscriptions, which were copied into the Book of Minutes.

Another communication on the subject, written by the Rev. S. Kirkshaw

to Mr. W. Sloane, and dated from Ripley, December 15, 1735, has been printed in the *Philos. Trans.*, vol. xli. p. 560. It is there related that the pigs were found "in January last," by a countryman, whose horse's foot slipping into a hole covered with ling, he dismounted, and thrusting his stick into the hole, he found the two pieces of metal, described as standing upright near each other, about 2 feet deep. One of these pigs is figured, *ibid.* tab. 11. Mr. Kirkshaw relates also the story which he heard from a countryman regarding a cavity on a rock about half a mile distant, which might have served for casting such pigs. On January 31, 1754, Mr. Henry Smart Stevens communicated to the Royal Society a drawing of the two pigs, with a note of the discovery, which, according to that account, occurred in February, 1734; the weight of each piece was 156 lbs.<sup>2</sup>

In 1756, a memoir was read by Professor Ward, and printed with an engraving in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlix, p. 694. It is entitled "Considerations on a draught of two large pieces of lead, with Roman inscriptions upon them, found several years since in Yorkshire," in which he gives some remarks on the method of smelting, and other matters relating to Roman metallurgy.

One of these pigs was bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir John Ingleby, Bart., in 1772. Length, 23½ in.; width, 5¼ in.; weight, 156 lbs. It is inscribed—IMP · CAES · DOMITIANO · AVG · COS · VII.



Pig of Lead found at Hayshaw Moor. British Museum.

See *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 370; *Townley Gallery*, vol. ii. p. 287, where this pig is figured.<sup>3</sup>

DOMITIAN. Seventh Consulate. A.D. 81.

The second pig found with that last described, is now in the possession of the Rev. H. J. Ingleby, at Ripley Castle. Pennant, in the observations on Roman metallurgy, in his *Tour in Wales*, written about 1773, states that he saw it at Ripley, and he gives a representation of that pig, vol. i., pl. ix. p. 57. The inscription upon the upper surface is the same as that given above; on one side appear the letters BRIG., signifying, as Pennant suggested, that it came from the country of the Brigantes.

The great Roman road from Aldborough into Lancashire passes, as Gough remarks in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*, within a short distance of the spot where these pigs were found. "There had been no

<sup>2</sup> According to Gough one weighed 11 stone 2 lb. = 156 lb.; the other a pound less.

<sup>3</sup> A cast from the pig in the British Museum was exhibited by Mr. C. Newton in the Museum during the meeting of

the Institute at York in 1846.—*Catalogue, Transactions of the York Meeting*, p. 9. The cast was presented by the Institute to the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

lead mines within some miles of it, but there is said to be on the top of a large rock about half a mile distance, an impression or cavity of the size of these pigs, large enough to admit a melting-pan. Lead is now got at Green, two miles from the spot." Camden, edit. Gough, 1806, vol. iii. p. 293.

Professor Phillips notices these pigs in his "Rivers, Mountains, and Sea-coast of Yorkshire," p. 72, and considers them to have been produced from the mines of Greenhow Hill, in the township of Dacre and parish of Ripon, worked by the Romans, and probably by the British tribes before the Romans. He describes a most interesting cave opened in the course of lead-mining at Greenhow Hill, and which he reached, in 1825, by a miner's climbing shaft.

DOMITIAN (?). A.D. 81—96.

A pig of lead found, about 1849, with Roman remains near Common Hall Street, Chester. It was imbedded in a wall at the depth of about 4 feet. The upper surface is unfortunately so much damaged by oxidation that it is impracticable to ascertain what the inscription had been. It is stated by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.* vol. v. p. 226, where it is figured, that "it was most probably inscribed to Domitian." It was presented to the Chester Archaeological Society by Mr. Baylis, City Surveyor, and by the Mayor of Chester, simultaneously, in the belief that it was public and not private property. It was exhibited by that Society in the museum formed at the meeting of the Institute in Chester, July, 1857. The following letters of the inscription may be deciphered; CAESARI :: :: :: VADON.

Weight about 168lb. The inscribed surface measures 20½ inches by 4 inches.

HADRIAN. A.D. 117—138.

A pig of lead found in April, 1777, on Cromford Nether Moor, in the parish of Wirksworth, near Matlock, Derbyshire, and first described by Pegge in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, 1778, printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 369. It was then in the possession of Peter Nightingale, Esq., of Lea, by whom it was presented to the British Museum in April, 1797. Pegge read the concluding letters MEI · LVI · supposing the three first to be for MEM, and he explained the whole inscription thus, *Imperatoris Caesaris Hadriani Memoriae Legio Sexta*. According to another interpretation MEI was intended for MET, and the letters following were numerals, denoting the number of the pig. The inscription is, however, undoubtedly IMP · CAES · HADRIANI · AVG · MET · LVI · (See woodcut). Weight, 127 lb.; length, 22 in.; width, 5 inches and two-tenths.



Pig of Lead found on Cromford Moor. British Museum.

This pig has been figured in Lysons' *Derbyshire*, p. ccvi., where it

is observed that various erroneous conjectures had been formed regarding this and other inscriptions, especially the letters LVT which, according to Lysons, is unquestionably a contraction of *Lutudarum*, the Roman station mentioned by Ravennas next to *Derventio*, and supposed to have been at Chesterfield. The inscription may therefore be read, *Imperatoris Caesaris Hadriani Augusti metallum Lutudarense*. Sir Henry Ellis (*Towuley Gallery*, vol. ii., p. 290), adopts this reading; whilst Mr. Thomas Wright is of opinion that MET·LVT undoubtedly signifies *metallum lutum*, or washed, in reference to the process through which the metal had passed (*Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 238).

See also Camden's *Britannia*, edit. Gough, 1806, vol. ii. p. 433; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 140; *Bateman's Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 134.

#### HADRIAN. A.D. 117—138.

A pig of lead found about 1796 on a farm called Snailbeach, in the parish of Westbury, Shropshire, about ten miles from Shrewsbury, and on the confines of Montgomeryshire. It was deposited in the British Museum by John Lloyd, Esq., in March, 1798. The following memorandum is preserved in the Department of Antiquities. "This pig of lead was in the year 1796 or 1797 found on a farm called Snailbeach, in the chapelry of Minsterley, in the parish of Westbury, 10 miles SW. of Salop, belonging to the Marquis of Bath, now in lease to the Snailbeach Company. This mine has been worked time immemorial, and produced great quantities of lead, the present company having expended above £60,000 on the said works; and presented this pig to Mr. Lloyd, who is one of the partners; and which he requests the Trustees of the British Museum to accept. January 25, 1798." The inscription is simply IMP·HADRIANI·AVG.



Pig of Lead found at Westbury, Salop. British Museum.

Weight, 193 lbs.; length, 22 in.; width, 7 in.; upper surface, 19 in. by 3½ in.

See Townley Gallery, vol. ii. p. 291, where this pig is figured with a transverse section; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 139; Bagshaw's *Hist. of Shropshire*, under Minsterley.

#### HADRIAN. A.D. 117—138.

A pig of lead found, about 1767, in the supposed Roman workings on the western face of Shelve Hill, in the parish of that name, under the Stiperstones, about seven miles N. of Bishops Castle, Salop; these ancient lead-works are known as the White Grit Mine. The excavations towards

<sup>4</sup> The weight is there stated to be 191 lbs. For the precise weights of all the pigs of lead in the British Museum, as

recently taken, I am indebted to Mr. A. W. Franks.

the top of the hill have formed vast caverns, now choked up with *débris*, among which Roman relics have been found at various times. In these excavations, above the modern Gravel Mine, the pig is believed to have been found. It is now at Linley Hall, Bishops Castle, the seat of the Rev. T. F. More, by whom it was exhibited in the Temporary Museum at the Meeting of the Institute at Shrewsbury, in 1856, with two spades of oak, stated to have been found in the Roman workings. The inscription is simply IMP · HADRIANI · AVG. Weight 190 lbs. 6 oz. Length, 22½ inches, width, 7½ inches; length of the inscribed surface 19½ inches. On the margin round the inscription are twice impressed the letters WINP, which have been supposed to signify *Quinquevirorum jussu notatum plumbum*.

See also Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions, No. 139; Gent. Mag. vol. lvi. part 2, p. 924, where the pig is figured; Sir R. Murchison's Silurian System, p. 279.<sup>5</sup>

#### HADRIAN. A.D. 117—138.

A pig of lead found about 1775 (?), near Aston Farm-house, on the ancient line of road from Shrewsbury to Montgomery by Westbury. It was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Probert, at Copthorn, about two miles from Shrewsbury on that road. I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. T. F. More, of Linley Hall, for the communication of a letter from Mr. Isaac Frowd to R. B. More, Esq., dated Bishops Castle, October 9, 1827, informing him that the sale of the late Mr. Probert's Museum at Copthorn was fixed for October 15, and that there was in the collection a pig of lead, marked with the name of Hadrian, and probably from Mr. More's lead mines, or some other workings near them. Mr. Frowd gave the following particulars:—"The history of this antique piece of lead you have perhaps often heard from your late much respected father; if so, I hope you will excuse my present repetition of it. Before I came to Bishops Castle fifty years ago, this pig of lead was bought of Mr. Richard Williams, glazier, of this town, and sold by him to the Rev. Mr. Gifford, who then resided in Derbyshire, and who, having an estate at Mainstone, came here and luckily saw it in R. W.'s shop. Mr. Probert, having a very profitable share in your valuable lead mine, obtained it from Mr. Gifford, and now you will apply for it, I hope, and obtain it. Being found in your neighbourhood you ought to possess it, and add it to the tools of the Romans, which you showed me last autumn. It was found near Aston Farm-house, on the Roman road leading from Elland's turnpike-house, which stands on it, to the Gaer, near the Severn. That farm, fifty years ago, belonged to Mr. Thomas, of the Welch Street, Bishops Castle, from whose son it went to his widow, now married to Col. Witney, of Herefordshire. At Pentre-Cwm, near the Pentre, was a smelting-place of the Romans, where perhaps this pig was smelted." I have been unable to trace where this pig is now to be found; it was reported to me by Mr. Bowers, of Shrewsbury, that it was purchased, as he believed, by the late Bishop Butler, at Mr. Probert's sale: and he described it as rather smaller than Mr. More's pig, and bearing the legionary stamp, LEG. XX. I have not found evidence to verify this account.

<sup>5</sup> See also Mr. T. Wright's account of ancient mines in the neighbourhood.—  
Linley, its Roman remains, and of the Illustrated London News, Oct. 4, 1856.

## HADRIAN. A.D. 117—138.

A pig of lead found in May, 1851, about 3 feet deep in draining a field in the parish of Snead, Shropshire, below a large entrenchment called The Roveries, about a mile west of Linley Hall,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Church Stoke, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  south-east of Montgomery. It was found, as communicated by Mr. J. Cove Jones to the Society of Antiquaries, on January 29, 1852 (see *Proceedings*, vol. ii. p. 205), on the estate of Philip Morris, Esq., of the Hurst near Clun, in whose possession it remained until 1856, when it was obtained by Mr. Thomas Wright for the Museum of Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., at Liverpool, and it is now there preserved. It is precisely similar to that above described, found at Shelve and in possession of the Rev. T. F. More, of Linley Hall, near Bishops Castle, and may have been cast, very probably, in the same mould. The inscription is identical, IMP · HADRIANI · AVG. This pig is noticed by Mr. Wright, in his account of the Roman lead mines in Shropshire, *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 5, 1856. Weight, 190 lbs. Length, a little more than 2 feet.

## HADRIAN. A.D. 117—138.

A pig of lead found about 1822 at Bath, near Sydney Buildings, on the S.W. side of Sydney Gardens, in the course of works under the direction of Mr. Goodridge, Architect, of Bath, by whom it was deposited in the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution. The inscription is the same as on the pigs before-described, IMP · HADRIANI · AVG. The Rev. H. M. Scarth, in a *Memoir on Roman Remains in Bath*, published in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society*, 1852, p. 108, remarks that this pig may very probably have been smelted at the mines on the Mendip Hills. An ancient key, now in the Museum of the Bath Institution, was found with the pig. Mr. Hunter, in a letter to Mr. Markland, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, in 1827, regarding Roman inscriptions found at Bath, observes that in the collection of the Bath Institution such a pig existed, "which was found near the site of Sydney Place, in 1809." (*Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 421.) The discrepancy in date is doubtless only a typographical error.

Weight, 1 cwt. 83lbs. The Rev. W. Phelps notices it in his *History of Somerset*, vol. i p. 161, as found in 1822 near Sydney Buildings, but he inadvertently gives the weight as 83lbs. only. See also *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. v. p. 228.

## ANTONINUS AND VERUS. A.D. 163—169.

A pig of lead found early in the last century at Bruton, Somerset. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 151, Iter vi., dated 1723, gives the following account of the discovery. "At Long-Leat, in my Lord Weymouth's library, is a piece of lead weighing fifty pound, one foot nine inches long, two inches thick, three and a half broad, found in the Lord Fitzharding's grounds near Bruton in Somersetshire, and was discovered by digging a hole to set a gate-post in: upon it this memorable inscription, which I suppose was some trophy; communicated by Lord Winchelsea."

IMP DVOR AVG ANTONINI  
 ET VERI ARMENIACORVM.

See also Stukeley's *Carausius*, i. p. 167. Horsley, in 1732, engraves it among his Inscriptions in Somerset, No. 10, p. 328, adding nothing to Stukeley's account. Professor Ward, in 1756, states, that upon enquiry he could not find that it was at Longleat at that time; but in a note he observes that he had received Lord Winchelsea's account from Stukeley. *Philos. Trans.* xlix. p. 699. In Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 104, edit. 1806, it is stated that this pig came into the possession of Heneage, Earl of Winchelsea, who gave it to Mr. Creyke, of whose sister Mr. Duane bought it. Collinson, in his *History of Somerset*, vol. i. p. 216, mentions the discovery as having occurred about the beginning of the last century, and cites Stukeley's account; as does also the Rev. W. Phelps, in his *History*, vol. i. p. 178, with the statement, which I believe to be a mere error by an unwary copyist, that the pig is preserved in the library of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat.

Monumenta Hist. Brit. Inscriptions, No. 141.

A pig of lead bearing no Imperial name; it is inscribed with the name of *Lucius Aruconius Verecundus*, either a governor of a province, as it has been supposed, a procurator, or some person appointed to superintend mines in Britain.

It was found upon Matlock Moor, Derbyshire, shortly before Oct. 1783, in "ridding" a piece of ground near Matlock Bank, in the course of an inclosure of common lands there. The pig lay at a depth of a few inches only, covered by a large stone. Close to the spot there was a "hole," or place marked by heaps of rubbish and a hearth of flat stones, where, in ancient times, before smelting mills were constructed, lead ores were smelted. It was thought probable that the pig had been run or cast there, and it appeared to have been run at different times in nine or ten layers. Pennant notices such ancient slag hearths as frequent in Flintshire, and regards them as traces of the process used by the Britons. *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 58. On the surface of the pig there appeared numerous small particles of brass mixed with the lead, which have not been noticed in other instances. It was sold by the finders to a clock-maker at Matlock, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Adam Wolley of that town, and by him presented to the British Museum in April, 1797. The inscription has been read (*in extenso*) as follows, *Lucii Aruconii Verecundi metallum Lutudarense*. The last word has occasioned considerable discussion. Pegge, by whom this pig was first described (*Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 170), decyphered the concluding letters LVND, and proposed the reading *Metallici* or *Metallarii Lundinensis*, i.e., lead merchant of London, the farmer, possibly, or undertaker, of the lead-works at Matlock. Pegge closes his memoir with a postscript, "It were ardently to be wished that the Roman pigs of lead were all lodged together in the British Museum."





Pig of Lead found on Matlock Moor. British Museum.

Lysons has engraved this pig, and also the inscription on a larger scale, in his *History of Derbyshire*, p. cevi., and has pointed out that LVTVD· is unquestionably, according to his opinion, a contraction of *Lutudarum*, supposed to be the Roman station, mentioned in *Ravennas*, as already stated in the notice of one of the pigs of the time of Hadrian.

Weight 83lbs.<sup>6</sup> Length 20½ inches; width 4½ inches; inscribed surface 17½ inches by 3½ inches. This is the lightest Roman pig hitherto found.

See also Camden's *Britannia*, edit. Gough, 1806, vol. ii., p. 423; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 144; Sir H. Ellis's account in *Townley Gallery*, vol. ii. p. 228; Glover's *Derbyshire*, vol. i. pp. 71, 72; Bateman's *Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 134.

A pig of lead bearing no imperial name, but inscribed C·IVL·PROTI· was found in 1848, in Hexgrave Park, about six miles from Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, in or near an ancient encampment. It is now in the possession of Richard Milward, Esq., of Thurgarton Priory, Notts. Mr. Roach Smith has noticed it, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vol. v. p. 228.<sup>7</sup> He is disposed to adopt the explanation that the letters LVT· signify, as before mentioned, *lutum* or *lutum*, washed or purified metal, a reading confirmed by a passage in Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. c. 16, where the word *elutia* is stated to be applied to tin found in the gold mines of Spain and Portugal, as designating its being washed from the vein by water. The inscription reads as follows:—C·IVL·PROTI·BRET·LVT·EX·ARG· Between the words are introduced heart-shaped stops, possibly intended to represent leaves. Weight, 184lbs. Length of the inscribed surface 19½ inches; width 3½ inches. The letters measure an inch in length. A cast from this pig may be seen in the Museum of Practical Geology.

A pig of lead was found, as it is stated, at Castleton, Derbyshire, upon which the letters IM· only could be decyphered. Mr. Mawe, according to information cited by Professor Phillips (*Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, for March, 1848), described it as having been preserved in the Museum of Mr. Greene, at Lichfield. No mention, however, is found of this relic in the Catalogue of that Collection printed by him; it is not noticed by Lysons, nor in Bateman's *Antiquities of Derbyshire*.

A pig of lead was found in 1774, in or near a Roman entrenchment, on the North bank of the river Almond, Perthshire, near its confluence with the Tay. There appears to have existed there, as noticed by Maitland (*Hist. of Scot.* i. 198, written about 1750), a Roman station or camp on a rising ground, subsequently washed away by encroachments of the river. Many Roman vestiges and interments were thus brought to light, especially a large urn, described as lined with bronze; notice having thus been called

<sup>6</sup> Pegge states the weight to be 84 lbs.

<sup>7</sup> This pig is noticed also, *Journal*

*Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. viii. p. 55;

Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 238.

to the site, certain semicircular pillars, as they were described, were observed in the perishing bank, extending from its summit down to the bed of the river. The mould forming these pillars, eight in number, was black, contrasting with the reddish colour of the bank. They were about 18 ft. in height, and 10 ft. apart; at the bottom of each one or more urns were found, which led to the supposition that the so-called pillars were of sepulchral character. These had, however, evidently been shafts, resembling in their character the remarkable rubbish-pits, or *favissæ*, of which examples have repeatedly occurred near sites of Roman occupation, as noticed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 451, and in this *Journal*, vol. viii. p. 95, vol. xii. p. 111. After the winter floods in 1774, some gentlemen from Perth whilst exploring these singular remains found a large amphora, or urn, resting on a flanged tile, and near it lay decayed portions of a helmet and spear nearly consumed by rust. Beneath was found an "oblong bar of lead," 73lbs. in weight, on one side of which were these marks— $\times$  J. <sup>II</sup> ~~xxxx~~, probably indicating its weight. This pig does not appear to have been preserved. See "the *Muses Threnodie*," edited by Cant, pp. 21, 25, Perth, 1774, cited by Stuart in the *Caledonia Romana*, p. 206; Wilson's *Prehist. Annals*, p. 392. Stuart considers it probable that this station may have been the *Orrea* of Richard of Cirencester.

Another pig of lead was found at Kirkintulloch, Dumbartonshire, on the line of the Barrier of Antoninus, between the Forth and the Clyde. Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, pp. 207, 323, relates that whilst Mr. Stewart of Peel, Kirkintulloch, a station on the Barrier of Antoninus Pius, was engaged some years ago in levelling part of the Station, of which he was the proprietor, he found considerable remains of buildings, and among them "a bar of lead, marked with some Roman characters, not sufficiently legible (says Stuart) to enable us to present the reader with a copy; but probably, like those which appeared on the block discovered at the mouth of the Almond, intended to indicate the weight of the metal, or bearing reference to some imperial tax." I am indebted to Mr. John Buchanan of Glasgow, a careful investigator of Roman vestiges in North Britain, for the information that the mark seen by him in 1826, was CCLXX., on the centre of the bar. The pig measured about 24 in. by 6 in., and had been sawn asunder by Mr. Stewart in expectation of finding a core of gold.

Three pigs of lead were found at Saham, Norfolk: no record is preserved of any inscription. Mr. Woodward, in his *Descriptive Outline of Roman remains in Norfolk*, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1830, states that in the parish of Saham, near the supposed line of Roman road leading westwards from Norwich, "in removing Saham wood, some years ago, three pigs of Roman lead were discovered, and sold to the village plumber." *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 369. I am indebted to the Rev. W. H. Parker, Rector of Saham, for recent information confirming this statement. The pigs, as he states, were found about forty years ago; they were purchased by a plumber named Pitts, now deceased.

Mr. Bateman, in his *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 135, after noticing the examples found near Matlock, observes that "besides these inscribed pigs of lead, others of a similar form, without the important accompaniment of a legend, have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Wirksworth. From the similarity of shape, the presumption is strongly in favour of their Roman origin." Again, p. 159, Mr. Bateman enumerates Roman coins and relics, found upon Oker Hill, near Darley-in-the-Dale,

adding that "in 1846, a pig of lead of the Roman shape was dug up near some ancient mineral works on the Hill."

A pig of lead was found, July 31, 1849, outside the walls of Flint Castle, supposed to be coeval with the building, and brought for fastening iron clamps in the foundation stones. It appears to have been cast in a clay mould, the impression of the moulder's finger-marks being visible on the lower part. It is a very rude casting as compared with the Roman pigs. *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. v. p. 297.

Mr. Franks has informed me of the recent discovery of a Cake of lead, of irregularly oval form, 7 inches by 4, apparently cast in a roughly dished cavity on a piece of stone. It was found, as it is believed, in the Thames, near Battersea Bridge.<sup>8</sup> The weight is nearly 44 oz. On the upper surface are impressions of two stamps; one of them, twice impressed, appears to read SYAGR, the R being reversed; the other is remarkable, being the monogram of the name of Our Lord, composed of the Greek letters Chi (reversed) and Rho, surrounded by letters, of which the following are legible.—SPES. The sixth letter was probably an s, but it is now very indistinct. These impressions (here figured) were formed with stamps in intaglio, like seals: the letters on the lead are in relief. The occurrence of the Christian monogram is a feature of considerable interest: it has hitherto been noticed twice only, in connection with remains assigned to the Roman period in Britain, one of these being a silver cup found at Corbridge, Northumberland, and hitherto unpublished; the other the fine mosaic floor excavated by Lysons, at Frampton, Dorset, in which the Greek monogram of the Saviour's name is



found strangely combined with the head of Neptune and subjects of Pagan mythology. It must be admitted that the Roman character of the *massa plumbi* found in the Thames cannot be considered as established.

In connection with the foregoing notices of the relics of early metallurgy in Britain, it may not be irrelevant to record the few facts which have fallen under our observation regarding any block or pig of tin found in the British Islands. In the neighbourhood of Penzance, there appears to have existed formerly a mould for such objects, as it is described by a writer "On the Study of Antiquities" in 1791, whose letter appears in the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxi. part i. p. 34. He there states that he had recently

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Bateman, in his collection of Antiquities of Derbyshire, has specimens of circular or oval cakes of lead apparently smelted by wood fires, and cast in a simple depression in the earth. They precisely resemble in form that above described, being flat on one side and convex on the other. One was found

at Cromford, May, 1848; another, weighing 25 lbs., on Eyam Moor, in 1849. In the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street, may be seen an oval cake of tin similar in form and dimensions to the leaden cake above described, found in the Thames.

visited a gentleman in that locality, who possessed "among other things a mould by which the blocks of tin used to be cast, in the times when the Phœnicians traded to Britain for tin." Unfortunately, no account is given of the form or dimensions of the mould, the writer's attention having apparently been diverted by finding in Mr. Price's cabinet a gold crescent found near Penzance, and supposed to have been worn by the Druids when cutting mistletoe. The most remarkable specimen of ancient tin discovered in Britain is the double pig, here figured; it was dredged up in Falmouth Harbour about 1810 (?), and it is now preserved in the Truro Museum.



The dimensions are, length 2 ft. 11 in.; width 11 in.; width of the solid portion between the two forked openings  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A piece has been cut off at one end, and near that part there is an impressed bifurcate mark, 3 inches long,  $\frac{3}{4}$  wide, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  deep, which has been regarded by some persons as a miniature representation or symbol of the double pig itself. The weight of the block, which is very ponderous, has not been ascertained. It was found in dredging for sand, between Pendinas and St. Mawes. A notice of this remarkable relic is given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his notes on Rawlinson's translation of Herodotus recently published, vol. ii. Another remarkable relic of ancient metallurgy is to be seen in the Truro Museum, a portion apparently of a pig or block of tin; it was found at Carnanton in the parish of Mawgan-in-Pyder, Cornwall, near the ruins of a "Jews' House," as certain ancient smelting works are termed in that county. It measures 20 inches in length; width, 9 inches; thickness, 3 inches: one side being convex, taking the form of the mould, the other is flat. (See woodcut.) The type of an ingot, thus pointed at its extremities, is not without precedent; it is probable that the obtusely pointed fragment of bronze found about 1849 in the old workings at the Ormes Head, Llandudno, with stone mauls, and presented by the Hon. W. O. Stanley to the British Museum, was a portion of such an ingot. There is a perfect ingot of bronze, from the Bähr Collection, in the British Museum, it was found in Livonia, and terminates in this pointed fashion: it measures about 15 inches in length. In the Exhibition in Hyde Park, 1851, a block of tin was produced, thus described:—"A rude smelted block of tin, supplied by Mr. G. N. Simmons, found in Ladock, near Truro, and supposed to have been smelted when the Phœnicians traded to Cornwall for tin." Mineral Products, No. 468. A Florentine writer of the fourteenth century writes of the export of tin in ong square slabs. Geol. Trans. Cornw., vol. iii. p. 129.



Several Roman pigs of lead have been discovered on the Continent. Mr. James Yates has kindly informed me of the existence of one at Châlons-sur-Saône, inscribed with the name of Septimus Severus; this "*saumon*," as objects of this kind are termed in France, has been figured in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Châlons, tome iii. pl. xi. Another, found at Lillebonne, is preserved in the Museum at Rouen, and a third at Vieil-Evreux. They are described by the Abbé Cochet in a memoir in the *Revue Archéologique*, Dec. 1856, p. 548, entitled,—"Note sur le commerce et l'Industrie du Plomb dans la Gaule et la Grande Bretagne, à l'Epoque Romaine," in which the learned author expresses the opinion that these *saumons* may be from the Shropshire mines. See also De Caumont, *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxii. p. 409. A full account of these relics of ancient metallurgy will be found in a valuable Memoir by Mr. James Yates, on Roman lead-workings, and the pigs of lead found in Great Britain and on the continent, in the forthcoming volume of Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society, for the year 1858.

The only pig of lead existing in the Collection of Antiquities at the Bibliothèque Imperiale at Paris, according to the information of M. Lenormand, communicated to me by Mr. Charles Newton, is one found in Spain, and thus inscribed—M · P · ROSCIUS · M · P · MAIC. This inscription is identical with that on a pig of lead found at Carthægena, and presented to the British Museum by Lord Palmerston, about 1849. The weight of this last is 52lbs; the form of these specimens is peculiar, being semi-cylindrical; the ends are cut off at right angles, the letters of the inscription are in relief, in a deep hollow on the curved surface. Mr. Newton suggests the following reading *in extenso*.—*Marcus Publius Roscius Marci filius Mæcia [tribu]*. A similar pig is to be seen in the Museum of Practical Geology in London, and two others are preserved in the Museum at Carthægena.

The inscribed relics of other metals of the Roman period, found in the British Islands, may in conclusion be briefly enumerated. The rude cake of copper found at Caer hên, the ancient *Conarium*, four miles from Conway, and inscribed SOCIO ROMÆ, stamped also NATSOL. in small letters, obliquely across that inscription, is still at Mostyn. (Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 63, pl. ix.) It weighs 42 pounds, and measures 11 inches in diameter. The ingot of silver found in 1777 in the Tower of London with coins of Arcadius and Honorius (A.D. 383—423), and inscribed EX OFFE HONORINI,<sup>9</sup> is preserved in the British Museum, where may also be seen the most remarkable relics of their class, the silver ingots found near Coleraine with a large hoard of silver Roman coins. One of these ingots bears the inscriptions CVR MISSI and EX OF. PATRICII. The discovery has been fully noticed in this *Journal*, vol. xi. p. 283, and in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 182, and it deserves especial notice, not less on account of the very rare occurrence of any Roman relic in Ireland, than in regard to the variety and amount of the bullion and coins discovered; the coins numbering not less than 1506, from Constantius II. to Constantius III., including fourteen emperors. The entire deposit weighed upwards of 200 oz. of silver, and was unaccompanied by any object of less precious metal.

ALBERT WAY.

<sup>9</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 292, pl. 25; *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xi. p. 409; *Monum. Hist. Brit. Inscriptions*, No. 144 a.





The Quigrich, or Crosier of St. Fillan, now in Upper Canada.

From a photograph presented to the Institute by Sir Edmund W. Head, Bart., Governor General of Canada.

Height of the original, 9 inches. Diameter at the curve, about 6½ inches.

## THE QUIGRICH, OR CROSIER OF ST FILLAN.

WITH A NOTICE OF ITS PRESENT EXISTENCE IN CANADA.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

PRESIDENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

THE singular veneration, with which certain relics of primitive missionary bishops in Scotland and in the sister kingdom have been regarded, is well known to all who have investigated the memorials connected with our earlier Ecclesiastical Antiquities. This remarkable respect towards these objects of personal use, associated with the sacred functions of the first preachers of Christian faith, arrested the attention of the learned chaplain of Henry II., Giraldus de Barri, nearly seven centuries ago. In the sister kingdom numerous examples occur, as might naturally be expected, of this peculiar *cultus*, connected with the tangible relics of the first apostles of Christianity; whilst in Scotland, notwithstanding that systematic eradication of every relic associated with rites or dogmas of the old faith, carried out by the reformers of the sixteenth century, memorials of the primitive preachers of Christian doctrine are not wanting; scarcely less remarkable as exemplifying a tenacious adherence to popular tradition, than as productions of artistic skill and taste in times commonly regarded as barbarous.

The historian, whose name has been cited, Giraldus Cambrensis, one of the earliest writers on the Topography of the British Islands, from personal observation, makes especial mention, in his *Topographia Hiberniæ*, for which he collected materials, it is believed, about the year 1185, of the great reverence with which the hand-bells and pastoral staves of primitive Christian preachers were preserved in Ireland, and also in Scotland and Wales.

This statement of the bishop-elect of St. David's is so



closely conformable to the popular belief still retained in regard to certain relics of this description, that it may be desirable to cite his own words.—“Hoc etiam non prætereundum puto; quod campanas bajulas, baculosque Sanctorum in superiore parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos, in magna reverentia tam Hiberniæ et Scotiæ, quam et Gwalliæ populus et clerus habere solent. Ita ut sacramenta super hæc, longe magis quam super Evangelia, et præstare vereantur, et pejerare. Ex vi enim quadam occulta, et iis quasi divinitus insita, necnon et vindicta (cujus præcipue Sancti illi appetibiles esse videntur) plerumque puniuntur contemptores; et graviter animadvertitur in transgressores.”<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Wilson, in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, has described several examples of the ancient *campana bajula*, the *clocca* or *clag* of the primitive Scottish Christians. Some of these bells were produced in the Museum at the Meeting of our Society in Edinburgh, in 1856. The bell of St. Kentigern, patron of Glasgow, still appears in the arms of the modern city. In later times such a relic, divested of sacred character, became evidence of hereditary rights to the custodier, as in the instance of the Bell of St. Medan, resigned in 1447 by its hereditary curator to Sir John Ogilvy. A record of this transaction has been preserved among the Airlie muniments.<sup>2</sup> The honour attached to the custody of sacred relics, as Dr. Wilson has remarked, occasioned in various cases the creation of special offices, with emoluments and lands pertaining to their holders; and the transference of these to lay impropiators, on the overthrow of the ancient ecclesiastical system, has led to the preservation of some few of the relics of primitive Scottish Saints, even to our own day.<sup>3</sup> Among objects of this nature the Bell and the Crosier of St. Fillan, the latter known as the Quigrich, were preserved at Killin in Perthshire, and held in reverence for miraculous efficacy, almost to the close of the eighteenth century.

The bell has disappeared, having, as it has been stated, been “stolen by an English antiquarian” at the commencement of the present century. Pennant visited the ruined chapel of the Celtic Saint of Strathfillan, and he describes the peculiar healing gifts ascribed to him, but he does not

<sup>1</sup> Giraldu Cambrensis, *Topogr. Hiberniæ*, tertia distinctio, cap. xxxiii.; ap. Camdeni Anglica, &c., p. 747.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. v. See Appendix to this Memoir.

<sup>3</sup> *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 660.

appear to have known of the bell or the crosier. The earliest notice of the existence of the latter is to be found in the letter addressed to the Earl of Buchan by Mr. W. Thomson, student of Christchurch, Oxford, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1785.<sup>4</sup>

His account is as follows :—"At Killin, July 5, 1782, in the house of Malice Doire, a day labourer, I was shown what he called the *Quigrich*. It is the head of a crosier, formerly belonging to St. Fillan, who gave his name to a neighbouring Strath . . . . With it is shown a copy of the King's letters of appropriation and security, which I have carefully transcribed.<sup>5</sup> The neighbours conducted me to the envied possessor of this relic, who exhibited it according to the intent of the royal investment. A youth of nineteen, the representative of his father's name, and presumptive heir to this treasure, lay drooping in an outer apartment, under the last gasp of consumption. I am induced to advertise the Society of this circumstance, lest the relic in question should, at the death of the present owner, become a sacrifice to the neediness of his heirs, and find a ready passage to the melting-pot." Mr. Thomson sent a hasty sketch of this curious relic; it was engraved to accompany his notice in the *Archæologia Scotica*, and he describes the crosier-head as of silver gilt, weighing 7 or 8 lbs.; hollow at one end for the insertion of the staff; the recurved extremity terminating in a flat surface, on which was engraved "a crucifix, having a star on each side of the body;" and an oval crystal was set on the front of this recurved part.

A memorandum in pencil appears on this communication, to the following effect :—"The owner of the relic afterwards emigrated to America, carrying the *Quigrich* with him."

Dr. Wilson, in the *Archæology of Scotland*, p. 664, cites Mr. Thomson's interesting notice of the *Quigrich*, and copies the woodcut given in the *Archæologia Scotica*. He had been unable to illustrate his account with a more accurate representation of this very curious relic, and he quotes a letter which he had received from the Rev. Æneas M'Donnell Dawson, whose own ancestors were for a time the guardians

<sup>4</sup> *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> This "*Litera pro Maliseo Doire in Strafinane*" is an official transcript of the letters of gift by James III., King of Scotland, July 11, 1487, given in by the

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procurator for Malice Doire, on Nov. 1, 1784, to be registered in the Books of the Lords of Council and Session as a Probative Writ. It is printed in full hereafter. See Appendix to this Memoir.

of St. Fillan's crosier, stating that it was in Canada, and in the keeping of the family to whose ancestor it was confided on the field of Bannockburn, when Robert Bruce, "displeased with the abbot for having abstracted from it the relics of St. Fillan, previously to the battle, from want of confidence, it is alleged, in the success of the Scottish cause, deprived him of the guardianship." The family, as Mr. Dawson remarked, lost possession of the crosier for a time, having disposed of it for a sum of money to an ancestor of his mother's family; and shortly after, ceasing to prosper, and attributing this change of circumstances to their indifference to a sacred object that had been solemnly entrusted to them, they persuaded the person who inherited the crosier from the purchaser to part with it in their favour. How remarkably is this in conformity with the statement of the historian of the twelfth century, before cited:—"Ex vi quadam occulta et iis quasi divinitus insita, necnon et vindicta (cujus præcipue Sancti illi appetibiles esse videntur) plerumque puniuntur contemptores."

Mr. Dawson stated at the same time, that he learned from a gentleman resident in the same parish in Canada as the emigrant custodiers of the Quigrich, that he had seen it; that overtures for its restoration to Scotland had been made by a Mr. Bruce, of London (doubtless the late Lord Elgin), and that £500 was the sum named as its ransom. A subsequent effort for its recovery, by a gentleman possessing estates in Strathfillan, proved equally unsuccessful.

During the past year the Institute has been indebted to the kind consideration of the Governor-General of Canada, Sir Edmund W. Head, Bart., for the following highly interesting communication, accompanied by three photographs of the crosier of St. Fillan, from which the accompanying representations have been reproduced.

The following is an abstract from his Excellency's letter, addressed to Lord Talbot de Malahide:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, TORONTO, CANADA, W.  
April 17th, 1858.

DEAR LORD TALBOT,

I venture to address you as President of the Archæological Institute, and I trust that our former acquaintance will serve as some excuse for my doing so.

At page 664 of Wilson's Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland

will be found a description and a woodcut of the "Quigrich" or crosier of St. Fillan, with an account of its having been transported to Canada. It is still in the possession of the family who hold the warrant or patent of James III. there mentioned, and who have the original deed. The head of the crosier or pastoral staff is now in the room in which I am writing, having been brought down for me to see by one of the members of the family, who knows the owner. The latter is a farmer in a very small way, near Sarnia, on the St. Clare River, near its entrance from Lake Huron. Lord Elgin offered, I believe, 150*l.* for it, which they refused. It is a most interesting relic, both for the excellence and antiquity of its work, and for the fact that it was borne at Bannockburn.

By what I can learn the possessor would be reluctant to part with it, but it is certainly a pity that it should be exposed to all the contingencies of fortune on this side of the Atlantic.

The print in Wilson's book gives a very poor idea of its form or workmanship. The material is silver (which has been gilt) laid on copper. The crystal in the front is cracked across. I enclose for the Archæological Institute, if they are worth their acceptance, some photographic impressions which I have caused to be made, and which will show what it is really like.

Professor Wilson, who now belongs to the University of Toronto, saw the original for the first time in my room to-day.

The accompanying illustrations are executed from drawings which have been very kindly prepared by Mr. Westwood from the photographs. The details of workmanship are reproduced with a degree of accuracy, which his intimate knowledge of the conventional ornament and character of ancient relics of the period could alone ensure. The peculiar form of this crosier-head appears to have been adopted only in the ancient churches of Scotland and Ireland; in our own country the pastoral staff of a bishop or an abbot terminated in a volute, either simple, or purfled with crockets and foliage, and very frequently enclosing a figure of our Lord, the Holy Lamb, or some sacred symbol. There can be no doubt that the elaborate examples of metal-work, such as the Quigrich, the pastoral staff of St. Carthag, first bishop of Lismore, brought before the Institute by the kindness of the late Duke of Devonshire,<sup>6</sup> and the pastoral staff of Maelfinnia, lately purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum from Cardinal Wiseman, were originally the costly coverings in which the simple *baculi* of the primitive fathers of the church were encased and enshrined. In like manner their rude hand-bells, mostly of iron plates riveted and dipped in melted brass, were held in no less veneration, and

<sup>6</sup> Archæological Journal, vol. vii. p. 83; figured, Archæologia, vol. xxxiii. pl. 17, p. 360.

were constantly preserved in shrines of precious goldsmith's work, of which examples are familiar to our readers ;<sup>7</sup> and these casings were from time to time renewed or replaced by more costly coverings. The long-venerated *Bachul* of Moloc, successor of St. Columba, now preserved as a symbol of ancient tenure by the Duke of Argyll, has been reduced to its primitive simplicity, having been stripped of its precious covering, of which no trace remains except the broken nails fixed in the wood in attaching that decoration. This venerable staff is figured in the Catalogue of the Museum, at the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, p. 32.

The Quigrich is described as measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, and about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  across the curve. The peculiar form of the

extremity will be better understood by comparison of the woodcuts, than by any description. The flat surface of the forepart is set with an uncut crystal, now cracked, and above appears a little bust, probably intended to represent the beatified St. Fillan, and placed upon filigree work of serpentine fashion, which may typify clouds, in allusion to the heavenly regions. (See woodcut, orig. size.) On the semicircular termination of this portion is engraved a crucifix, as already mentioned. The crook is ornamented with lozenge-shaped and triangular compartments of filigree-work, the intervening spaces being cross-hatched ; and it has a ridge or crest, enriched with several mouldings of pearled and foliated patterns. The intention of this crest appears to have been to present a flat surface upon which the hand might

conveniently rest ; it must be remembered that the *bachul*



<sup>7</sup> See notices of various examples, Catalogue of the Museum of the Institute at the Edinburgh Meeting, p. 33 ; *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 123 ; and the

Memoir by Mr. Westwood on the portable bells of the British and Irish churches, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii., pp. 230, 301 ; vol. iv. p. 13, 167.

of the early missionary saint was doubtless originally the actual walking-staff upon which he rested in his weary pilgrimage. The crosier of a later period, with which we are more familiar, had a staff of longer proportions, and was essentially the insignia of pastoral authority. The crook, it will be observed in the accompanying woodcuts, springs from a pomel worked with compartments of semicircular and triangular shape. In the former of these there were doubtless



originally some enrichments affixed to the surface, enamels possibly, niello or filigree; in the intervening spaces the peculiar interlaced ornament, known as the *triquetra*, will be noticed. It occurs upon early metal-work, and upon sculptured monuments in Scotland and the Isle of Man, with riband-patterns and scrolls; it is found likewise upon Anglo-Saxon coins, namely, those of Anlaf, king of Northumbria, deposed in A.D. 944.<sup>8</sup>

The legend of St. Fillan, as Mr. Stuart informs us, is preserved in the Breviary of Aberdeen, that venerable treasury of the traditions of the Scottish church. He is said to have been of a noble and saintly race; his mother was St. Kentigerna, daughter of a prince of Leinster. St. Fillan was baptised by St. Ybar, and at an early age entered on the monastic life under St. Mund, with whom he sojourned

<sup>8</sup> Ruding, pl. ii. fig. 2. The simple *triquetra* is well shown upon the sculptured cross at Kirk Michael, Isle of Man, figured in this Journal, vol. ii., p. 76, and in Mr. Cumming's Runic remains of the Isle of Man, plate IV. The same type

of ornament, more or less complicated, is found on the greater portion of the sculptured monuments in Scotland, figured in Mr. Chalmers' and Mr. Stuart's valuable works on those remains.

on the shores of Holy Loch, in Argyleshire, and on whose death, stated to have occurred in '962, he was chosen his successor. Warned by a vision, St. Fillan soon after withdrew to a place in the upper parts of Glendochart, where he built a church, afterwards named Strathfillan, and there his remains were interred. The legend will be found more fully narrated by Mr. Stuart in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. iii. p. xxi. The relics of St. Fillan appear to have been venerated from an early time. Boetius has recorded the miraculous appearance of his arm-bone in the Scottish camp, which greatly comforted the heart of the Bruce on the eve of Bannockburn. Bellenden, in his "Croniklis," repeats the curious legend on the authority of Boece, and it may receive some corroboration, as Mr. Stuart observes, from the fact that the Bruce made a gift towards the building of St. Fillan's church in 1329.

The privileges enjoyed by the custodier of the crosier of St. Fillan, called *Coygerach*,<sup>9</sup> otherwise written Quigrich or Quegrith, are set forth in the Inquisition held April 22, 1428, before the bailiff of Glendochart, where, as before stated, the Saint was interred at the church which he had founded. This curious document will be found appended to these notices, through the kindness of Mr. John Stuart, Secretary of the Antiquaries of Scotland, who has communicated a transcript from The Black Book of Taymouth, in which the original, preserved among the evidences of the Marquis of Breadalbane at Taymouth, is printed. The custodier (*lator*) of the relic, who was commonly called Jore, was entitled to receive annually from every inhabitant of Glendochart, a certain quantity of flour, varying according to the extent of land which each held respectively. The office of carrying or keeping the said relic had been given by the successor of St. Fillan to the ancestor of Finlay Jore, the *lator* at the time the inquest was taken. In consideration of these privileges, if it happened that any goods or chattels were stolen from an inhabitant of Glendochart, and he durst not make pursuit, either on account of some doubt in regard

<sup>9</sup> The learned biographer of St. Columba, the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., whose edition of Adamnan's life of that saint is one of the most important contributions to the early ecclesiastical history of the British Islands, has given an interpretation of this term, which he considers to be the Irish "coigerioch," stranger. See

notes, Life of Columba, p. 267. Jore, written also Deore, Doire, or Dewar, signifies, according to Dr. Reeves, a pilgrim. It appears, in this instance, to have been an official name, possibly from the relic being carried about, in accordance with the duties devolving on its custodier.

to the party, or some hostile enmity, then he should send a messenger to the said "Jore de la Coygerach," with four pence or a pair of shoes (*sotularium*) and provision for the first night. The said Jore was bound thenceforth to make pursuit for the recovery of the lost chattels throughout the realm of Scotland. This curious deed, as Mr. Stuart observes, is not a solitary instance of the anxious care by which it was sought to draw the fence of legal forms around the privilege of keeping the venerated relics of Scottish saints. Mr. Cosmo Innes brought under the notice of the Antiquaries of Scotland the remarkable feudal tenure which existed in the Island of Lismore, the seat of the old Bishoprick of Argyll.<sup>1</sup> For many centuries a little estate was held by the service of keeping the *bachul* or staff of the patron Saint, St. Moloc, a contemporary of St. Columba. The hereditary custodiers of this relic, who enjoyed their little freehold in virtue of that trust, were long popularly known as the "barons of Bachul." The land, however, having become the property of the Duke of Argyll, the staff has been transferred to his Grace's charter room at Inverary. Mr. Cosmo Innes cites another instance of such a tenure in the case of a croft of land held, according to a charter in the fifteenth century, as an appendage to the office of keeper of the staff of St. Mund. In this instance, he remarks that "the land or the tenure (for the charter is not quite explicit) bears the name of *Deowray*, a name suggesting a similar office with that which gave the name of *Deor* or *Jore* (modernised Dewar)<sup>2</sup> to the hereditary keeper of the crosier of St. Phyllan in Glendochart."<sup>3</sup>

Whilst the foregoing notices of the Quigrich were in the press, we have received, through the kindness of Mr. Westwood, the following remarks:—

"The peculiar style of the ornamentation of this relic merits considerable attention, both on account of its great dissimilarity, when compared with most of the other remains of early Celtic art, and for the possible clue which it affords to the date of the relic itself. It will be seen both from the general figure and that of the portion represented of the full size, that the ornaments consist of a number of small triangular or quadrangular plates,

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The late Dr. Jamieson saw the Quigrich in possession of a person named Dewar, in Glenartney, a vale in the district of Menteith, Perthshire, near Callender. It had belonged to his ancestors from time immemorial. Jamieson's Wallace and Bruce, vol. i. p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings, *ut supra*. p. 14, where

other Scottish crosiers are described by Mr. Joseph Robertson. The pastoral staff of St. Donan, in the diocese of Aberdeen, was carried about till the Reformation for the cure of fever and king's evil, p. 125. Several notices of crosiers of the Irish Saints, similar in character, may be found in King's Introduction to the History of the Primacy of Armagh.



on which designs, chiefly spiral, are laid in filigree work, soldered to the plates. The designs are irregular, and offer no resemblance to the beautifully regular ornamentation in the oldest Irish or Hibernian-Saxon MSS. or metal work, of which latter so interesting a collection was formed at the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. There exist, however, instances of this particular treatment on several of the relics of metal work evidently of a more recent date than the twelfth or thirteenth century. The Fiocail Phadraig, or Shrine of St. Patrick's Tooth, which was exhibited by Dr. Stokes, has small plates with filigree whorls of twisted wire, fastened upon spaces between the figures representing the Crucifixion. To this I should apprehend a date not earlier than the fourteenth century must be assigned. There is a portion of similar work in the setting of the large crystal on the front of the silver cover of the Domnach Airgid. The head of a pastoral staff in the British Museum exhibits a number of small plates ornamented with twisted wire filigree work. I may also direct attention to the staff represented in Père Martin's *Mélanges d'Archéologie*,<sup>4</sup> preserved in the Church of Montreuil; I have little hesitation in regarding it as an Irish production of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. M. Martin is disposed to assign it to the eleventh century.

"In regard to these Irish pastoral staves, I may refer to two figures, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. vii. pp. 17 and 19, which show two modes of carrying them; St. Matthew bearing a long staff on his shoulder, whilst St. Luke carries a shorter staff as a walking stick, the crook turned outwards. I may also advert to the bronze figure of St. Canice, found near the ruined Church of Aghaboe, Queen's County, figured in the History of Kilkenny Cathedral, by the Rev. J. Graves. Another illustration occurs in a metal figure on the cover of an Irish Missal, formerly in the Stowe Collection, and figured by O'Connor in his Catalogue of the Stowe MSS. Dr. Petrie has given another illustration from a sculpture at Glendalough. The Ogham stone at Bressay, Shetland, exhibited at the Meeting of the Institute in Newcastle, bears representations of Bishops with short pastoral staves."

#### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE RELICS OF ST. FILLAN.

##### INQUISITIO FACTA DE PRIVILEGIIS RELIQUÆ SANCTI FILLANI.<sup>5</sup>

HEC Inquisitio facta apud Kandrochid, xxii. die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo xxviii., coram Johanne de Spens de Perth, ballivo de Glendochirde, de et super autoritate et privilegiis ejusdam Reliquie Sancti Felani, que vulgariter dicitur *Coygerach*, per istos subscriptos, viz.: Karulum Cambell, Reginaldum Malcolmi, Donaldum McArthur, Cristinum Malcolmi, Johannem McNab, Patricium McNab, Johannem Alexandri McNab, Johannem Menzies, Duncanum Gregorii, Dugallum Gregorii, Duncanum Elpine, Alexandrum McAustillan, Nicolaum Gregorii, Johannem M Callum et Felanum Pauli, qui jurati magno sacramento dicunt, quod lator ipsius reliquie de *Coygerach*, qui Jore vulgariter dicitur, habere debet annuatim et hereditarie a quolibet inhabitante parochiam de Glendochirde, habente vel laborante mercatam terre, sive

<sup>4</sup> In the article entitled *Le Bâton Pastoral*, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> From the original in the Muniment Room at Taymouth. It was printed from that document by Mr. Cosmo Innes in the *Black Book of Breadalbane*. It

was given first from a transcript in possession of Lord Panmure in the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iii. p. 229; and much valuable information on the subject will be found in the Preface to that volume.

libere sue pro firma, dimidiam bollam farine; et de quolibet in dicta parochia habente dimidiam mercatam terre ut predicatur, libere vel pro firma, modium farine; et de quolibet in ista parochia habente quadraginta denariatas terre, dimidiam modii farine. Et, si quis alius inhabitans dictam parochiam magis quam mercatam terre haberet, nihil magis solveret quam ordinatum fuit de una mercata terre. Et quod officium gerendi dictam reliquam dabatur cuidam progenitori Finlai Jore latoris presentium hereditarie, per successorem Sancti Felani, cui officio idem Finlaius est verus et legitimus heres. Et quod ipsa privilegia usa fuerunt et habita in tempore Regis Roberti Bruys, et in tempore omnium regum a tunc usque in hodiernum diem. Pro quibus commodis et privilegiis, prefati jurati dicunt, quod si contigerit aliqua bona vel catalla rapta esse vel furata ab aliquo dictam parochiam de Glendochirde inhabitante, et is a quo ipsa bona vel catalla rapta essent vel furata, propter dubium sue persone vel inimicitias hostium, eadem bona vel catalla prosequi non auderet, tunc unum servum suum vel hominem mitteret ad eundem Jore de le Coygerach, cum quatuor denariis vel pare sotularum, cum victu prime noctis, et tunc idem Jore abinde suis propriis expensis prosequetur dicta catalla ubicunque exinde sectum querere poterit infra regnum Scotie. Et hec universa per dictam inquisitionem fuerunt inventa, anno, die, loco et mense prenominationis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Johannis de Spens ballivi antedicti presentibus est appensum, anno, die, et loco supradictis.

Another Instrument, from the same source as the preceding, records that on February 9, 1468, Margaret de Striveling, lady of Glenurquha,—

In curia de Glendochyrt tenta apud Kandrocht Kilin per balivum ejusdem a Johanne M Molcalum M' Gregour petiti firmas suas de terris de Coreheynan. Qui Johannes respondebat plane in facie prefate curie, coram omnibus ibidem existentibus denegavit, et dixit quod non accepit assedationem dictarum terrarum a dicta domina Margareta, sed a Deore de Meser, et quod non tenebatur in aliquas firmas de terminis elapsis, quia solvit illas dicto Deor' a quo accepit prefatas terras. Testibus Colino Campbel de Glenurquhay milite, domino Mauricio M Nachtag, et domino Roberto M Inayr, vicariis de Inhecadyn et Kilin, Johanne de Stirling, &c.

LITERA PRO MALISEO DOIRE, COMMORAN' IN STRAFULANE.<sup>5</sup>

James, be the grace of God, King of Scottis, to all and sindri our lieges and subditis spirituale and temporale, to quhois knaulege this our lettre sal cum, greting. Forsemekle as we haue undirstand that our servitour Malice Doire and his forebearis has had ane Relik of Sanct Fulane, callit the Quegrith, in keping of us and of oure progenitouris, of maist nobill mynde, quham God assolye, sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys and of before, and made nane obedience nor ansuere to na persoun spirituale nor temporale in ony thing concernyng the said haly Relik uthir wayis than is contenit in the auld infestments thereof, made and grantit be oure said progenitouris; We chaigr you therefor strately, and commandis that in tyme to cum, ye and ilkane of you redily ansuere, intend, and obey to the said Malise Doire, in the peciable broiking and joicing of the said Relik, and that ye, na nane of you, tak upon hand to compell nor distrenye him to mak obedience, nor ansuere to you nor till ony uthir, but allenarly to

<sup>5</sup> Printed in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 240, and in the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iii. p. 240, with a

notice of its Registration as a Probative Writ in 1734, and, from the original, in "The Black Book of Taymouth," p. xxxvi.

us and our successouris, according to the said infeftment and fundatioun of the said Relik, and siclike as wes uss and wount in the tyme of oure said progenitouris of maist nobill mynde of before ; and that ye mak him nane impediment, letting, nor distroublance in the passing with the said Relik throu the contre, as he and his forebearis wes wount to do ; and that ye and ilkane of you in oure name and autorite kepe him unthralit, bot to remane in siclike fredome and liberte of the said Relik, like as is contenit in the said infeftment, undir all the hiest pane and charge that ye and ilk ane of you may amit and inrun anent us in that pairt. Gevin undir oure priue sele, at Edinburgh, this vj. day of Julij, the yere of God j.<sup>m</sup> iiiij.<sup>o</sup> lxxxvii. yeris, and of oure regnne the xxvij. yere. JAMES R.

#### NOTE ON THE BELLS OF ST. FILLAN AND ST MEDAN.

WE are indebted to the kindness of Mr. John Stuart, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for the following curious particulars :—

"The Bell of St. Fillan, as well as his Crosier, was held in great repute in old times. It is said that it usually lay on a gravestone in the churchyard of Killin, and when mad people were brought to be dipped in the saint's pool, it was necessary to perform certain ceremonies. After remaining all night in the chapel bound with ropes, the bell was set upon their head with great solemnity. It was the popular opinion that if stolen, it would extricate itself out of the thief's hands and return home ringing all the way (Old Stat. Acc., vol. 17. p. 377). According to the recent Statistical Account of the parish, the bell was stolen by an English antiquarian about forty years ago, and has not proclaimed its return as yet.

"The Bells<sup>6</sup> of the Celtic Saints both in Scotland and Ireland were objects of considerable importance, and they were frequently committed to the custody of hereditary keepers in whose families they were handed down for centuries. Some years ago I arranged the charters of the Earl of Airlie, and in doing so, made transcripts of two instruments relating to one of these bells, which illustrate, in a very interesting manner, ancient usages connected with relics of this description. They were subsequently printed in the Spalding Miscellany, vol. iv. pp. 117, 118. By the first deed, dated 27th June, 1447, Michael David, the hereditary keeper of the bell of St. Medan, appeared in presence of Sir John Ogilvy of Luntrethynne, the over-lord of the same, within his Castle of Airlie, and resigned the said bell into his hands with all the pertinents thereof, after which the said Sir John Ogilvy made over the said bell to his wife Margaret Countess of Moray (here first revealed to the Peerage writers) for her liferent use ; and by a subsequent instrument, dated 18th July, 1447, and entitled "The Instrument of Sessyn of the Bell," it appears that the Countess of Moray appeared in presence of a notary, at the house or toft belonging to the bell of St. Medan, along with her husband's brother James Ogilvy, and asked from the latter as baillie for his brother Sir John, that she should have possession or saisin, to which he agreed, and then having shut the Countess into the said toft or house, he gave possession to her by the delivery of the feudal symbols of earth and stone. It is to be presumed from the circumstances of the case that the dues exigible by the Keeper of the Bell were of some importance."

<sup>6</sup> On this subject reference may be made to a note by Mr. Joseph Robertson,

in the Book of our Lady College, printed for the Maitland Club, Preface, p. xxv.

NOTICES OF WROXETER, THE ROMAN URIOCONIUM,  
IN SHROPSHIRE.

BY THE REV. HARRY. M. SCARTE, M.A.

THE increasing interest with which the traces of the Roman occupation of Britain are regarded, and more especially the praiseworthy efforts recently made to rescue from oblivion the neglected vestiges of the great Roman city of the Welsh Marches, URIOCONIUM, have encouraged the hope that, on the eve of a systematic exploration of its extensive remains, some detailed notice of its position and history, as also of the relics of Roman times heretofore discovered, may not be unacceptable to the readers of this Journal. Some of them, doubtless, are already familiar with the interest and striking position of Wroxeter, which was visited during the meeting of the Institute in Shrewsbury, in 1855. In the following memoir will be found the substance of the communication prepared for that occasion, and I have endeavoured to combine, with the results of personal observation, all facts of importance hitherto recorded, and scattered notices by various writers who have treated of the antiquities of a locality, which for some years I have regarded as fraught with peculiar interest.

Among those who have directed their attention to the Roman remains at Wroxeter, I would specially acknowledge the assistance which I have derived from the account given by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in the *Salopia Antiqua*. I have been much indebted to a MS. account of Wroxeter, illustrated by drawings of the remains found at various times, compiled by the late Mr. Farmer Dukes, of Shrewsbury, and by him presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London; through their courtesy I have been allowed access to these collections. The late Rev. J. B. Blakeway, the historian of Shrewsbury, had collected many MS. notes on Wroxeter, which were left by him to the Bodleian Library. Through the kindness of a member of the Institute I have obtained a copy of these valuable documents, my attention having been first directed to them by the historian of Shropshire, the

Rev. R. Wynne Eyton. Much information is contained in the Philosophical Transactions and in the Archæologia, which has for the most part been carefully brought together by the writers I have mentioned. I would also acknowledge the assistance I have received from Mr. Pidgeon of Shrewsbury, who has kindly given me information, and who has devoted a few pages of his "Memorials of Shrewsbury" to examine into the history of Wroxeter, regarding it, with Horsley, as the origin of the town of Shrewsbury.

If we would search into the origin of Wroxeter, we must turn our attention to the neighbouring mountain, and we shall find that the camp on the Wrekin is much anterior, and in all probability may be regarded as the origin of the Roman city of *Urioconium*. The form of this encampment has been thus described by Mr. Hartshorne. On ascending from the east, a ditch is crossed near the summit, which following the course of the eminence, runs distinctly visible from N.E. to S.S.W. for 50 paces. The fosse is very narrow, and does not seem, when in its most perfect state, ever to have been deep; its present width is scarcely 3 yards. Below this rampart was formerly another, which is now in great measure obliterated; it was once much more distinct. This camp has been assigned to the period of Caractacus. The gate of entrance at the north end is called Heaven-gate, and the fall on the north-east, although very precipitous, is strengthened by a ditch, which may be discerned for 30 or 40 yards. The width of the portals or sides of this gate, is about 6 feet. At the top of a ridge within the camp there is a tumulus<sup>1</sup> about 4 feet high, 16 paces across its crest, with a slight indentation in the middle. About 40 paces further is another gate of entrance, the portals of which have an oblong form; they are 25 yards long and 12 across, but the same distance asunder. These are called Hell-gate.<sup>2</sup>

Various derivations have been given for the name Wrekin. The Celtic *Bre*, synonymous with *Vre* or *Wre* signifies a hill, and *ken*, the chief or principal. Wre-ken

<sup>1</sup> I cannot but regard this tumulus as the remains of a beacon, used no doubt in the earliest times to communicate signals to the camps within sight. The Romans, after they became possessed of this camp, no doubt used it for a similar purpose, and it would serve as an outpost

for defence of the city on the eastern side from whence it commanded a view of the course of the long line of the Watling street road which passed close under it.

<sup>2</sup> Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 89.

may therefore signify the chief or conspicuous hill. Llywarc Hên calls it Ddinlle Vrecon, or the high-placed city of Wrecon.<sup>3</sup> The name has also been derived from the Gaelic *Braighe*, pronounced and written Bre and Bri, a hill, and *In*, land—the Hill or Headland.

Nennius mentions *Caer Urnach*, which has generally been considered to mean Wroxeter; and Baxter has conjectured that Urnach was abbreviated from *Uar na ùag, ad cervicem fluctus*. This subject has been fully discussed by Mr. Harts-horne, and we refer our readers to his work, where these and other etymological speculations on this difficult question are set forth. It may suffice here to remark that the name may be derived according to these learned arguments either from the mountain or from the junction of the two rivers, on which the city has stood. Both derivations describe its position. I should certainly, however, prefer the former, the mountain being the most remarkable feature; and, moreover, the former is not peculiar, for if we examine the position of Roman stations in this Island and elsewhere, we find them commonly placed at the confluence of rivers.

The settlement of the Station of Urioconium is involved in obscurity. It is probable that it originated in the campaign of Ostorius against Caractacus, whose memory is preserved in one of the hills which forms a most picturesque feature in the view from Wroxeter. On the *Caer Caradoc*, one of the heights to the south-west, is situated a camp ascribed to Caractacus, and supposed to be near the scene of the battle described by Tacitus, which ended in the entire defeat of that chief. The Breidden, however, seems to present a better claim to that honour.

The hill-fortresses are the earliest vestiges which we possess of the ancient inhabitants of this island, and these were no sooner taken possession of by their Roman conquerors, than they selected an eligible site for their fortified station or city, generally not far distant from the British settlement. This I have remarked in Somersetshire. In the neighbourhood of Bath there are the traces of an ancient British settlement on Hampton Down, one of the

<sup>3</sup> The words of Llywarch are—"I have gazed on the vale of Freuer from Ddinlle Vrecon," which is translated the 'high placed city of the Wrekin.' This derivation of Urioconium will appear more pro-

bable when we consider the name Wroc-wardine, a village on the opposite side of the mountain, which may be conceived to derive its name from Wrekin Worthen, "the village of the Wrekin."

hills immediately overhanging the present city, and on the opposite hill are the remains of a Roman camp, established, before the valley below, where the hot springs rise, became occupied, and formed the foundation of the present city of Bath.

If we consider the situation of Urioconium, we perceive that it is admirably chosen for security, as well as placed in a fertile district, remarkable for its salubrity. Urioconium was situated on the borders of the Cornavii, on the boundary between them and the Ordovices. The camp on the Wrekin seems to have been a border fortress or fastness of the Cornavii, and the Roman fortified city of Urioconium which succeeded possessed great advantages as a military station; on two sides it is protected by the deep and rapid rivers, the Severn and the Tern, which have their junction near the city. The Wrekin, which rises 1370 feet above the level of the plain, is situated on the eastern side, between the Severn and the Watling Street, and about three miles distant, affording a good point of observation. From the top of this mountain the surrounding country is visible to a distance of seventy-five miles, and thus signals could be conveyed for a great distance by means of fire. The adjoining district is abundantly intersected by large streams, and anciently abounded in extensive meres or pools, many of them being some miles in circumference. The river Tern rises at Mere Pool in the county of Stafford, and flows through a country abounding with marshes and peat lands, which are soft and dangerous, and difficult to pass over.

The northern and north-west portion of the county extending to the confines of Wales, and towards Cheshire and Staffordshire, is still full of morasses, notwithstanding the improvements which have taken place in draining the country since the Norman conquest. This must have rendered it nearly impenetrable in the early period of the Roman occupation. It was, moreover, the point from whence the still unsubdued inhabitants of North Wales might be held in check; the city may indeed have originated in a camp formed as a basis of operations against the Britons who had retreated to that remote part of the island.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Harwood, Phil. Tr., No. 306, conjectures that Wroxeter was founded by Suetonius or Agricola in the march to

subdue Mona. By the circumstance of Urioconium being placed on the eastern bank of the Severn, it should appear that

The first writer of antiquity by whom Wroxeter is mentioned is Ptolemy, who speaks of *Οὐριοκονίον* as one of the chief cities of the Cornavii. This name is found in the Itinerary of Antoninus under the Latinised form URIOCONIUM; and, according to the doubtful authority of Richard of Cirencester, Uriconium (*sic*), which he calls also Virioconium, was one of the largest cities in Britain.<sup>5</sup> In the second Iter of Antoninus, it is placed between Rutunium and Usacona, and, as Mr. Hartshorne observes, the distance between Rowton Castle and Oaken Gates (where an Hypocaust has been found), exactly corresponds with the numbers of the Itinerary.

Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, published in 1732, thus speaks of Wroxeter: "Urioconium, 11 miles in the Itinerary of Antonine from Rutunium (Rowton), has with good reason been fixed at Wroxeter. I spent the greatest part of a day with much pleasure, in viewing that place and the antiquities of it. . . . The town has been very large, and also the fortified ground. It is situated on the north or north-east side of the Severn, and on the other side of the place runs a small rivulet; so that this (as many other Roman stations) has been situated on a *lingula*, near the confluence of a rivulet and a larger river. There is a piece of old wall yet standing, which has in it three regular *strata* of Roman brick, each *stratum* consisting of the thickness of two bricks. It is about 8 yards high, and about 20 yards long. The field this stands in, I thought to be the *prætorium*; for like Aldborough in Yorkshire, the whole city seems to have been encompassed with a rampart and ditch, above half a mile square, the vestiges of which may still be discerned. . . . Shrewsbury, which is a large pleasant town, has probably arose out of the ruins of Urioconium, from which it is three miles distant. Here again the way divides into two, forming the usual angle. One branch goes towards the Strettons, and so into Herefordshire, which is also called Watling Street; the other branch goes into Staffordshire."<sup>6</sup>

This passage has been often quoted, and it might have been thought superfluous here to repeat it, were it not for a

those parts of Shropshire which lay to the west of that river were still in the hands of the Britons. See Blakeway's MS., Bod. Lib., Ox.

<sup>5</sup> Ric. Corinensis de situ Brit., lib. i. c. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Britannia Romana*, p. 419, book iii. ch. ii. Essay on Antonine's Itinerary of Britain.



MS. note from the pen of that learned antiquary, the Rev. T. Leman, which is worth preserving. He says, "I do not understand what Horsley means by the way at this place dividing into two, for besides the north-east Watling-Street, which passed through it from Caer Segont to Richborough, there were great roads branching from it in every direction to Caerleon, to Chester, to Kinderton, to Chesterton, and towards Worcester." Mr. Leman also observes that Viroconium was the capital of the Cornavii, and stood on the Great British trackway, the Watling Street. He conceives the Roman roads to have been formed on the lines of British Trackways previously existing.

The soil immediately within part of the limits of the ancient city is of a black colour, and remarkable for its fertility. This was attributed to its having been burned. The fact that the city suffered more than one conflagration can scarcely be questioned. The remains of burned matter, of which more than one layer has been found, appear to prove the fact, but that such conflagration should cause the general blackness of the soil may appear questionable. I believe that in most places where a Roman town has existed, the ground on which it stood can be distinguished by its dark colour. This notion, however, prevailed so long ago as 1701, when Mr. Lyster wrote his account of a Sudatory found at Urioconium.

It has been supposed from the Saxon name, Wreaken Ceaster, that the Saxon invaders found the city in ruin when they settled in this part of the island, as if that word denoted the wrecked city. This name, however, probably signifies only the City of the Wrekin, the Saxon name corresponding to that of the Roman, and each indicating the city, from the name of the contiguous mountain. In the absence of any historical evidence, it is impossible to decide whether it was ruined by accidental fire, by the inroads of the Picts before the arrival of the Saxons, or, as appears most probable, by some irruption from the inhabitants of North Wales.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> It seems scarcely needful to advert to the iron seal found at Wroxeter, described by Baxter in his Glossary, under Veroconium, p. 243, and cited on his authority by Mr. Blakeway, as a proof that Wroxeter was not destroyed by the Saxons. Baxter conjectured, that it might have belonged to Offa, king of

Mercia, but no argument can be grounded on this relic, which represented a *regulus*, or petty prince, crowned, with the legend, CAPVT SERVI DEI. An impression of the seal was sent to Mr. Blakeway by the Vicar, the Rev. T. Markham. See Phil. Trans., No. 309.

Mr. Blakeway observes that the city had probably been abandoned as a military station by the Romans, together with other internal stations of the island, before the time of the second Theodosius, A.D. 450, as no mention of it occurs in the Notitia a few years earlier. Mr. Lloyd (MS. Hist. of Shropshire, p. 24) fixes its ruin between 520 and 594. If it had continued to the time of Danish invasions, some Saxon relics, Mr. Blakeway supposes, might doubtless have been found, as well as Roman antiquities which are very numerous. Mr. Blakeway observes that the conjecture of Baxter that it continued "*pene ad octavum seculum*" is founded upon two words of the geographer of Ravenna, who lived in the tenth century. He considers that the notion of its having been the head city of the Cornavii, and afterwards the royal seat of the Mercians, is wholly untenable; and in conclusion he sums up his investigation thus:—That the place was Roman, and was deserted by that people before the completion of the Notitia, (*circa* 445): (for otherwise would it not have been included in that document?) That it was afterwards inhabited by the British who were Christians, till its demolition, which did not probably take place till after the days of Llywarch Hên, (*circa* 590) but that soon after that period it was reduced to ashes, either by the North Welsh or Saxons.<sup>8</sup>

The extent of the circumference of Urioconium was not less than three miles, and it contained an area of from 300 to 400 acres. A vallum and fosse, still discernible, encircled the whole. Mr. Hartshorne has given an account of the boundary, and to his work I must refer for a minute description.<sup>9</sup> The road leading from the Horse Shoes Inn, now a mere lane, may be regarded as the line of the ancient Watling Street, leading into the city on the east side, and outside the gate in that direction was the burying ground of the

<sup>8</sup> In the late Mr. Kemble's invaluable work, the Codex Diplom. Ævi Sax., tom. ii. p. 58, No. cclxxvii, there is a charter of Burgred of Mercia, A.D. 855, containing the following passage:—"Et illam terram III. manentium in Beonetlege in occidentale plaga Saebrine etiam liberabo a pascua porcorum regis quod nominamus Fearlesneue. . . . . Gesta est autem hujus libertatis donatum anno dñice Incarnationis DCCCLV. indictione III. in loco qui vocatur Osuualdesdun,

quando fuerunt pagani in Ureocensetun." It has been suggested that Ureocensetun, which is here mentioned as in the hands of the Pagans, i.e., the Danes, may have been identical with Urioconium. If this be admitted, this charter would bring the existence of that city down to the year 855; and this, it must be observed, agrees with the account of the geographer of Ravenna.

<sup>9</sup> Salopia Antiqua, p. 128.

city, as indicated by the four sepulchral monuments which were found in 1752 about half a mile from the circuit of the wall. A small rivulet called Bell Brook passes through the northern portion of the city.<sup>1</sup>

The most prominent feature of the ancient city is the "Old Wall," which stands in a field adjoining the road which leads from Buildwas to Shrewsbury. This is a remarkable example of Roman masonry. It has been carefully described by Mr. Hartshorne with an accurate representation of its peculiar construction. Mr. Carte of Leicester, in 1721, appears to have been the first who called the attention of antiquaries to this interesting specimen of Roman masonry. When Mr. Lloyd made his collections for a history of the county, it was 20 feet high and 100 feet long. Horsley has left a concise description of it. He gives the dimensions as almost eight yards high, twenty long, and he adds,—“the field this stands in I thought to be the *prætorium*.” It is difficult to conjecture the purposes of this building. Baxter supposed it was a bath, an opinion to which he was led by the discovery of a Hypocaust in its immediate vicinity. I confess that, in examining the remains of the ancient Roman baths at Trèves, I was much struck by the similarity of the appearance of the masonry. It may, however, have formed a portion of the public granary, or have been a Basilica. With respect to the probable date of this building, a discovery occurred in 1841, since the publication of Mr. Hartshorne's work, by which an approximation may possibly be made to the date of the erection. A large brass coin of Trajan is said to have been found embedded in the mortar of the "Old Wall." Hence, perhaps, it may be inferred that Urioconium was built at the end of the first, or early in the succeeding century.

In an account of the Hypocaust found in 1788, I must refer to the Philosophical Transactions, No. 306, to Mr. Hartshorne's Salopia, and to plans and details given in the Archaeologia, vol. ix. p. 323. Mr. Dukes' MS. contains an

<sup>1</sup> At the point where the ford crosses the river, just below the church, and where the Watling Street is discernable, in a lane which points direct for the Stretton Hills, we find the remains probably of a fort commanding the entrance of the city at that point, in the high mounds which still remain. Here, also, not far distant, was found in the river

the capital of a column elegantly sculptured. On the northern side, where the city wall again leaves the river, the remains of a cut or canal, by which boats could be brought up to the wall, may be discovered, just beyond Mr. Stanier's cottage, on the road leading to Attingham.

excellent drawing of the remains, and a full description. Mr. Blakeway states that the discovery occurred thus. Mr. Bennett, the occupier of the field to the north of the Old Wall, observing the sterility of a square plot about forty perches distant from the wall, determined to dig, and thereby discover the cause. As the ground was then unsown, they dug in a wrong place, and found only the foundations of old walls. But, as the inhabitants took advantage of the ground being opened to get out the stones, some of them at length came to the western corner of the unprofitable ground. Here they found a little door, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, which opened into a chamber 7 feet high by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  wide, it was ceiled over, and in perfect preservation. The Hypocaust seems to have been constructed with the materials of some former building, as is often found to be the case with Roman remains, the floor being supported by pillars of unequal length and dimensions, and the intervals being made up with tiles. The tessellated floors which have been found at Urioconium are very well given in Mr. Dukes' MS. One of the drawings, p. 67, represents a floor found in 1734; the form is oblong, and semicircular at one extremity; it is composed of green, red, white, and blue tesserae, the green forming the outside border. There are also representations of a square pavement found in 1706, and of another discovered in 1827, of oblong form, with a green border, the colours of the pattern being white and blue.

During the year 1854, some remains of a very interesting character were discovered in digging the foundations for some buildings in course of construction by the tenant Mr. Stanier. These consisted of four square bases with square columns upon them, distant from each other at regular intervals of 9 ft., thus forming a frontage of 36 ft., facing towards the Wrekin. They seem to have formed the portico of a temple or Basilica. On account of the remaining space being built upon, the excavation was not continued. The fold-yard occupies the spot where the building stood. Mr. Ashdown kindly communicated the following account to me,—“At the depth of 4 feet some old iron bars were discovered, which had evidently undergone the action of great heat; at a little further depth some remains of a lime floor, and broken urns were found lying upon it. In sinking the well, some oyster shells were raised from many feet below the level of the ground.”

In the year 1747, an account of some clay moulds, for forging Roman coin, including one with the head of Julia, wife of Severus, found at Wroxeter, was communicated to the Royal Society, which is published in the Philosophical Transactions.<sup>2</sup> Four of the five moulds described were found in digging sand at Ryton, near Condover, five miles from Urioconium. They were all of the size of a denarius, and made of smooth brick clay. Great numbers of them were found, but for want of care were broken in pieces.<sup>3</sup> Similar objects appear to have been previously found. On January 30, 1722, Mr. Price brought to the Society of Antiquaries two clay moulds for casting coins, found at Wroxeter, and then in possession of the Rev. Mr. Rawlins, the incumbent. One was for coins of Severus, the other of Plautilla, with reverses.

Before treating of the funeral inscriptions which have been found, I may mention that many urns have been discovered; also human skeletons deposited in red clay spread both over and under them, and covered over with thin slabs of stone, over which were heaped five or six larger stones and clay.<sup>4</sup> Several skulls are said to have been found in hollows towards the Severn.

It does not appear that any stone coffins have been found similar to those discovered at York, Bath, Caerleon, and other Roman stations. Where stone was plentiful and more generally worked, the mode of burial seems to have corresponded with the locality and the material it afforded. I have mentioned that the site of the ancient burial-ground was, as is invariably the case, in Roman cities without the gates. The monuments discovered there are interesting. There is no account of any such relic found before September, 1752, when Mr. John Sias, in ploughing, struck upon a stone which lay with its face downwards, about 300 yards from the city wall on the N.E. side, towards the Watling Street. This stone is about 4 feet 5 inches high, and about 2 feet 3 inches wide. The upper part has the form of a pediment, with a pine cone rising from the apex, between two lions, in the middle of

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xliv. p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> See Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough, vol. iii. p. 13; *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Two urns of unbaked clay, containing the ashes of bones reduced to powder, are now in the possession of Mr. Stanier.

They were found in the village; also a leaden sarcophagus, of small size, was exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury Meeting in 1855. This little *ossuarium* contained calcined bones, and an earthen jar.

the pediment is a rose.<sup>5</sup> The inscription is as follows:—  
 C. MANNIVS C. F. POL · SECVNDVS · POLLEN · MIL · LEG · XX.  
 ANORV. LI. STIP. XXXI · BEN · LEG · PR · H · S · E. It may be  
 thus rendered:—Caius Mannius Secundus, son of Caius of  
 Pollentum, a soldier of the twentieth legion, aged 52 years;  
 having served 31 years in the legion, and being the benefi-  
 ciary of the principal legate. He rests here. Mr. Hartshorne  
 has stated that Secundus and Pollens are titles of honour,  
 bestowed by his general, but I am disposed to take a  
 different view of the inscription.

Mr. Blakeway says of this monument, that the Vicar of  
 Wroxeter, Mr. Cartwright, having read this inscription and  
 having communicated intelligence of the discovery to some  
 gentlemen in Shrewsbury, they determined to make a further  
 search, and commenced boring the ground with spits; they  
 thus brought to light two more stones not far from the first.  
 With them fragments of urns were found, and a greyish  
 dust apparently of ashes.

A second stone (found as stated), is to the memory of  
 another soldier. The length is 4 feet 10 inches, and width  
 1 foot 9 inches. Like the former it is formed with a  
 pediment in which is a patera surrounded with foliage. The  
 inscription is as follows:—M · PETRONIVS · L · F · MEN. VIC.  
 ANN · XXXVIII. MIL · LEG · XIII · GEM · MILITAVIT ANN · XVIII.  
 SIGN · FVIT · H · S · E.—Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius, of  
 the tribe Menenia, lived thirty-eight years. He was a  
 soldier of the fourteenth legion Gemina. He served  
 eighteen years, and was standard-bearer. Here he rests.

A friend who has paid some attention to the History of  
 the fourteenth Legion, and who is familiar with this inscrip-  
 tion, says,—“I feel certain that Petronius was a bearer of  
 one of the signa of the fourteenth Legion in the famous  
 victory over Boadicea, A.D. 61. This Legion arrived in  
 Britain, A.D. 43, when Petronius being only twenty years old  
 was a *miles gregarius*, and subsequently, for his valour  
 perhaps under Ostorius Scapula, raised to the rank of  
 Signifer. Being only thirty-eight when he died, the year of  
 his death was probably A.D. 62. It could not have been

<sup>5</sup> This, and the three following inscrip-  
 tions, are preserved at the Grammar  
 School, Shrewsbury, where they may  
 be seen in the library. They are figured

in Camden's *Britannia*, edit. Gough, vol.  
 iii. p. 13. See also Hartshorne's *Salopia  
 Antiqua*, p. 120, *Phil. Trans.* vol. xlix.  
 tab. v.

much later, for in A.D. 68 the fourteenth Legion was quartered in Dalmatia, (Tacitus). He may have died in consequence of his wounds in the year 61. At any rate this inscription is very interesting." If this conjecture be correct, we should be able to fix the first foundation of the Roman city Uriocoonium to the time of Ostorius.

The third is a slab 2 feet 8 inches high, and 2 feet 3 inches wide, divided into three compartments, two of which contain inscriptions, the vacant space being probably prepared for the memorial of the person who erected the monument, but whose name has never been inserted. The upper portion is ornamented by the figure of a head, on each side of which is a serpent, and on the side which is still entire, the figure of a dolphin, an ornament not unusual upon sepulchral slabs. This monument is to the wife and child of one, who doubtless at his death hoped to rest near to those who were dear to him while living, and caused a space to be left for his name and age at his decease.

D. M. PLACIDA AN · LV CVR · AC CONJ X X X	D. M. DEVCCV S · AN · XV CVRAC PATRE	
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Three marks as shown above, are at the bottom of the first compartment, which has led to the supposition that Placida was thirty years married ; they are however more probably merely an ornament, like a leaf introduced at the end of the next inscription.

A fourth sepulchral stone is the fragment of the memorial of a Thracian horseman, which like other sculptures of its class, displays a mounted warrior trampling on an enemy, as seen on a slab found at Watermore near Cirencester. Another example found at Bath is preserved in the museum of the Institution there. The slab at Wroxeter was found in a field about 200 yards N.E. of the city wall, and it was

formerly placed against the wall of the vicarage, but is now lost. The inscription is as follows:—TIB · CLAVD · TIR : : NTIVS · EQ · COH · THRACVM · AN : : ORVM LVII. STI(P) ENDIOR · XX. H. S. (E), which may be rendered:—Tiberius Claudius Tirenus (according to Mr. Blakeway, and Tirenus according to Mr. Dukes) a soldier of the Thracian Cohort, who lived 57 years and served 20. Here he rests.<sup>6</sup>

A fragment of another inscribed stone is described by Gough, in which may be traced the word MILES.<sup>7</sup> No mention of this slab is made by Mr. Hartshorne or Mr. Dukes. Gough says it lay at the side of the road under the wall of the last farm-house near the church.

Another fragment has lately been discovered, which is in the possession of the present vicar, the Rev. E. Egremont; it seems to be a portion of a mile-stone, and bears the letters CORN, and in the line below may be decyphered ALLIGN.

The only altar of which the discovery has been recorded, is one inscribed BONO REI PVBLICÆ NATVS. It is not mentioned by Mr. Hartshorne; drawings of it are given both in Mr. Dukes' and Mr. Blakeway's collections. It had been found in the garden wall at the vicarage.<sup>8</sup> The form is singular, being very broad in proportion to the height, and the top formed with a wide shallow *focus*, occupying nearly the whole of the surface. This altar exactly corresponds to the one in the Bath Literary Institution, found in 1753 with two others, at the lower end of Stall Street in that city. The Bath altar has occasioned discussion as to the special purpose for which it was intended. Mr. Warner<sup>1</sup> conceives it was intended for offerings of herbs, fruits, and flowers; while Mr. Whitaker considers that the oblong *focus* contained the pan of coal, which is stated by Solinus to have been kept burning continually in the Temple of Minerva, who in all the Bath inscriptions is designated SUL-MINERVA. The inscription on the Bath altar is SVLEVIS SVLINVS · SCLVTOR · BRVCETI · F · SACRVM F L M. The two first lines are in large letters, and appear to have been the

<sup>6</sup> It is figured in Camden's Brit. ed. Gough, vol. iii. p. 23, edit. 1806. Compare the Watermore Sculptures, Archaeologia, vol. xxvii., p. 212, plate 14. See also the Asturian horseman on the slab at Cilurnum, Bruce's Roman Wall, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> It is figured in Gough's Camden, vol.

iii. p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> It is noticed by Mr. Roach Smith, Coll. Ant. vol. iii. p. 32, and has been presented by Mr. Egremont to the Shrewsbury Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrations of Rom. Antiq. found at Bath, p. 45. No. viii.



original dedication ; the rest is in smaller letters, and seems to have been added later. The Sulevæ to whom this singular altar is dedicated, are supposed to have been the nymphs of the hot springs, the attendants on the goddess Sul. The coarse style of workmanship would lead us to assign it to a late period. The dedication on the altar found at Wroxeter occurs in two inscriptions, as also on coins of Constantine, and this might lead us to infer that the period of its erection was during the reign of that emperor.

One of the most curious relics found at Wroxeter is a small stamp, such as were used by Roman empirics and *ocularii* ; it is called by Mr. Hartshorne an "amuletal seal."<sup>2</sup> In form it is unique, being circular, the others found in various parts of Europe being oblong. The dimensions and the inscription are here shown (see woodcut). The thickness



of the stone is  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch. It has been described as of jade, but it is of the fine grained green schist, of which these stamps are usually formed. It was found in 1808 in ploughing near the "Old Wall," and it is now in the possession of Mr. Upton, of Atcham, near Shrewsbury, and was produced, with his permission, by the Rev.

Mainwaring Owen at the Meeting of the Institute. A notice of this and of other empirics' stamps found in England has been given in this Journal by Mr. Albert Way ;<sup>3</sup> and a valuable memoir by Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh, will be found in the Monthly Journal of Medical Science.<sup>4</sup> The following explanation of the inscription has been proposed, *in extenso*,—*Julii Bassi Clementis Dialbanum ad omnem* *Διαθεσιν* *uno ex ovo*," signifying, "The Dialbanum or Incense Collyrium of Julius Bassus Clemens, for every eye-disease, to be used mixed with egg." Dr. Simpson observes that the name of the practitioner or empiric, given in the first line of the seal, offers the principal difficulty in reading the inscription. The letters CLM. are probably a

<sup>2</sup> *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 126. It was first noticed and figured in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxx., p. 617. See also *Beauties of England and Wales*, Shropshire, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Journal*, vol. vii., p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Med. Science*, 1851, p. 235. See also Notes by the Rev. J. McCaul, LL.D., President of Univ. Coll., Toronto, read before the Canadian Inst., Dec., 1857.

contraction for Clemens. The B. as an initial, may stand for many names, such as Bassus, Balbus, Betutius. It is here rendered Bassus, because on an old monumental tablet found at Leyden, the *cognomen* Clemens is preceded by the *nomen gentilicium*, Bassus; showing the combination not to have been unknown among the Roman colonists in Western Europe.

I will now notice certain remains of sculpture, bronze figures, and various relics found at Wroxeter. In 1730 there was discovered in a well a piece of sculpture, described as the naked figure of a boy leaning on a wand, and standing in an alcove. It was probably a figure of Mars leaning on a spear; the left arm is imperfect, and may have borne a shield. The workmanship, as shown by the drawing in Mr. Dukes' MS., was good; and it is to be regretted that this relic has not been preserved.

Numerous remains of an architectural character, carved stones, and broken columns, have been found at various times. In Mr. Dukes' MS. may be seen a drawing of a singular fragment, apparently of a column, sculptured with two human faces, the hands in each extending below the beard; this, however, I am inclined to regard as mediæval. It appears to resemble a corbel in Wells Cathedral, at the entrance of the choir. Some sculptured fragments of greater interest are still to be seen at Wroxeter, capitals of columns, one of them richly ornamented, obtained from the bed of the Severn, and two portions of a shaft, about 13 inches in diameter, sculptured with scales or leaf-ornament, and one part with crossed bands, in heraldic language, fretty. Mr. C. Roach Smith gives two plates of these curious fragments, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*. Examples of such columns, he observes, occur in Italy and in the south of France, but nothing similar has hitherto been found in this country. On one fragment is the lower part of a figure which he supposes to represent Atys; it may have represented Bacchus, with the panther. On the other appears a winged Cupid kneeling upon a pannier and holding bunches of grapes.<sup>4</sup> These relics are now in the garden of Mr. W. H. Oatley. Mr. E. Stanier, the Duke of Cleveland's tenant, has the upper portion of the first-mentioned column; it supplies the body and head of the figure attributed by Mr. Roach

<sup>4</sup> *Collect. Ant.*, vol. iii. p. 30, pl. vi. viii.

Smith to Atys. It is to be regretted that these interesting fragments are thus disunited. Mr. Stanier possesses also some bases of columns, 33 inches in diameter, several urns, a fictile lamp ornamented with a figure of a lion, an alabaster lamp-stand, a fragment of Samian, marked IANVARI, and the rim of a mortarium with the potter's stamp, DOCILIS · F. A number of quern-stones have been found, of which several remain in Mr. Stanier's garden. Many columns of various diameter have been dug up in the field behind Mr. Stanier's cottage, where the new field buildings stand; they have been split and used as coping stones for walls, one long wall being entirely thus covered, and these fragments have been chipped, to fit the size of the wall. It is stated that a considerable number of columns lay, when discovered, in rows, so that the general ground-plan of the building might doubtless have been traced.

In the Library of King Edward's Free Grammar School at Shrewsbury, various relics from Urioconium have been preserved with the inscriptions above noticed. Among these minor objects may be mentioned a fragment of tessellated pavement; two iron implements like pickaxes; a portion of leaden pipe; a fictile lamp; bronze keys; a strigil, &c. Also a fine bronze palstave, without the side-loop; a model of the hypocaust discovered in 1701, as related by Mr. Lyster in the *Philosophical Transactions*, may also there be seen.

In 1827 a bronze statuette of Apollo holding the lyre was found; a drawing is preserved among Mr. Dukes' collections, but the dimensions are not stated; and it is not known where this figure, apparently of good workmanship, now exists. A bronze figure of Diana and one of Mercury were discovered in 1848; they were reported to be in the possession of Mr. J. M. Forster, of Shrewsbury. A drawing of a bronze figure of a lion, found in 1820, may be seen in Mr. Dukes' MS.; and in 1818, some remarkable bronze fragments, supposed to be of armour, were brought to light. In the same collections are preserved drawings of various bronze ornaments, a stylus and a small spoon, a bronze stilyard in perfect preservation, and resembling that used at the present day, the introduction of which may date from Roman times. Personal ornaments, such as rings, buckles and fibulæ, are constantly brought to light, and for the most part fall into the hands of itinerant dealers, who visit the place in quest

of such relics. Mr. Dukes has preserved drawings of numerous examples of Samian ware, including a bowl of remarkable size, also of beads, ornaments of glass and jet; and his MS. contains a detailed catalogue of coins, among which a single *aureus* is described; it is a coin of Tiberius, with the reverse, *Pontifex Maximus*. The coins of silver, and brass, plated coins, &c., are very numerous. They are locally called Dinders, a name possibly derived from the Roman *Denarius*.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Stukeley related to the Society of Antiquaries, in 1725, a story of a certain schoolmaster at Wroxeter, who was accustomed to send his boys to gather "Dinders, as they call Roman moneys," after a shower of rain, and he melted all the silver coins into a tankard. He also stated, in reference to the quantity of coins and relics found there, that the Lord of the Manor of Wroxeter, put a clause into his leases, that the tenants should bring in all antiquities found there, on pain of forfeiture of their leases; and that a vast quantity of coins and other objects discovered there were brought to Ashmole, and had perished in the fire of London.

I cannot abstain from an expression of regret that no effort has hitherto been made to collect the relics of antiquity found at Wroxeter. In the old leases of the ground there was inserted a clause requiring that all objects of antiquity discovered, should be given up to the lord of the soil.<sup>6</sup> If this care had also extended to providing a receptacle for them upon the site of the city, we should long since have had a local Museum of Roman remains, of very great interest; or, if a suitable depository had been provided in Shrewsbury, it would have been a great advantage to local history, and have presented an object of interest and instruction in a town which doubtless owes its origin, as Leland observed long ago, to the destruction of Uriconium.<sup>7</sup> Caerleon presents a most praiseworthy example, in the valuable Museum of local antiquities which has there been recently formed, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. J. E. Lee. The great interest of such collections preserved near the site of their discovery, has been shown in a remarkable

<sup>5</sup> Horsley notices this local appellation. See also Mr. Hartshorne's Glossary of Shropshire Words, under Dinder. A catalogue of coins found at Wroxeter communicated by the Rev. F. Leighton,

of Shrewsbury, may be found in Gough's Camden, vol. iii. p. 26, edit. 1806.

<sup>6</sup> See Lloyd's MS. Hist. of Shropshire.

<sup>7</sup> Leland, Coll. vol. iv. f. 181 b.

degree in the Museum formed at Cirencester by Professor Buckman, through the liberality of the Earl Bathurst.

Recent discoveries at Urioconium have given an earnest of what might still be there effected in times like the present, when the relics which throw light on our national history are more truly appreciated, and the improvements in agriculture by draining, or the operations of public works, are constantly bringing to light the vestiges of former times. The prophecy of Virgil has been fully realised,—

“*Scilicet et tempus veniet, quum finibus illis  
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
Exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,  
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,  
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.*”

VIRGIL, *Georg.* lib. i. v. 493.

Since the visit of the Institute to Wroxeter, many remains have been disinterred; and a well organised movement has at length been made for the exploration of the site of Urioconium. During the past year a committee of the Shropshire Antiquarian Society has been formed, for the purpose of making excavations on an extensive scale; the object has been liberally promoted by their President, Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., and has met with much local encouragement. It is proposed that all antiquities discovered shall be placed in the Museum at Shrewsbury, and the sanction of the Duke of Cleveland, on whose estates Wroxeter is situated, having been obtained, this laudable undertaking has commenced, it may confidently be hoped under most favourable auspices.<sup>s</sup>

HARRY M. SCARTH.

<sup>s</sup> It is very desirable that sufficient funds should be raised to carry out a complete examination of the site of the city, an undertaking necessarily attended with considerable expenses. Contributions in aid of this interesting Archæo-

logical enterprise are received by Henry Johnson, Esq., M.D., Secretary to the Committee, Shrewsbury, from whom information and a Map of the site may be obtained.

### Original Documents.

#### PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH A REMARKABLE CHARGE OF SORCERY, BROUGHT AGAINST JAMES RICHARDSON AND OTHERS, IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK, A.D. 1510.

THE following striking instance of the belief in divination, at one time so prevalent, has been extracted from one of the Archbishop's registers at York. It describes a singularly romantic scene which occurred in that wild country by which Halifax is surrounded. The evidence is highly curious, and that given by Steward, the chief offender, exhibits much shrewdness and ingenuity. The document is given without comment.

As there were many persons concerned in the adventure, it soon made a stir in the county, and came to the ears of the authorities. On the 5th of May, 1510, the Vicar-general of the Archbishop of York requested John Shaw, the Lord Mayor of York, to surrender Jameson for examination. Two days after this, he desired Thomas Lord Darcy to give up Steward, who was a Knaresborough man. On the 12th he issued a commission to the suffragan, John, Bishop of Negropont, and Richard Newitt, bachelor of decrees, to commence the examination of Steward.

The investigation being ended, on the 11th of June, 1510, the culprits submitted themselves for correction. Their punishment (Steward excepted) was as follows: on the Sunday ensuing, between ten and eleven in the morning, they were ordered to go in procession from the Minster at York, down Petergate, as far as the door of the Friars Carmelites, with bare feet and heads, and carrying three banners with certain characters and figures upon them. They were also to pass through the market at the Pavement, through Ousegate, Coney Street, and Stonegate, and to be chastised by the Dean of the Christianity of York at the gates of the Minster and of the House of the Carmelites, at the church of All Saints, Pavement, and before the house of the Augustines. Jameson was directed to carry a sceptre, Otewell at Hay a lighted torch, William Wilson a holy water fat, with "a strynkill," Wod a thurible with incense, and Laurence a torch with salt on it, "*super hastas*." On Thursday before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, they were to submit to a like punishment at Bingley.

On Thursday before the feast of St. Laurence, 1510, Steward, the chief offender, was released from excommunication with the following penance; he was to carry one of the above-mentioned banners on three several market-days around the markets at York and Knaresborough, and on two Saturdays around the churches of Knaresborough, Ripon, and Doncaster.

Jameson, the chief offender, was one of the Sheriffs of York in 1497,

and Lord Mayor in 1504. The citizens would not like to see him, only six years afterwards, doing penance with his sceptre in his hand. He died on the 20th of April, 1527, and was buried in Christ Church.

JAMES RAINE.

ARTICLES EXHIBITED AGAINST JAMES RICHARDSON, PRIEST, ACCUSED OF HERESY OR SORCERY, BY THE VICAR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

[Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 68, et seqq.]

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Articulos infrascriptos, et contentos in eisdem, Nos, Johannes Carver, decretorum doctor, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Christoferi, Dei gratia Ebor acensis Archiepiscopi, Angliæ primatis, et Apostolicæ sedis legati in remotis agentis, vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, proponimus et objicimus tibi, domino Jacobo Ricardson presbitero, super heresi sive sortilegio publice diffamato, et per laicalem potestatem pro suspitione heresis capto, et nobis deliberato, ad meram animæ tuæ correctionem et salutem, ac criminis hujusmodi extirpacionem, et non aliter nec alio modo.

In primis, objicimus et proponimus tibi quod tu es presbiter, in ordine presbiteratus publice et notorie constitutus.—Fatetur articulum.

Item, quod tu, sciens quemdam Johannem Styward de Knaresburgh uti falsis et dampnatis conjuracionibus, invocacionibus, et sortilegiis, et pro tali publice notatum et diffamatum, eundem Johannem, pro furto arte sua magica et dampnata recuperando, et pro noticia cujusdam Christoferi Scaresburgh nuper famuli fugitivi Thomæ Jameson habenda, consulisti et tractatum habuisti.

Dictus dominus Jacobus, juratus et examinatus, respondet et dicit, quod ad requisicionem Thomæ Jameson de Eboraco, asserentis eidem domino Jacobo se audivisse quod prefatus Johannes Styward revelaret de famulo suo fugitivo antedicto et etiam de rebus suis ablatis, equitabat secum usque Knaresburgh, post festum Epiphanie ultimo preteritum; ubi, postquam prefatus Thomas causam adventus sui enarravit predicto Johanni, idem Thomas dedit eidem Johanni vj.s, viij.d., et prefatus Johannes promisit quod revelaret sibi in aurora, ubi famulum suum inveniret; et in aliis fatetur ut articulatur.

Item, quod dictus Johannes Styward tibi dixit et asseruit quod confessione facta tempore quadragesimali ultimo preterito noluit permittere incantaciones vel conjuraciones fieri in illo casu. Et deinde intimabat tibi de ingenti thesauro abscondito in quodam loco vocato Myxendale, pro quo cum adjutorio tuo et aliorum de consilio suo vellet laborare, et illud procul dubio recuperare; quod sibi magis commodum afferret in centuplo.—Fatetur articulum prout per litteram sibi per prefatum Johannem transmissam continetur, quia, ut dicit, effectus istius articuli erat inserta in dicta littera sibi et Thomæ Jameson, ut prefertur, transmissa, set non designavit in littera locum ubi thesaurus esset absconditus.

Item, quod tu fidem dictis prefati Johannis adhibuisti, et de consilio tuo in opere illo esse firmiter promisisti, et consilium tuum dedisti ad obtinendum dictum thesaurum, tam per conjuraciones et invocaciones demonum, quam per alias illicitas et dampnatas divinaciones et sortilegia.—Dicit quod cupiditatis causa fidem dedit dictis prefati Johannis, credens quod per artem hujusmodi thesaurus antedictus inveniretur.

Item, quod tu unum instrumentum, dictum a lamina, pro opere conjurationis invocacionis et sortilegii aptum, et alia instrumenta dicto operi necessaria et optima, cum consilio aliorum tibi adherencium in hac parte, fabricasti et fabricari fecisti.—Fatetur se fecisse lamina facta quadrata de plumbo sculpta hominis ymagine, secundum informacionem fratris Johannis Wilkynson, canonici de Drax, qui tradidit sibi librum de experientia hujusmodi artis conjurationis, et dicit quod lamen est instrumentum ad conjurationem; et etiam dicit quod tradidit librum Majori Civitatis Eboraci cum instrumento antedicto.

Item, quod tu unum le cerkill de pergameno virgineo, cum carecteribus et nominibus aliisque signis supersticiosiis, fabricasti seu fabricari fecisti, et dictum le cerkill ad opus hujusmodi proficiendum conservasti et habuisti, prout habes in presenti.—Fatetur articulum, et dicit quod Johannes Styward dedit sibi hujusmodi pergamenum virgineum, et quod idem Johannes habuit dictum pergamenum virgineum a quodam Thoma Laton in Episcopatu Dunelmensi commorante, prout idem Johannes isti articulo aperuit.

Item, fatetur se in secunda examinacione sua fore vehementer suspectum de invocacione demonum.

Item, he saith that he graved the figure of Oberion demonis in the lamyna, and iiij. names, wherof Storax was oone, and the other iiij. affir the booke.

Item, quod in quodam loco vulgariter dicto Mixindale hede, infra parochiam de Halifax, xxviiij. die mensis Januarii, annò Domini millesimo quingentesimo nono, cum nonnullis aliis compliceibus tuis, hujusmodi operis conjurationis, invocacionis, sive sortilegii de facto fecisti, seu saltem per te non stetit quominus dictum opus ibidem operatum fuit, set diligentiam tuam, quatenus in te fuit, pro opere illo proficiendo adhibuisti.—Dicit quod diligentiam adhibuit cum Thomas Jameson de Eboraco, Johanne Steward de Knaresburgh, domino Johanne Wilkynson, domino Ricardo Grenewod, Laurencio Knolles de Knaresburgh, quodam Otewelo at Hagh de Byngley, et famulo, ac Thoma Wod de eadem, ut convenirent in dicto loco vocato Mixindale, ad dictum opus conjurationis faciendum et exercendum; et tamen non potuerunt insimul convenire, propter noctem supervenientem; et die sequente dictus dominus Ricardus adduxit secum patrem et fratrem suum, ad hujusmodi opus perficiendum, usque Byngley; et, cum prefatus dominus Jacobus Ricardson et Thomas Jameson asseruerunt se noluisse ulterius cum hujusmodi opere conjurationis, pater dicti domini Ricardi desideravit istum dominum Jacobum ut traderet sibi circulum, quem idem dominus Jacobus tradere sibi denegavit; et incontinenter Thomas Jameson peciit nomina singulorum in scripturam redigi, et pater dicti domini Ricardi, ubi cognominabatur Grenewod, fecit se vocari Michelson.

Item, quod tu tunc et ibidem demones invocasti, et responsa eorum pro furto vel thesauro ignoto habendo acceperisti.—Negat articulum.

Item, quod tu preces et alia sacrificia de manibus fecisti, seu saltem de consilio aliorum hoc opus operancium, et in eorum consorcio et comitiva fuisti.—Negat articulum.

Item, quod tu dicto operi, precibus et sacrificiis, caracteribus, et aliis premissis, firmam fidem dedisti, et credidisti indubitanter in eisdem.—Negat articulum.

Item, quod tu libros artis hujusmodi conservasti, scripsisti, et in eisdem credidisti.—Negat articulum.



Item, quod de præmissis laborat, et est publica vox et fama, &c.—Credit de creditis, et negat de negatis.

Item, quod tu diu ante requisicionem tibi per dictum Thomam Jameson factam, pro certis rebus ab Edwardo Clifford subtractis, dictum Johannem Steward consuluisti, et cum dicto Thoma Jameson usque Knaresburgh equitasti.—Fatetur articulum.

Item, quod tu unum librum de domino Johanne Wilkynson, canonico de Drax, et alium librum de dicto Johanne Steywerd dampnatæ leccionis accessisti, conservasti, et eosdem scripsisti.—Fatetur articulum quod habuit duos libros.

Item, he, aftirward examyned, saith, that he caried the singing breedes to Bingley, and he and Jameson were agreed that ij. shuld be consecrate, oon for hymeself, and an other for Jameson, to be put upon theyme in tyme of conjuracion, to defende theyme from the spirite; and whenne the were at Byngley, Stywerd and Sir John shewed that myght not be, for, and the sacrament were there, the sprete wold not appere; and he saith that he never knewe that the singing breedes were at any tyme hallowed.

Item, he saith that he and Thomas Jameson made genuflexiones, and said prayers, at the making of the cerkill after Stywerdes booke, and also Stywerd gilted the septon in Otvelly's chambir, and in likewise he and Jameson made kneling and genuflexiones, and said praiers, at the making of the lamyna.

#### ARTICULI MINISTRATI CONTRA THOMAM JAMESON DE EBORACO, MERCATOREM.

In Dei nomine, Amen, articulos infrascriptos similiter ut supra, et objicimus contra te Thomam Jameson mercatorem Civitatis Eboraci &c., ut supra.

In primis, proponimus et objicimus tibi quod tu, sciens quemdam Johannem Stywerd de Knaresburgh uti falsis et dampnatis conjuracionibus, malignorum spirituum invocacionibus, et sortilegiis, et pro tali publice nominatum et diffamatum, eundem Johannem pro furto arte sua magica et dampnata recuperando, et pro noticia cujusdam Christoferi Scaresburgh nuper famuli tui fugitivi habenda, consuluisti, et tractatum cum eo habuisti.—Dicit quod per informacionem domini Jacobi Ricardson, qui sibi intimabat quod Johannes Stywerd de Knaresburgh erat taliter dictus, quod acquireret eidem Thomæ noticiam famuli sui fugitivi, cum dicto domino Jacobo equitabat usque Knaresburgh ad prefatum Johannem; et dicit quod nunquam antea audivit quod idem Johannes usus fuit invocacionibus spirituum, conjuracionibus, aut sortilegiis, nec de aliqua infamia laborante super hujusmodi contra eundem.

Item, quod dicto Johanni Stywerd, pro noticia famuli tui predicti, et pro aliis rebus per eundem Christoferum famulum tuum furtive surreptis et secum ablatis, per incantaciones demonum, invocaciones, aliasque artes magicas et dampnatas, per prefatum Johannem fiendas, tibi recuperandis et restituendis, vj.s. viij.d. dedisti et eidem liberasti.—Fatetur se dedisse eidem Johanni unum nobile pro noticia famuli sui habenda, set qua arte, calliditate, aut via usus fuit, penitus ignorat.

Item, quod, post recepcionem dictæ pecuniæ, dictus Johannes Stywerd asseruit—'Let God, the devel, and me alone.'—Fatetur articulum.

Item, quod postmodum prefatus Johannes Stywerd intimabat tibi de ingenti thesauro abscondito in quodam loco vocato Mixindale, pro quo, cum adjutorio tuo et duorum presbiterorum de Bingley, ac aliorum de consilio

suo, vellet laborare, et illud procul dubio recuperare.—Dicit quod in primo adventu suo dictus Johannes Stywerd intimabat, ut articulatur, domino Jacobo Ricardson; et, quod in secundo adventu suo usque Knaresburgh, eidem modo retulit eidem Thomæ.

[The other answers are in almost the same words as those used by Richardson.]

Uterius dicit, quod Edmundus Grenewod, alias Michel de Heptonstall, sibi intimabat quod quidam Lenthorp, Bradford and Watson de Wakefeld, Halywell monachus de Salley, antea viderunt dictum thesaurum in loco articulado.

William Wilson of Byngley, xxj. yeres of age, swornne and examyned, confessis and saia, that, Mondaie aftir Candilmasse daie, as he remembrigh, met in the house of Ottewell at Hagh, at Byngley, ix. personnes, that is to say, Sir James Ricardson, Sir John Wilkynson, Sir Richard Grenewod, Thomas Jameson, John Stywarde, Laurence Knolles, Thomas Wodde, the said Otewell at Hagh, and this deponent William Wilson; and there concluded by an hole consent, upon such informacions as they had afore of Sir Richard Grenewod and Sir John Wilkynson, that there was a chist of gold in Myxindale, and every noble as thik as fyve, and opon the same chist a swerd of mayntenaunce, and a booke covered w<sup>t</sup> blakke ledder; and there they were fully agreed to gete the same; and the said Wilson saide at that tyme to theyme all that he wold consent therto, so that hit myght be doone w<sup>t</sup> the lawes of God.

Furthermore, at that meting in the same house secretely, Sir John, Sir James, and Thomas Jameson went into a chambir, and there opyned ij. bogettes upon a bedde, and sodanly the forsaid deponent came emonges theyme, and see a serkyll made of parchement, aftir his understanding; and also they had a grete masse boke opyn afore theyme, and wrote oute what they wold; and he saith that the cerkill was xxj. foote wide, as Sir James saide. Also he sawe ij. stoles, and a thing gilt of a fote long, like a holywatir strynkill, and frankynnecense, w<sup>t</sup> dyverse bookes of their craft. Item, thenne and their the forsaid Sir John delyvered unto this deponent xvij. singing loves, and not halowed, as he said; and thenne this said deponent asked Sir John what he would do w<sup>t</sup> theyme; he said, that and the sprite would not obey, that thenne he would consecrate theyme, and hold theyme up afore the sprite, and it shuld appere to hyme like a child of ij. yere olde, and thenne he wold obey. Item, thenne they were agreed all to mete at a crosse at Solen ende, at the sonsetting on the Tuysdaie; and, in exchewing of suspicion, Sir Richard Grenewod and Wod feyned theyme to go to gadir to Sir Richard's faders, to eyte a henne, and to mete theyme at the crosse at that tyme; and Sir James, Thomas Jameson, Steward, and Otewell departed oute of the said towne at an other ende, and Sir John at an other ende alone, and Knolles and this said deponent at thend at Sir John went after hyme. Item, they all, except Sir Richard and Wod, mett on a more called Wilston lee, and sodanly came upon theyme a grete myst which caused theyme to goo oute of the wey, and so happenyd to a towne called Cokkam, a myle frome the crosse, and there the forsaid Otewell gate fire and salt, and the said Otewell had a torche ende, and an other torche ende was in the company, but he wot not who had it. Item, the said deponent saith that the forsaid Sir James lost the holywatir strynkill in the said more. Item,

he saith that the said Sir James had a censure to sence w<sup>t</sup>. Item, he saith that aftir this they went to a crosse on Mykilmosse, a myle from todir crosse, and there Sir John, Otwell, and Knolles said that they wold seke the odir crosse, and so went frome theyme, and mett w<sup>t</sup> a man that dwelled w<sup>t</sup>ynne halff a myle of it, and they gave hyme ij. d for his labor to bring theyme to it, and he and they soght it and coud not fynde it; and thenne they retorned agayne to the crosse of Mykil mosse, and thenne the odir iiij. were departed to a towne called Cokkam, and there provided for ther soper: and so were there all vij. personnes. Item, thenne aftirward departed to Byngley Sir Joha Wilson and Laurence Knolles; and in the waie going they agreede that they shulde mette on the more in Arden wod. Item, this Wilson and Knolles brought Jameson, Sir James, and Steward their horses to Cokkam, and shewed theyme of that meting, and how Sir John said by the waie that he wold bring the gold to that wod by a sprite carior. Item, they all mote there, but Sir John and Wod; and thenne were they all angry w<sup>t</sup> Sir John, and the forsaid Sir Richard brought w<sup>t</sup> hyme his fader and his broder; and his fadir said to Jameson, 'Sir, ye seme a gentilman, and I advise youe goe not aboute this matir, but if ye have wele lerned men, for there has beene wismen and well lerned afore tymes aboute it, and yet the coud not gete it;' and he said that he coud shewe the names of the personnes that had it of late yeres above the grownde; and so on the mornyng Jameson wrote there names. Item, the same mornyng, aftir grete comunicacion for division of the gold, Jameson saide that every yoman shuld have xx.li., and he wold have the remanent to York, and the other partie said, Nay, for they wold be all like in division, and thenne Jameson said, Nay, and in angrye said that he wold shewe the Kyng and his counsell of theyme, and wrote their names, in so mych that Sir Richardes fadir changed his name, and called Michell fer fere, where his name was Grenewod.

SIR JOHN WILKYNXON, Chanon of Drax, sworne and examyned, confesseth and saith that he is a preste, and greuously diffamyd of heresio and conjuracions, where thurgh this ill wedirs commes. Item, he saith that William Wilson was the firste that shewed hyme that there was a grete good in the cuntrey, which myght be gotte if there were any conyng men in the cuntrey. Item, he saith he had comunicacion with Steward of this mater afore or he was acquented with Jameson or Sir James. Item, he saith, that Steward sent to hyme a booke of experience, and he sent hyme an other by Laurence, and thenne Stewerde sende that booke to Jameson and Sir James, to make a cerkill by, and they made ij., and this chanon made oone of theyme, all of xxx. fote compas, and were agreede that viij. shuld be w<sup>t</sup>ynne the cerkill and Stewerde w<sup>t</sup>oute, and the said chanon was agreede to make the invocacion, and call upp a sprite called Belphares. Item, the said chanon saith, that whenne he was a child of xij. yeres of age, he was at an invocacion made at Wakefield by a scolar of Orlyaunce<sup>1</sup> for a pair of bedes, where he saw in a glasse a woman that had the beides in her hand, and a sprite crowned like a kyng in a chare of gold, and the clerke said that he was a sprite. Item, he saith, that he, Thomas Jameson, and Sir James were sworne upon a booke, and confedered to gadir to make a lamina for invocacion of a sprite called Obirion, for to have knowledge of Jameson servante and his goodes, and to knowe whedir there were any

<sup>1</sup> The reader of Chancer will remember the passage in the Frankeleins tale,

about the scholars of Orleans and their favourite pursuits.

goodes in Myxindale; and Jameson was agrede to sende an horse for hyme to Otteley, the Fridaie afore the first chaunge of Marche, to come to Yorke to hyme to make the lamyna, which must be made betwixt the chaunge of the mone and the pryme, and that was Mondaie, Tuysdaie, and Wednesdaie; and to make their invocacion on Thursdaie after, at v. of the clok in the mornyng at Yorke, in a chambir to be provided to the said Sir James, havynge iiij. wyndowes, that is to say in every quarter oone. Item, he saith, that he durst not come to Yorke by cause of theyre meting afore, which had made a grete rumor and sclaunder in the cuntre, for so mych as Steward was in their company; he sent to Thomas Jameson by oone John Hardy a lettre, desyryng in the same to sende hyme a rynnynge glasse, a diall w<sup>t</sup> the neld, and a stoone which the said Jameson promysed hyme afore.

Item, he said, that Hardy meet not w<sup>t</sup> Thomas Jameson, and so he had no diall nor glasse. Item, he saith that the afore written communicacion of the making of the said lamina, and other thinges to be doone aboute the knowing bothe of the said servante and of the tresaur, was at Byngley, the same mornyng aftir the departing of the grete company, uppon a displeasor and dissension had amonges theyme self there.

Item, the said Jameson came to Byngley upon Saynte Mathie daie, fair tyme at Bradford, and shewed hyme that Sir James had made all thinges redy, and desired hyme to come to Yorke, and Sir James and he shuld wirke the warke, and he wold be of consent, but he wold not be present, for there was grete rumor upon it as well at Yorke as in the countrey. Item, he confesseth that he had all his bookes at Drax Abbey. Item, he confessith that Sir James brought the xvij.<sup>th</sup> singing loves frome Yorke, and this deponent delyvered theyme to William Wilson; and he saith they were never consecrate. Item, he denyeth that ever he saide that he wold consecrate those singing loves, nor that they shuld appere in the likenes of a chide (*sic.*) to the spirite, but he confesseth that all the hole company were agreeed that the grounde where the cerkyll shulde be halowed, and also that Thomas Jameson or elles did write oute of the masbooke a colett for the halowing of the incense and fire, and in the book of experiment was writen the halowing of the grete halywater. Item, he saith that he hath no moo bookes thenne is delyvered to my Lorde Darcy. Item, he saith that William Otewell, alias Wilson, never saide to hyme that he wald not consent to the geting of the tresauror, but if it myght be doone by the lawes of God, nor put any excepcion; and he was the moste laboror and solicitor betwixt Steward and the said Sir John upon his owne coste.

Item, he sheweth and confesseth that Sir Richard Grenewod brought his fadir to Byngley to shewe theyme to the grounde where the tresor was. Item, he seith that Sir Richard made poyntment w<sup>t</sup> Laurence and Wilson to mete at a wodde callyd Arden, nere unto Byngley; and he confessith that he saide that their warkes myght be doone as well in one place as other, for [he] cowde make the spirite Belphears carye it wherdir he wold. Item, he seith that he said opynely that the goode cowde not be had w<sup>t</sup>oute losse of a Cristen saule, and, therefore, he wold not execute it. Item, in all other thinges as in the metyng at Byngley, division on the more, comyng to Cokkyn, fire, salt, for making of holywatir, he agrees with Wilson.

OTWELL AT HAGH, OF BYNGLEY, L. yeres of age, sworne and examyned, saith that at the firste knowlege that he had of the tresure in Mixindale was by his servante William Wilson, and said that there was a clerke went walking aboute that trowed he cowde do theyme vauntage theyme (*sic.*).

Item, he saith that whenne they went to the more he bare in his sleve ij. torche endes, that his servante William bare censures in his sleve, and Sir John a halywatir strynkill; but he saith that he knewe not for what cause thies thinges were borne. Item, he saith that Sir John shewed unto hyme behynde Richard Langes garth house, that this tresur myght be had by the lawes of God, and he said, and if it so myght be, he wold be more gladde to medyll therwith, or elles he wold not medill; and Sir John said, "It standes w<sup>t</sup> the lawes of God." Item, he saith that at their departing, on the Thursdaie in the mornynge, Jameson wold not suffir hyme to comme into the chambir to see such stuff as he brought frome Yorke, nor he never see noone of their stuff, nor he knewe not that there was any singingbredes, nor was of counsell of any conjuracion for rasing of sprites to be doone, but he agreed to theyme at the firste meting to be oone of theyme to go gete this tresure. Item, he saith he rode to Bradford feire w<sup>t</sup> Thomas Jameson, and nether that tyme nor afore he had comunicacion with hyme of this mater, but ones whenne Thomas Jameson desired hyme to come to Yorke, but he wottes not wherefore, nor he came not there.

LAURENCE KNOLLES, de Harrogate, xxviij. yerres of age, sworne and examyned, saith that John Stewerde, of Knaresburgh, was the firste that shewed hyme of the tresure in Mixindale, and said that the ij. prestes of Byngley shewed hyme that it myght be gete w<sup>t</sup> their iij. connynges, by conjuracion and invocacion of sprites. Item, he confessith that he brought lettres frome Stewerd to Sir James, and bare a lettre frome Sir James to Stewerd, and an other lettre from Stewerde to the ij. prestes of Byngley, and there had comunicacion with theyme of this tresure; and they said it were a goode dede to gete that goode with the power of God, and he said that it myght be so with the lawes of God, and the lawes of the Crowne, he wold becontent therwith; and they said, that it was not agayns the king, by cause they wold not breke the grounde. Item, he confessith that the prestes shewed theyme all, that viij. of theyme shuld be withynne the cerkill, and oone withoute; and he saith that Otewell knewe that he fett salt for making of holywatir to defende theyme frome sprites, and Stewerd said that he wold be withoute the cerkill; for he trustid so wole in his connyng, and was nothing aferd. Item, he saith that Stewerd said to hyme that he delyvered to Sir James virgyne parchment to make the cerkill of. Item, he saith that he at Cristenmasse laste brought to Sir James frome Stewerde a shuldor of venison and a capon; and at that tyme he had comunicacion with Sir James and Jameson both of the tresure and of his goode, and Jameson gave hyme xij.d and made hyme of counsell. Item, the prestes, on Wednesdaie at even, said, that they wold sett for a litill thyng at Gilsceide, but Jameson wold not consent thereto. Item, at their departing, upon the Thursdaie, Jameson was wrothe with the prestes, and said that they mokked hyme, and their wrote a thing and said it were a good dede and it pleased the kyng to gete connyng men frome Orliaunce to gete it.

THOMAS WOOD OF BYNGLEY, xxxv. annorum ætatis, confessith and knowleggid hyme self to be diffamed and slaundered of heresie; and he saith that Sir Richard Grenewod was the firste that he herd speke of the goode in Mixindale. Item, he saith that William Wilson shewed hyme in like wise of that goode, and said that ther was clerkes that had bookes that cowlde gete it; and he brake to Sir Richard, and shewed hyme what Wilson had said, and he said that he trowed that Sir John and he had bookes that wold do goode, and they were occupied. Item, he saith that it was com-

municacion emonges theyme that the goode must be gete with conjuracion of sprites. Item, he saith that, when Steward and they of Yorke came to Byngley, Sir Richard and Sir John sent for hyme to comme to theyme, and so he did; and they said to hyme that the men of Yorke were commen and they wold go aboute the geting of this good, and desired hyme to go with theyme, and so he graunted; and thenne they said to hyme, that he must comme in the mornyng to the kirke and here ij. masses, and be shryven, bycause the sprites shuld have no power of theyme; and so he came to the kirke and herd ij. masses, Sir James saing oone, and Sir Richard the other, and Sir Richard did shryve hyme, going on the more towards his fadir, that his fadir myght bring theyme to the place; and he medlid no more with theyme afir this.

DOMINUS RICARDUS GUENEWOD, capellanus, examinatus, &c., dicit, that the first knowlege of the matir that he is accused upon was by oone William Ottewell of Byngley, [who] told hyme aboute Michaelmasse last past that he made labor to Steward clerke of Knaresburgh, to come over to Byngley, and for to bring his bookes with hyme, if he trowed to gete knowlege by his bookes of any goodes hidde in the grounde; and the said Steward came over to Byngley and broght with hyme Thomas Jameson of Yorke, and a preste of Yorke, and oone of Knaresburgh, to Byngley, and there logged theyme at Ottewelles, maister to the forsaid Ottewell, and sende for the said Sir Richard, and Sir John, and Thomas Wod; and there he and they had communicacion where any goode or tresure shuld be hidde in the yerth; and there they were agreeede that there was a hurde in Myxindale, called Myxindale hurde; and by cause he knewe the wey best thedor he shuld bring theyme thedor, and they were agreeede that they shuld all mete at a crosse at the west ende of Solehill in Halifax parish, at the sonne setting, the same daie, which is frome the dale a myle; and Thomas Wod and the said Sir Richard kept there poyntment, and all the other went oute of theire wey and came not there by ij. myle; and so Steward, Ottewell, the preste of Yorke, and Thomas Jameson, were all nyght in Bradford dale hede, and Sir John the chanon, William Ottewell, and a littil felowe from Knaresburgh, came to Byngley, and the said Sir Richard and Wod came thedor to, and so the morowe next afir they mett all at Byngley and dyned all to gadir, and whenne they had dyned they departed; and he saith they all trusted to fynde the hurd, and he shuld have had parte with theyme for bringing theyme to Mixindale; and the said Sir Richard saith that they intendid to gete that gude with their bookes, but he was not of counsell with theyme of these bookes.

DOMINUS HENRICUS BANKE, capellanus de Addingham, dicit, quod die Dominico in xl.<sup>ma</sup> ultimo preterita, secundo die Dominico, ut credit, ipse dominus Henricus fuit presens in domo Christoferi Hardwik de Addingham, et tunc ibidem ipse dominus Henricus audiebat fratrem Johannem presbiterum parochialem de Byngley publice dicere ibidem, that there was as moch goode in a place besides Halifax as wold raunsome a kyng; and that oone Leventhorp nowe dede had seene the foote of the kist, and the devell sitting upon it, and that he put a swerd to remove it, and he nypped it a soundre in the myddist, as it had beene a rish; and the said Sir John saide it could never be gott but with losse of a Cristen sole; and Sir Richard Grenewod affirmed every worde, and the said Sir John and Sir Richard graunted there that they and oone Stewerde of Knaresburgh had beene at the grounde and seene it, and they said that Steward coud noght do he was

not so connyng as they were. Also, he saith that Sir William Hardwik, parish preste of Adingham, was there present and herd this, and he saith also that oone Sir Thomas Spurret of Pole, in the parish of Otteley, shewed unto hyme that he sawe Steward have iij. humble bees, or like humble bees, and kept theyme undir a stone in the erth, and called theyme oute by oone and oone, and gave iche oone of theyme a drop of blodde of his fyngor.

Sir Richard Grenewod examyned agayne, saith and confessis the saying of Thomas Wod in parte of his last deposicion, and that Stywerd saide that all shuld be in the cerkill but he, and he wold be somme tymes withynne and sommetyms withoute, he fered nothing. Item, he saith that his fadir advised theyme not to medill with this mater for they coude never bring it aboute, but at all the worlde wold wonder upon theyme; and he confessis that he and his company beene sclaundored thorough all the cuntry of heresy, and that their doing is cause of all this ill wedir. Item, he confessis that he made the poyntement of meting in Arden wod, and shuld have gife Sir John warnyng in the mornyng and did not. Item, they all say that Steward was counsell with theyme of fetchyng of fire and salt; and Sir James says that Stywerd gilt the septon.

JOHN STEWARD of Knaresburgh, xlvij. yeres of age, sworne and examyned, seith, that he haith dwelled in Knaresburgh by the space of xvj. yere, and somme tyme taght grammer there; and he saith that aboute this tyme twelmonethe the ij. prestis of Byngley, Sir John the chanon, and Sir Richard Grenewod, did sende lettres to hyme, shewing hyme that there was goode hidde in Mixindale, and, if he wold do as they wold do, he shuld be pertyner with theyme and such other as they had of counsell to gete it; which lettres he delyvered to my Lorde Darcy servantes, and so, sore and many tymes labored by theyme, grannted to Otewel servaunte, to come to theyme to Byngley and do as they did, in the lawe of God, to lyve and to die for it; and they said that Roberte Leventhorp had bene in hand with it afore tyme. Item, he saith that the prestes would have had a super-altare, and said masse in the house where they were logged.

Item, he saith that Sir James came to hyme to have knowlege of certaigne goodes stollen, and he shewed hyme howe the prestis of Byngley labored hyme to be oone of theyme for getyng of the goode in Mixindale; and Sir James said he wold be gladde to gete it, and promysed to be oone of theyme. Item, he saith that Thomas Laton came oones to hyme to Knaresburgh, to seke a remedie for a vexacion that he has in his mynde, by nyght and by daie; and his kynnesman Pawle shewed hyme that the said Laton had used invocacions afore, and brought hyme a booke that he callys a speculatif, but he delyvered it hyme agayne incontinently; and he saith the booke was of astronomy. And he saith that Laton was well eased by such thynges as he gave hyme in medycynnes of spices and herbes, and wordes of God to gadir, which was the gospell on the Ascension daie; and he sayes that he beleves stedfastly that thies thynges, with other praiers and goode dedes that he badde hyme do, did ease hyme. Also, he saith that, whenne personnes and people came to hyme to have knowlege of thynges lost and stollen, he would shewe theyme a booke of astronomy, and made theyme beleve that he was connyng, and he coude no thing do, but some tyme it hapened as he said, and that was as the blynde man cast his staff; and some wold gif hyme money, and some wax, wherwith he kept certaigne lightes in the churche. Also, he saith that he was at Byngoley



with his company as was goyng to the place as they were; and he hard theyme speke that they had a haly watir strynkill which was lost, and a sencer and frankencense, and other stuff redy; and he sawe theyme have a septon, but he sawe not the crowne, but he sawe ij. bogettes that the stuff was ynne.

Also, he seith that he, Jameson, Sir James, Otewell, and his servante came to the wod on the more, where Sir John had promysed to brynge the goode to by a sprite cariar; and Sir Richard, and his fadir, and his brother came thedor, and Sir John did not; and thence aftir at Byngley, Jameson and Otewell servante fell oute for the swerde of mayntenaunce and the goode, as the said servaunte shewed hym, and after that he was never of counsell with theyme.

[Further questions are put to Steward.]

Interrogatus quamdiu occupavit invocaciones spirituum, dicit quod non occupavit invocaciones demonum vel spirituum aliquo tempore, set dicit quod semel usus est arte cognoscendi furta et deperdita per versionem clavis in libro, dicendo psalmum, *Deus Decrum, Dominus locutus est, cum versiculo, si videris furem, &c.* Negat se habere tres le humbil bees. Negat se fecisse instrumentum vocatum a lamina, et se fecisse circulum, set dedit pergamenum virgineum domino Jacobo; and he sath that the parchement is called pergamenum virgineum, that is, of the first calff that a cove has; et dicit quod habuit illud pergamenum a quodam Thoma Pawle, an aunesonne of Thomas Laton, dwelling in Clyveland, but he saith he cannot tell where, a bowte iij. yere hest.

Negat se baptizasse gallum, catonem, vel aliquod animal, nec fecisse sacrificium: nunquam invocavit demonem, nec sperat se posse invocare. Non audivit missam apud Byngeley sicut alii, quia vexatus fuit cum gutta, et ideo absque pena non potuit adire ecclesiam ibidem.

Interrogatus quare ipse esset magis extra circulum quam alii, he saies that he rekked not whedir he were withoute the circul or withynne; et interrogatus quare ipse magis quam alii, he saith, that he thynkoth hym self so stedfast in the faith of the church that he fered no thing. He saith that he send worde by Laurence to Sir James that confession in lent wold not suffir invocacion to be made, but he remembirs not that he wrot it.



## Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

NOVEMBER 5, 1848.

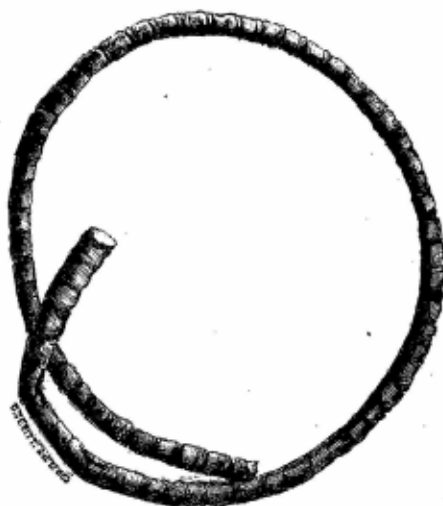
PROFESSOR DONALDSON in the Chair.

THE REV. C. W. BINGHAM communicated an account of the discovery of the remains of a Roman Villa and of a Mosaic pavement at Dorchester Castle. The discovery occurred in digging a grave for a criminal recently executed there; two years previously, however, a portion of the outer border had been disclosed on a like occasion. The fine pavement now in the Dorset County Museum was exhumed in the same locality, in digging foundations for the prison workshops; another, of inferior description, was found during the construction of the houses occupied by the Warders outside the gaol inclosure; and two other tessellated floors are known to exist, extending into the neighbouring gardens on the south of the Castle yard. The pavement last found has been removed under the direction of the Governor, Mr. Lawrance, and laid down in the Chapel of the Castle, within the communion rails. Its dimensions may have been about 20 feet square. In the central circle, which is inscribed in an octagon, there are two heart-shaped ornaments, placed with the points of the hearts in opposite directions, so as to resemble the Percy fetterlock. The octagon is enclosed within two interlaced squares, forming the centre of a square panel, with chequy and other bordures, of designs frequently occurring in Roman mosaics. The tesserae are of four colours, red, black, grey, and white. Mr. Bingham sent for examination a coloured photograph of the pavement, produced by Mr. Pouncey, of Dorchester, by a new process of carbon printing which is supposed to give an imperishable result. A letter was also read from Mr. Lawrance, the Governor of the Castle, through whose good taste and praiseworthy exertions the pavement has been preserved, stating that its removal had been effected with entire success, and that it had been relaid in the chapel, as before mentioned, by Mr. David Pearce of Dorchester, in masterly manner. The Rev. G. Horner, a resident in the neighbourhood, being present, stated that the pavement had not been constructed over a hypocaust, a circumstance which rendered the removal a work of considerable difficulty; the process described in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 226, for the removal of tessellated floors in large masses, as practised by Professor Buckman at Cirencester, would in this case have proved ineffectual. Mr. Lawrance had caused each tessera to be numbered, and they were taken up one by one, and replaced with perfect precision.

Professor Donaldson, in proposing a vote of acknowledgment of the good service to archæology so laudably achieved by Mr. Lawrance, and congratulating him on the success of his conservative exertions, adverted to

the remarkable prevalence of decorations of this description in the dwellings of Roman colonists in Britain. None, however, of the examples recently discovered could compare with those at Bignor, Northleigh, Woodchester, Frampton, and other places, of which Lysons has preserved such admirable representations. The finest tessellated work which had fallen under Professor Donaldson's observation existed at Lyons, and he found nothing superior to it, even at Rome.

Dr. THURNAM drew the attention of the Meeting to a bronze armilla in the Ashmolean Museum, presented October, 1830, by the Rev. William Drake, of Broomfield House, Northallerton, by whom it was exhumed from one of the remarkable group of barrows near Driffield, East Riding of Yorkshire, commonly known as the "Danes' Graves." Mr. Drake stated that the skeleton in this barrow, which, like the rest, was of very small elevation, was lying with the feet to the east. Under the skull was a large stone described as of "blue granite," and within it, "the constituent parts of an iron comb." With the skeleton was the bronze armilla here figured, and the fragments of another of highly polished jet, encircling the *radius* and *ulna* of the left arm. The fragments of jet were not preserved. On the label attached to the bronze armilla in the Ashmolean, is the memorandum, "Vide —, to which they nearly correspond, in 'Nenia Britannica';" and there is one very similar figured in the *Nenia*, the original being now in the Ashmolean. This appears to have been riveted whilst on the arm. The ornamentation of the armilla found near Driffield is of a peculiar and rude kind, and is confined to the exterior, the inner surface being smooth and plain; the style assimilates somewhat to that of a gold armlet in the Copenhagen Museum, figured in Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, fig. 302.



Bronze Armlet, found in the "Danes' Graves," near Driffield.

In 1849 Dr. Thurnam superintended, for the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club, the examination of five of the small barrows of this curious group.

In each was a human skeleton lying nearly in the meridian line, though in four the head was directed towards the north, and in one to the south. The skeletons were all in a contracted position, which could be compared only to that of Peruvian mummies, and which had been most probably produced by the forcible swathing of the limbs and body before interment. In two of the barrows were the fragments of two small earthen vases of Teutonic type, and in a third a piece of corroded iron of semicircular shape, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter. No other relics were found.

The Rev. Dr. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, F.S.A., communicated a notice of the discovery, a few years since, of a remarkable bronze relic of the Roman period at Birdswald, the Station AMBOGLANNA on the Roman Wall in Northumberland. It is one of the curious class of objects, an example of which, found in a cairn at Farndale, Yorkshire, was figured in this Journal, vol. vii. p. 89. They have sometimes been designated arm-purses, from the supposition that they may have been worn on the arm as receptacles for small objects of value, the dimensions being well suited for such a purpose, whilst it is obvious that perfect security would be obtained by the pressure of the arm upon the curved plate forming the lid. This *operculum* appears, in all examples hitherto known, to have been attached by a hinge, and fastened by a spring catch. The fastening of the specimen exhibited is here shown. (See woodcuts.) This bronze capsule is in perfect preservation: it was discovered in course of excavations by the late Mr. Crawhall. Another specimen is of especial interest as being connected with the remarkable discovery of Roman gold and silver coins at Thorngraston, Northumberland, in 1837, related by Dr. Bruce in his "Roman Wall," p. 416, where the bronze capsule is figured.<sup>1</sup> The coins, sixty-five in number, ranging from Claudius to Trajan, have recently been purchased, with the curious object in which they were found, by Mr. John Clayton, F.S.A., and they are now preserved in his museum at Chesters, Northumberland. The fragments of another like capsule of bronze, in a damaged condition, are in the British Museum; they were found at Hoddam, Dumfriesshire, near the line of the Roman Way and the Station of Birrens, and were obtained at the sale of the late Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe's collection. A fifth example, found, as it is believed, in Scotland, is in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh. It has been suggested that these curious little relics may be identical with certain objects represented as carried in the hand in ancient sculptures, of which a figure at Sens, supposed to be a Gaulish legionary soldier, is a good example. See Millin, "Voyage dans le Midi," vol. i. p. 126, pl. xi.

Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT communicated the following notices of ancient monuments in the church of Bosbury, Herefordshire:—"The slab, of which I exhibit a representation, is in the south aisle of the church of Bosbury. There is no inscription, but from its style it appears to be of the thirteenth century. On it, within a narrow border, is a floriated cross, on the dexter side of the stem of which is a staff with a cross patée head, and on the sinister side a similar staff and also a sword. The entire head of the floriated cross is in very low relief; the stem, the cross-headed staves and sword are incised. The lower part of the slab is lost, but it appears that the floriated cross rested on a base, the form of which is doubtful. The chief interest of this slab arises from the possibility that it may be the

<sup>1</sup> See also Akerman's Roman Coins relating to Britain.



Bronze Object, possibly used as a Purse worn on the Arm.

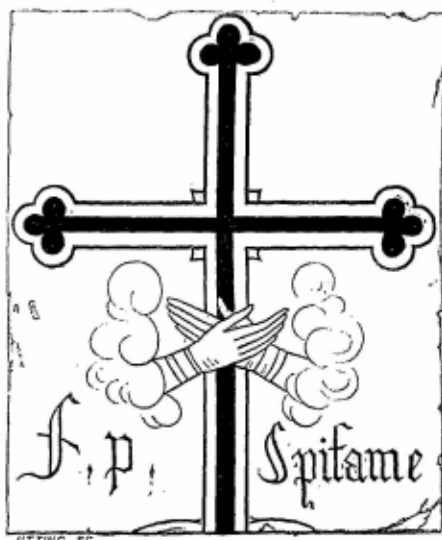
Found at Birdoswald, the Roman *AMBOGLANNA*, Northumberland.

In the possession of the Rev. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., F.S.A.

Two-thirds original size. The small Woodcut shows the fastening of the Cover.



memorial of one of the Templars who occupied the adjacent Preceptory still known as the Temple Court. It has often been assumed that the circular form of cross patée, which is found upon this slab, was the distinctive kind of cross borne by the Order of the Temple; while the ordinary cross patée, of which the limbs are bounded by straight lines, has been regarded as appropriated by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It would, however, appear, that there is an insufficiency of proof that such was the case. In the figure given by Dugdale,<sup>2</sup> the "*Templarius*" is represented carrying a staff with a circular cross patée of this form as its head; but Dugdale does not give his authority for this representation, and the like cross is not found in the very few examples of sepulchral memorials of members of the Order which have yet been noticed. The slab in the



Slab in the Temple Church at Laon. Supposed to be the Memorial of Frère Pierre Spifame, who was living in 1522.

(Size of Original, 19 in. by 16½ in.)

Temple Church at Laon which commemorates a chaplain of the Order, a rubbing of which I exhibited some years ago at a meeting of the Institute, and of which the woodcut is here reproduced, has a botonée cross not of unusual form. A wish to obtain further evidence of the form of the Templar's cross led me to examine carefully the pavement of the church at Bosbury, and I found, besides the slab here figured, one entire bearing a cross, and two fragments of other slabs, all apparently of the thirteenth century. One of these fragments had upon it part of the head of a floriated cross, and below its arms on each side a cross patée of the same form as those on the slab first mentioned. The entire slab and the other fragment bore only one cross, the form of which was nearly identical on

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Warwickshire, p. 704, orig. edit. 1656; Mon. Angl., vol. iii. p. 517.

both, and may be described as consisting of a Greek cross, the arms of which are united by two concentric circles, midway between the arms of the cross is introduced a pointed oval; it will be seen that, if the portions of the circles which are within these ovals were omitted, there would remain a cross patée with curved ends. (See woodcut.) It is to be regretted that the lower end of the slab at Bosbury is mutilated, as it must remain uncertain whether the stems of the smaller crosses terminated in gradated bases, or should be considered as cross-staves. The question remains, Why are



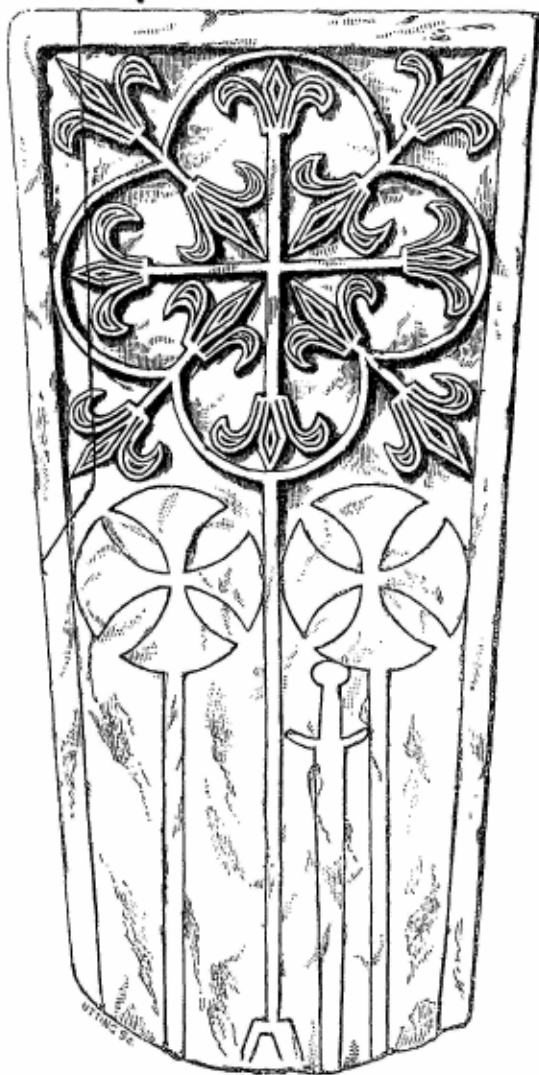
two crosses represented, and only one sword? It has, I believe, been conjectured that two crosses on the same slab indicated the burial of two persons, as for instance husband and wife, in the same grave or near together. If this is to be assumed, it will seem to militate against the supposition that this stone covered a knight or two knights of the order, as it may naturally be asked, If only one knight were there buried, why do we find two crosses; and, if two brethren in arms, why only one sword?<sup>3</sup> Another question is suggested,

are we to look for the memorials of the members of a religious Order in a parish church? Generally, no doubt, deceased members were buried within their own precincts; but most probably smaller establishments of the Order of the Temple may not have had consecrated cemeteries, and their chapels may have been too small to allow of interment within them. A careful observation of the slabs of early date, which remain in churches of parishes in which Preceptories of the Temple formerly existed, may, however, furnish data throwing light upon this subject.

Besides these slabs the church of Bosbury contains several other remarkable sepulchral memorials, and some architectural features worthy of notice. Of the first the most striking are two tombs of members of the Harford family, which are placed against the walls on each side of the chancel: they are very similar in design, each having an arch supported on pilasters (in the one on the northern side with caryatides) within which are sarcophagi resting on lions and supporting effigies; they are much enriched with sculpture of no great degree of elegance of design or excellence of execution, but present a general effect of much richness. The design is obviously borrowed from the Italian tombs of the sixteenth century, and the sculptor was evidently by no means ashamed of his work, for he has inscribed his name, John Guldo of Hereford, with the date of 1573. It is in large characters, and in a very conspicuous situation; on the tomb on the south side. The other seems to be by the same hand. A tomb in the churchyard, near the southwest part of the nave, deserves notice for its handsome railing of iron, the upper part of which is wrought into bunches of tulips and other flowers with considerable elegance. It would seem to be of the seventeenth century.

Of the architectural features the most striking and peculiar is the massive bell-tower, which stands to the south of the church, but sixty or eighty feet away from it. It has three stages, in the lowest of which is a plain doorway on the north side, the other three sides, and all four sides of the next stage, have each a single lancet window; while the

<sup>3</sup> The slab may have commemorated a knight, and a brother who was not a knight.



Cross-slab in the South Aisle, Bosbury Church, Herefordshire.

Date, Thirteenth Century.





upper stage has had similar windows in each face. The church itself is chiefly of Transitional character, having pointed arches with late Roman ornament. The windows of the nave are peculiarly small, and the south door retains its original iron-work. At the east end of the south aisle is a small chapel of late Perpendicular work with fan-groining, a feature not of common occurrence in a village church.

Another object of interest is the churchyard cross, which, though it is said to have been removed from its original place, is complete, the shaft being still surmounted by the cross. The base of a cross is to be met with in almost every churchyard in the neighbourhood, and the shaft in many; but this is the only instance of the cross having been preserved entire, which I have noticed in that district, and examples are, I apprehend, very rarely to be found in any part of England.

On the north side of the churchyard are the remains of a palace of the Bishops of Hereford, now converted into a farmhouse. A few rooms in the south wing have ceilings boarded with oak, apparently of the fifteenth century, and the entrance gateway remains in a mutilated state. The arch on the exterior is of stone, but that on the interior is formed by two massive pieces of oak, so cut as to form a pointed arch, very slightly inclined to an ogee. The only ornament is a hollow moulding, with what seems to have been small roses placed in it at short intervals. This gateway may belong to the fourteenth century. There was formerly a dove-cot of that or even earlier date, but this has been destroyed. Of the Preceptory of the Templars no remains now exist, the site being occupied by a house of no very ancient date.

A former incumbent of Bosbury (whose name I regret not to have ascertained), introduced a plan, the adoption of which is much to be desired by all who feel an interest in the study and preservation of local antiquities, namely, that of drawing up, and intrusting to the care of the clerk or sexton, a short notice of all the objects of interest in the church and parish, for the use of visitors, with such information as to their history as could be collected. By this means, not only is the attention of strangers drawn to objects deserving of notice, but circumstances are put on record which may be incorrectly reported or altogether forgotten when left to tradition only. This practice is peculiarly desirable in these days, when "restoration" is so much in fashion. It might be made the means of preserving a record of the condition of the edifice and monuments before undergoing any alteration; by the help of such a guide future observers would be saved the perplexity frequently felt by those who examine churches which have been subjected to the process of restoration. It would moreover, no doubt, often secure the preservation of some object which the architect or the churchwardens might regard as unsightly or uninteresting, though in fact possessing strong claims to be carefully preserved.

The notion to which Mr. Nesbitt adverts, that the staff with a cross patée head was a distinctive mark of the Templar, has been frequently expressed; but we have sought in vain for any published authority, or representation of a Knight of the order in which it is found, prior to the well-known etching by Hollar, first given in Dugdale's History of Warwickshire, produced in 1656, and repeated in the Monasticon, in 1673. Examples of sepulchral slabs with crosses patée are numerous, and several varieties may be found in the Rev. E. L. Cutts' Manual. It must, however, be observed that in nearly all the instances there given the cross is gradated, or placed on a base with steps, and it is not

what may properly be termed a cross-staff.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Franks has pointed out a sketch of a figure formerly to be seen in one of the windows in Peterborough Cathedral, which may have served as the authority for the plate of a Templar engraved by Hollar for Dugdale.<sup>5</sup> In the valuable Collection of Drawings of Monuments, &c., formed, as it is believed, under Dugdale's direction, and now in the possession of the Earl of Winchelsea, at Eastwell Park, Kent, there occurs, among the Memorials at Peterborough, a Knight, "in Capella beate Marie in australi fenestra." This bears resemblance in many particulars to Hollar's figure, and may very possibly have been its prototype. The Knight appears in a long surcoat over a hauberk; he wears a singular cap, the lower part being turned up, like a cap of estate; on his left arm is a shield charged with a cross patée, and in his right hand a short staff, with a cross head of the like fashion. He holds up this staff, so that the cross is level with his head; whilst its haft or handle does not rest on the ground, as in Hollar's plate, but reaches only to the knee. Its head appears to be a cross inscribed within an octagon; the limbs are cut off straight, not bounded by a curve like the crosses on the slab at Bosbury figured above. It is extremely probable, as Mr. Franks has suggested in regard to the figure at Peterborough, that the octagonal form in question is to be attributed solely to the leading of the painted glass, through an inadvertent error which might easily occur to a draughtsman not familiar with the technical mode of working glass, the cross-head thus assumed, as shown likewise in Dugdale's plate, the appearance of a flat octagonal surface upon which a cross patée was carved or painted.

Mr. F. A. CARRINGTON, Recorder of Woodstock, read notices of certain customs connected with baptisms, marriages, and funerals, in Monmouth and South Wales. Occasionally, when the mother died shortly after childbirth, an infant had been baptised on her coffin at the funeral. Instances of this practice at Monmouth were cited, according to the information of the Rev. G. Roberts, formerly resident there. In a sermon preached by him in London, in 1852, and subsequently printed, the following passage occurs, in reference to the expression "baptised for the dead."—1 Cor. xv. 29. "It is alleged that baptism was sometimes performed over a dead body or over the graves of relatives who had died in the faith, as an earnest testimony of confidence in the resurrection of the dead: indeed the same custom seems to have lingered in some places even among ourselves . . . for I have known where it is usual to baptise a child whose mother had died, before she and it could be brought to church, upon the coffin at the funeral, and the child was then said to be baptised over the dead." Such a deviation from usual practice, in special consideration to the feelings of the surviving relatives, is stated to have occurred at Monmouth as lately as 1814; but the Vicar informed Mr. Carrington that no such custom now prevails, although still occasionally admitted in certain parts of the Principality; the baptismal water being sometimes placed on the coffin, instead of in the font, and the baptism

<sup>4</sup> Blomefield, Hist. of Norfolk, vol. vii. p. 426, states that on the west-walk of the churchyard at Shouldham lie several slabs, serving for coping-stones. "On these are the insignia of a Knight Templar, the cross patée on the head of a staff." See examples in Cutts' Manual

of Sepulchral slabs, p. 43, pl. 53, &c.

<sup>5</sup> It has been frequently copied. See the costume of a Templar, Secret Societies of the Middle Ages, p. 216. Walter Scott, in *Ivanhoe*, describes the Grand Master of the Order, bearing such a staff as the insignia of office.

performed in the church-porch, or even in the house of the parents before removal of the corpse.

The learned Recorder proceeded to relate the usual practices, peculiar to Wales, in regard to the Bidding, or invitation to the friends and relatives of betrothed parties, usually by printed notices, to assemble in the parents' houses and produce the wedding gifts. The next local customs noticed were the Bride's Ale, given at the father's house, when some small present is usually offered to the bride; the Fiddler preceding the nuptial party to the church-door, and awaiting their return; and the Horse Wedding, when the entire company mount and race across country, as if on a steeple-chase. Other marriage customs are, leading the bride round the font; the return with music from the church; and the subsequent presents.

In regard to Funeral customs, Mr. Carrington gave some interesting notices of the practice of strewing flowers before the procession; and of offering money on the communion table, at a certain period in the funeral service. The amount thus received by the officiating minister was sometimes large; but the practice has been discontinued, being regarded as a vestige of ante-Protestant usages, and originally an offering for prayers for the dead. At Monmouth it is still customary to decorate the graves with flowers on Palm Sunday. The Very Rev. Dr. Rock observed that representations of a like practice were to be found in the Catacombs at Rome. Many notices of the custom in this country will be found in Brand's Popular Antiquities.

Mr. W. BURGESS read an interesting account of some remarkable mural paintings, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, recently discovered in the south aisle of Charlwood Church, Surrey. They were brought to light in course of restorations, the fabric having become much decayed. Through the good taste and praiseworthy exertions of the Rector, the Rev. T. Burningham, these curious relics of early art had been brought to view and preserved. He had, moreover, engaged the skilful pencil of Mr. Burges in producing a careful drawing of these paintings; and by his obliging permission it was exhibited. The subjects depicted are from the legends of St. Nicholas and other Saints, with a very curious representation of the favourite moral admonition, *Les Trois Vifs et les Trois Morts*. Mr. Albert Way gave a brief notice of other examples of that subject in England and on the Continent. The best instance hitherto found in the southern counties is in the church of Battle, Sussex.

Mr. Burges produced, in illustration of this subject, some drawings of mural paintings on the roof of the small building, known as the "Chapelle des Pecheurs," adjoining the church of St. Brelade in Jersey, one of the original churches of the island restored about the time of Richard II.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. W. H. GUNNER.—A head of mottled vitrified paste, of dark blue and yellow colour, found in digging on Colden Common, situated in the parishes of Twyford and Owlesbury, Hants. It is of the class of relics usually referred to the British period. Diameter, nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. Colden Common, recently enclosed, was covered with fine oaks, and presented a pleasing feature of forest scenery: it was just outside the Park of Merewell, and doubtless had formed part of the episcopal hunting ground attached to

the manor of that name. The artificial pool called Fisher's Pond, one of the stews for the supply of the Bishop's household with fish, is within the limits of this common. The oaks have been lately felled, and the bead, which was found in breaking up the land, was brought to Mr. H. Moody, Curator of the Hampshire Museum. A few other beads of the like description have been subsequently found.

By Mr. R. READY.—An ovoidal stone, measuring nearly 4 inches in length, by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and shaped with perfect symmetry, probably in part obtained artificially. It is of a very hard, compact, and ponderous material. The weight is 17 oz. An old memorandum is attached, of which the following words may be deciphered: "From the lower part of the grave at Athelney near the Kelt and . . . Dec. 27, 1766."

By the Rev. G. H. HORNER.—A medallion of blue glass paste, representing St. Demetrius, in rilievo; apparently a reproduction of a very early type. It was obtained in the Isle of Zante.

By Mr. WEBB.—An ivory horn, or "oliphant," silver-mounted, sculptured with animals, lions, birds beak to beak, an eagle displayed, &c., introduced in compartments formed by branched and interlaced work, in the style of art of the twelfth century.—Sculptured ivory hilt of a dagger, on which appear a centaur playing on a lyre, a lover kneeling before a lady, &c., the field enriched with diapered patterns in gold.—A small casket enriched with enamelled subjects painted in light blue cameo; an example of rare occurrence, recently obtained in the East Indies. The subjects are, the Passage of the Red Sea, the Law delivered from Sinai, the Golden Calf, and the gathering of Manna. It is probably of Limoges work, early in the sixteenth century.—A small coffer with delicate paintings in enamel, in *grisaille*, signed I. P., the initials of Jean Pénicaud of Limoges; the subjects are battle-scenes. From Strawberry Hill, tenth day, lot 91.—A mirror-stand of enamelled metal, probably Venetian; the type of decoration is Oriental; the ground is rich blue, with small ornaments in white and gold. Date sixteenth century.

By Mr. W. TITE, M.P.—MS. of the Hours of the Virgin; a production of French art, but probably executed by Flemish artists in Paris. Date, fifteenth century. It contains a Calendar with the signs of the Zodiac, the rural occupations of the months of the year, and figures of Saints. There are eleven large illuminations in the volume, in which are found also the "Horæ Sancti Spiritus,—Officium defunctorum,—xv. Joyes de Nostre Dame,—vij. Requestes à Nostre Seigneur," &c.—Also three small silver chessmen, probably pawns, representing a musketeer, a pikeman, and a halberdier, in costume resembling that seen in De Gheyn's plates, engraved about 1590. The plate-marks are the initial P, the arms of Amsterdam, and a heart charged with a horn.

By Mr. HENRY FARRER, F.S.A.—A covered vessel of singular fashion, of gilt metal, with filigree work and jewelled bands, the cover surmounted by a crowned female head with long hair, sculptured in ivory. It was described as obtained from the cellars of the Bishops of Hildersheim.—A casket of ivory, sculptured with New Testament subjects, of early Greek character.—Six small medallions of niello, representing Europa, Dejanira, sea-gods, tritons, &c.—A remarkable specimen of Italian steel-work, repoussé and chased with great skill.—Sculptured ivory, the leaf of a devotional folding tablet, with scriptural subjects.—A Venetian *speculum*, or steel-glass, in a case of rosewood decorated with arabesques and gilding.

By Mr. EDWARD KITE, of Devizes. Several specimen plates of his forthcoming series of the "Sepulchral Brasses of Wiltshire." Among these memorials may be mentioned the half-figures of Thomas Polton and Edith his wife, who died in the reign of Henry V. A curious inscription in Latin verse is placed under these brasses, which are in Wanborough Church. Also another example, hitherto unpublished, commemorating George Rede, rector of Fovant; at the period when the tower of the church was rebuilt, as thus recorded, "tempore edificacionis nove turris ibidem." He died 1492. The figure is introduced kneeling, accompanied by a representation of the Annunciation, of remarkable and unusual character.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—A portion of ancient hangings of stamped leather, with which the walls of one of the principal rooms in an old mansion near Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, were decorated. The pattern is richly painted and gilt; at intervals groups are introduced, representing Meleager and the Calydonian boar.—An iron letter-padlock, formed with five rings, each inscribed with an alphabet, so contrived as to open like padlocks of recent manufacture, when the alphabets are set to a certain word. It was obtained at Worthing, and bears the date 1594, with the words FEER NOT.—A set of iron keys and implements of peculiar form for opening locks; either part of the appliances of some burglar in old times, or suited to locks of very intricate construction. They were found in Horsham gaol.—A glass bottle found near Steyning, of peculiar fashion, somewhat resembling an hourglass; the upright parts at the four corners, like the frame of the hour-glass, are blown with the bottle, and open into it, so that the liquid contained within passes through them, as well as the larger cavity, which they surround. This curious specimen of glass manufacture measures about 12 inches in height.

By Mr. MATHEWS.—The Book of Common Prayer, printed by William Seres, London, 1569: the initials rubricated; it is a fine copy in contemporary binding much ornamented. The Epistles and Gospels, imprinted at London by John Awdeley, in the same year, and the Book of Psalms, by John Daye, are bound up in the same volume.—Medals of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, preserved by his family. They will be noticed fully hereafter.

By Mr. W. H. BRACKSTONE.—A good example of white English ware, made in imitation of the pottery of Delft. It is a round dish or charger, inscribed ANN WILSONN · 1654, painted in blue, the inscription is in the centre, in an oval compartment, ensigned with a crown.

MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Mr. ROHDE HAWKINS.—Matrix of the Chapter Seal of the Cathedral Church of Udine (*Vedinum*), the ancient capital of Friuli. It represents a crowned figure of the Virgin, to whom the Cathedral was dedicated, seated on a rich Gothic throne; she holds a rose in her right hand, and supports with her left the infant Saviour, who is standing on her knee, and playing with a bird. Behind the throne hangs a diapered curtain, fastened up in festoons as it were to the wall behind the throne, with large nails. It deserves remark, that the throne is represented in perspective, which is unusual in seals, and the figure is slightly turned towards the right. Legend: ✠ · S · CAPITULI · UTINENSIS. The stops are all in the form of roses. Diam. 2½ in. The date of this remarkably fine seal may be assigned to the middle of the fourteenth century. Mr. Burges has remarked that it resembles in style the external sculptures of the Doge's Palace at Venice, which are of that period.



Danay, from the north-east. From a Photograph by Sir T. Maryon Wilson, Bart.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY. Published by the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. X. London: John Russell Smith, 36, Soho Square. 1858.

This volume of the Sussex Society contains somewhat less letter-press than either of the last two preceding, and we have no hesitation in stating, that we think the Committee have done wisely in returning to the quantity comprised in the earlier of their yearly publications. In the recent volumes we thought them over liberal. The promptitude with which this has been issued leaves no room to suspect the reduction is ascribable to any deficiency of materials. It comprises fourteen articles on a diversity of subjects, and these are preceded by a Report, in which a retrospect is taken of the progress of the Society; and, certainly, they have had cause for some self-congratulation. Before proceeding to mention the contents with more particularity, we would tender our thanks to the Committee for having, with their accustomed kindness, given us permission to use the woodcuts with which this notice of the publication is illustrated.

The first article comprises Extracts from MSS. in the possession of W. J. Campion, Esq., at Danny, Sussex, and of Sir Thomas M. Wilson, Bart., of Charlton House, Kent, which are edited by Mr. R. W. Blencowe. Danny, which is in the parish of Hurstpierpoint, should seem to have been part of the extensive possessions of the Earls of Warrene, and to have been granted by one of them to a Simon de Perpoint, who had a confirmation of it to some extent in 28 Edw. III. It afterwards became the property of Gregory Lord Dacre, who sold it in 24 Eliz. to George Goring, Esq., by whom the present mansion was built about 1595. This George Goring was, according to Horsfield, created Earl of Norwich by Charles I. in the 20th year of his reign (1644); but that is probably an error, for, as the first Goring, Earl of Norwich, died in 1662, it is more likely that he was the son of the George Goring who built Danny in 1595. Of this Elizabethan mansion in its present state we are able, through the kindness of the Committee, to give a print after a photograph taken by Sir Thomas M. Wilson. From the Gorings it passed by sale to the Courthopes, and from them by marriage to an ancestor of the present proprietor. At the time the letters presently mentioned, selected from the Danny MSS., were written, the Campions had not acquired the estate; but were residing at Combwell, in Goudhurst, Kent, a house of some antiquity near the borders of Sussex, which has since been converted into a farmhouse. The earlier portion of the Danny papers, from which extracts are published, is chiefly illustrative of passages in the life of Sir William Campion, who was killed at the siege of Colchester in 1648. Some of the letters were written while he was gallantly defending Borstall House, Bucks, against Fairfax, and testify to his loyalty and bravery on that occasion. These had previ-



ously appeared in Lipscombe's History of Buckinghamshire. The latter portion is more generally interesting, as it comprises several letters from Ray, the naturalist, who was an occasional visitor at Danny, and a correspondent of Mr. Peter Courthope, who had been one of his pupils, and whose daughter was the heiress that brought the estate into the Campion family. These letters give us characteristic glimpses of Ray, not only as a naturalist, but also as a tutor, friend, and non-conformist divine. The friendly relations, that sprung up between him and several of his pupils, speak much for the kindly disposition which thus won and retained their regard. With one of them the readers of the Sussex Collections have already become familiar; namely, Mr. Timothy Burrell, whose amusing illustrated Diary was edited by Mr. Blencowe in vol. iii., p. 117, of these Collections. It is pleasant to read of Ray's journeys on horseback, sometimes alone, and at others accompanied by a friend, and no doubt, as his habit was, always "simpling" as he went. The Charlton Papers are letters chiefly to or from Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, Bart., grandfather of the present Baronet, Sir Thomas M. Wilson. They owe their publication to there having been found at Danny a copy of a letter from him to his mother, written just after the battle of Minden, at which he, then a young man, was present as aide-de-camp to General Waldegrave, and so much distinguished himself, that his name was honourably mentioned in the celebrated order of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, that reflected on Lord George Sackville's conduct on that occasion. The original letter was afterwards found at Charlton House. These letters are contributions to modern history; but, as the Sussex Collections comprise history as well as antiquities, too rigid a line must not be drawn as to what materials are within the scope of the Society. Among these Charlton Papers are some letters from Jacob Bryant, written with a degree of humour hardly to have been expected from the author of "A New System or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology."

Sir HENRY ELLIS has contributed some Notices of Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester, 1570—1582. An Inventory of his goods is given, which was made out after his decease, and comprises chiefly stock on his manors, plate, and household goods; his books, forming one item, are valued at 20*l.*; his seal is also included and valued at 30*s.* This veteran antiquary has also furnished some observations on the Commissions of Sewers for the Lewes Levels.

From the Rev. JOSEPH DALE we have a communication on the South Doorway of Bolney Church. It appears that when he went to reside at Bolney in 1849, he observed, in passing through the porch, that the outside of the lofty and very ancient door of the church had, when shut, very little more than two-thirds of its height visible, the upper part having been concealed by a large beam resting on the extremity of the side walls of the porch, a structure bearing the date of 1718, and by a flat ceiling about two feet below the apex of the pointed roof of the same. Perceiving a series of grooves, about two or three inches in length, behind the top part of the beam and the ceiling, he was induced to make an examination, and on the removal of the beam and ceiling he exposed to view the arch of the doorway, as it appears in the woodcut on the next page. The two south chamfers of the stones or abaci, from which the arch springs, had been roughly chiselled or rudely knocked off to admit of the beam being laid flush on the outward wall of the church. The porch of 1718 had replaced an earlier porch of higher pitch, which left room for the arch. Bolney

church has been said to contain some portions of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and Mr. Dale is disposed to regard this doorway as Ante-Norman. The height of it in proportion to the width is unusual, it being nearly nine feet from the pavement to the centre of the arch; while its width does not exceed three feet. Mr. Dale points out what he supposes to be the earliest portions of the church. The tower, which is of brick, was built in 29 Henry VIII., as appears by the churchwardens' accounts, some extracts from which showing this fact were published in vol. vi. of the Sussex Collections. Horsfield was so much misled as to state that the tower was the oldest part of the church.



Mr. W. S. ELLIS has furnished "Observations on the Earls of Eu and some of their presumed descendants," to which a pedigree is subjoined, tracing them from Richard I., Duke of Normandy. Though brief, this paper is suggestive, and the pedigree may assist persons engaged in inquiries as to that family. There is still much that needs verification. Mr. Ellis supposes that the arms of those early Earls of Eu, or at least of one of them, were a fret or fretty. This is, and we apprehend is likely to remain, a matter of conjecture, unless by some good fortune a seal of one of them

with his arms should be discovered. As the last of those Earls died in the reign of Richard I., it may be doubted whether they had any hereditary arms. The earliest coat that might seem referable to that earldom, which we are aware of, is that of Ralph de Issoudun, Earl of Eu, who died in 1218; it is said to be barry, without more,<sup>1</sup> but probably a label was overlooked; for the seal of his widow, Alice Countess of Eu, who was the daughter and heiress of the Earl who died *t. Rich. I.*, is engraved in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 369, and the only arms on it are barry with a label. That however was, in all probability, the coat of Lusignan with a difference; for Ralph de Issoudun was a younger son of Hugh le Brun, Earl of Marche, the head of that family. Another coat early connected with the Earldom of Eu is billey a lion rampant, which is on the seal of Joanna Countess of Eu *c.* 1300, engraved by Vredius; but this may be Brienne, which was *az. billey a lion rampant* of the latter. For her husband's grandfather, Alphonso of Brienne, married Mary Countess of Eu, the heiress of Ralph Earl of Eu, the only son of the before mentioned Alice Countess of Eu. We see Mr. Ellis has followed Dugdale in calling her son William.

From Mr. W. DURRANT COOPER we have a paper on Smuggling in Sussex, which opens with a sketch of the early trade in Wool. The restrictions on the exportation of this commodity gave rise to a considerable contraband trade along the coasts of that county, which afterwards assumed a different character. Many readers will learn, with something like astonishment, what daring acts of lawless violence were perpetrated by Sussex smugglers as late as the last century.

The Rev. EDWARD TURNER, having had access to the documents in the possession of Magdalen College Oxford, relating to Sele Priory, has availed himself of the privilege to produce a more complete history of that house than had before appeared. It is entitled "Sele Priory, and some Notice of the Carmelite Friars at New Shoreham, and the Secular Canons of Steyning." The Priory was founded, in connection with the Benedictine Abbey of St. Florent de Saumur, by William de Braose, one of the companions of the Conqueror, who had given him Bramber Castle and forty-one manors in that part of Sussex. Its growth and history are traced till it was made denizen in 1396, and thence to its annexation to Magdalen College, at the instance of Waynflete, in 1459; an arrangement in which the monks seem for a long time to have refused to acquiesce. Their number was reduced to one in 1480; and it was in 1493 given over to the use of the Carmelite Friars of New Shoreham, apparently without being severed from the College. Among the muniments at Magdalen College are many that once belonged to these Friars. From them it appears that while at New Shoreham they had a grant of a messuage with a chapel, held under a lease from the Knights Templars, which was afterwards confirmed by the Prior of the Hospitalers. The lease was granted by Guy de Foresta, the Grand Master of the Templars in England, and has the Seal of the Order attached; which "is circular, and of green wax, with the impression of the arms of the Knights Templars—a lamb with its head encircled in a glory, holding a flag, on the top of the staff of which is a cross, around which is + SIGILLVM TEMPLI; and at the back is a small head, the inscription of which is quite illegible."

<sup>1</sup> Sussex Archaeol. Collections, viii. p. 150.

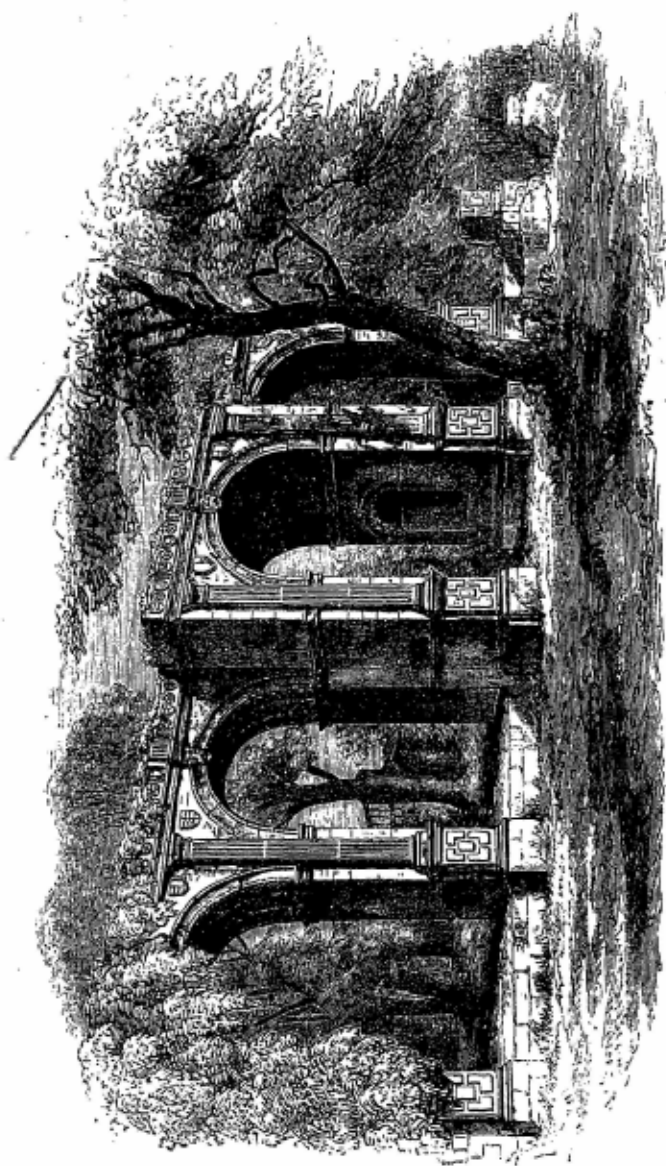
There is a mutilated seal of the Prior of the Hospitalers attached to the confirmation. This house of Carmelite Friars had been founded by John de Mowbray, whose widowed mother Aliva, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of the William de Braose who died in 1322, afterwards married Richard de Peshale or Peshale. His seal, which occurs on one of the deeds, is remarkable for its heraldry, the arms being a cross patonce with an inescutcheon upon it charged with a lion rampant. Here we seem to have the arms of Peshale himself, a cross patonce, with those of his wife (Braose), on an inescutcheon, in the same manner as the arms of an heiress are in modern times borne by her husband. A cut of this seal is given in the volume under review, p. 119, and also in Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*, p. 226. It is true the crosses of the field of Braose do not appear, but that may reasonably be attributed to the smallness of the inescutcheon. The deed is dated 4 January, 3 Edw. III. (1330). This mode of a husband bearing the arms of his wife in such a case, though now in accordance with heraldic usage, was then a very rare anomaly. Of the Canons of Steyning little was previously known; and to that but little has been added. The paper concludes with a list of the Priors of Sele, so far as they had been ascertained. We are glad to find corporate bodies like Magdalen College allowing access to their archives for literary purposes; and we readily commend both their liberality, and also Mr. Turner's industry, that has turned the opportunities afforded him to such good account.

Mr. T. HERBERT NOYES has contributed a Subsidy Roll of the 13 Henry IV., so far as relates to the county of Sussex. To the ordinary reader nothing can be much more dull or uninteresting, but to the local historian and the genealogist such documents have an especial value. They give the names of a large number of the landed proprietors at the time, and of the manors which they held, or of the parishes in which their respective lands lay. We see in them where younger sons were located, and what formed the provision for widows of proprietors recently deceased: if we do not learn when they died, we learn that at that time the husbands were dead and the widows living. Sometimes an unknown marriage is revealed; at others a forgotten one is recalled to memory. In this Roll we have Gerard Ufflete holding a third-part of the lordship of Bramber in right of his wife, Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk. That match was not unknown, but is sometimes overlooked. The lady was Elizabeth Fitzalan, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel. Sir Gerard was her third husband; the first was William de Montacute, eldest son of the Earl of Salisbury of that name; the second Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, he who was to have fought Henry IV., when Earl of Hertford, before King Richard II., at Coventry; and the lady lived to take a fourth in Sir Robert Goushill. A series of these Rolls carefully edited would be of great utility.

It may be in the recollection of some of our readers, that in January, 1858, an ancient boat, carved out of a tree, was discovered in what had long ago been the mud of a creek leading out of the River Arun, but is now part of a meadow in the parish of Burpham. The particulars of this discovery, and a description of the boat, are given by Mr. Thomas Spencer, on whose estate it was found, with woodcuts of the boat, and of a wooden holdfast resembling an anchor, which was used probably to moor it to the bank. As noticed by that gentleman, several old boats, more or less like it, have been found in Kent and Sussex; one of them in 1834

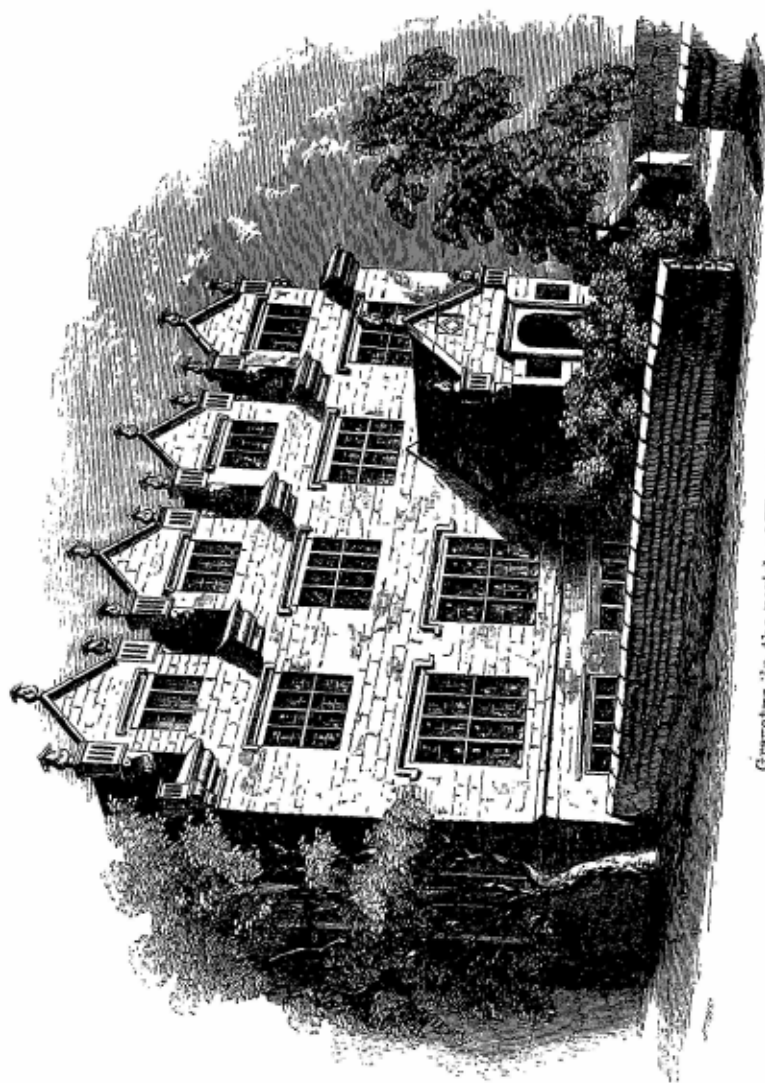
also in the Arun. That recently brought to light was 13 feet 9 inches long, and 1 foot 7 inches wide inside. There was a hole apparently for a mast. It has been deposited in the Museum of the Sussex Society, at Lewes.

"Wakehurst, Slaugham, and Gravetye," the names of three old houses in Sussex, is the title of a contribution by Mr. Blaauw. Of the first, which is in the parish of Ardingley, he says: "Among the many large old mansions of Sussex, few have been so little known to topographers as Wakehurst Place; and as a great portion has been destroyed even within the last few years, it will be well to put on record some notice of it, and of the important family which built and inhabited it." After mentioning the family of Wakehurst, the two co-heiresses of which married Culpepers, he proceeds to notice that family, of the Sussex branch of which he gives a pedigree; one of whom, Sir Edward Culpeper, built this house about 1590, as appears by that date and his initials over a small door in the west front. Two interior views of the Hall and Staircase have been published in Nash's *Ancient Mansions in the Olden Time*, where he has inadvertently described the building as of brick; whereas, the exterior is of stone. Sir W. Burrell's Notes in the British Museum state that "it was of considerable extent, and was originally a square, the south front of which has been taken down a considerable time." On what authority this is asserted, Mr. Blaauw says, does not appear; and he mentions that there were no signs left of such partial destruction about fourteen years ago; but unhappily since that time both the wings have been shortened three-fifths of their length, and their now stunted frontage is faced by replacing the same gables which terminated formerly the more extended wings. The heavy roofing of Horsham stone had so pressed upon the beams, that the expenses of repair were alleged as necessitating this lamentable destruction. Previous to this alteration the south front extended 110 feet 11 inches from east to west, each wing being 25 feet wide, leaving an open court between them; and the fronts to the east and to the west facing the garden were 109 feet 6 inches in length. The many dormer windows, with their enriched crocketed gables and pinnacles, gave a peculiar noble air to the court, when approaching the great central porch. The hall, though a handsome room, is not so large as is often found in such mansions: it has an embossed stucco ceiling, with a deep frieze of mermaids and other devices, and the family crest (a falcon *argent* with wings extended, beak and tassels *or*, on the breast a crescent, standing upon the branch of a tree with a branch issuing from it, *proper*) is seen between E. C. at the west end. For further details we must content ourselves with a reference to Mr. Blaauw's description of the house as it was before the mutilation just mentioned, and to the illustrative engravings of it from clever drawings made by Mrs. F. Davies. He has put on record some notes of the heraldry that he found remaining in the hall.—The stately remains of Slaugham Manor House, also little known to topographers, attest the importance of the Covert family in the county. It was built by one of them in the reign of James I., within a park of 1200 acres. In less than two centuries and a half its own grandeur has passed away, as well as the ancient family that once occupied it with a retinue, it is said, of seventy persons. The situation of it is low, being at the foot of the hill on which the village and church stand. The buildings of the house itself extended over a space of 175 feet



Slaughter Manor House, North Front.

in length, by 133 in breadth; but these were inclosed, in a manner unusual at the period of its erection, within a much larger area, bounded by a square stone wall, with turrets at the angles and on the sides, and an outside moat, which still retains some moisture on the south side, where the pier of a bridge remains opposite an open passage in the ruins. A large sheet of water near at hand was, no doubt, connected with the moat. The north wall had been widened into a terrace 20 feet broad, and about 300 feet long, opposite to the most ornamental front of the house; and the whole ground now occupied by fruit-trees and a rabbit-warren was probably devoted to a garden and the offices commonly placed near a mansion. There remain portions of the decorated centres of three fronts. Of that towards the north, availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we give the accompanying print. The south side, which abuts on the wall, was occupied at the south-west corner by the spacious kitchen, measuring 35 feet by 25 feet, having two fire-places, one 13 feet wide, separated by an oven from a second which is 7 feet wide: in the same side were other offices now destroyed. The plan seems to have comprised an interior square court of 80 feet; and on the west side are still considerable remains of a hall 54 feet by 23 feet in dimensions, and also of dwelling apartments which had bay windows with stone mullions. A large portion of the house was taken down in the last century; and the carved oak staircase, which formed the grand approach to the upper rooms, was removed to Lewes, and, though somewhat maimed in its proportions, was put up in the Star Inn, where it still remains an object of admiration. The quaintly carved devices upon it are characteristic of the period. A woodcut of it, from a drawing by Mr. N. Lower, contributes to the illustration of the paper under notice. There must have been a profuse display of heraldry on the building, for much still remains on the ruins. Mr. Blaauw has given notes of the bearings on the weatherworn shields, so far as he was able to make them out. The Coverts would seem to have had a great love for such decoration, as even on a small house of theirs at Hangleton, now used as a labourer's residence, a string course of shields with some of the alliances of the Coverts runs across the projecting centre; and over the window above it are other coats. A pedigree of the family is given in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, and a few extracts from some of their wills are printed in this communication. —The Elizabethan mansion of Gravetye in the parish of West Hoathley, with its broad mullioned windows and terraced garden, retains much of its original appearance. "Its series of tall dormer windows, grotesquely breaking up into fragments its ponderous cornice, and the Doric triglyphs, supported on corbels and upholding pinnacles at the angles, give the architecture a very peculiar character." The stone porch has on it the initials H. F., and in the spandrels of the west door are the initials R. I. and K. I., all relating to the family of Infield, who for a brief period possessed the property. The ceiling of the hall is ornamented with a series of devices in stucco, viz., a ram's head erased, an oak-leaf with acorns as a crest, a bunch of grapes with vine leaves, a rose with a leafy branch, and a pelican vulning itself. An iron chimney-back in the hall exhibits the last mentioned initials thus: "R. I. an<sup>o</sup>. Do. 1598, K. I." The family name of Infield is supposed to have been originally the Essex name Hanningfield; its intermediate forms having been Inningfield and Engfield, as it occurs in the Subsidy Roll, 19 James (1625), printed in vol. ix., p. 71, of the



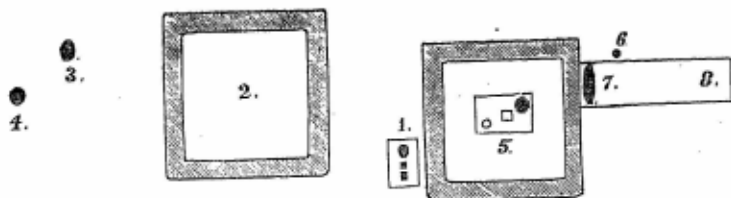
Chantry, in the parish of West Heathley, Sussex.





Sussex Collections. A family of that name held property at Lingfield, Surrey, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Richard Infield, supposed to have been descended from them, married Katherine, daughter of Edward Culpeper of Wakehurst, and is believed to have built this house. The H. F. on the porch should seem to be of later date, and to stand for Henry Faulconer, who married the heiress, probably a granddaughter, of Richard and Katherine Infield.

From the Rev. W. SMITH we have an account of certain Roman Sepulchral remains lately discovered at Densworth in the parish of Funtington, Sussex. This is a detailed description of the discovery which was communicated to the Institute at our meeting in January, 1858, and has been reported among the Proceedings at p. 152 of vol. xv. of this Journal. Mr. Smith describes traces of considerable earthworks, consisting of a fosse and vallum, that once extended, he conceives, fully eight miles, and was in connection with part of the lines in which the sepulchral remains de-



1. Cist, containing bones of a child and four glass vessels.
2. Enclosure, 12 ft. by 12; supposed to have contained a tile cist
3. Urn of earthenware, buried in the ground without protection.
4. Ditto. Both this and No. 3 have been broken by the plough.
5. Cist, containing decayed glass vessels, with bones, earthen urn, and fragments of iron.
6. Urn, broken, containing bones, with coin of Hadrian.
7. Stones on which fire had been lighted.
8. Charcoal-bed, 9 ft. by 2, at the depth of 14 to 16 inches.

scribed by him were found. We gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded us to reproduce the woodcut showing the Plan of the interments;



and also the woodcuts of the Urns found at Nos. 3 and 4, and of the Glass found in Cist No. 1, in illustration of the report in our own Proceedings of this remarkable discovery; but our limited space obliges us to

refer our readers to the volume under review for the further particulars furnished by Mr. Smith respecting these antiquities. It may suffice here to observe, that the largest of the glass vessels here figured is a *diota*, bearing close resemblance in form and dimensions to the vase found with a sepulchral deposit at Geldeston, Norfolk, as described by Mr. James Yates in this

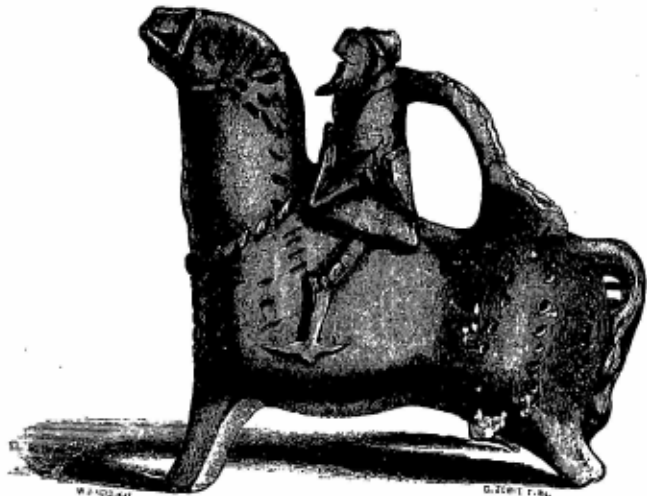


Journal, vol. vi., p. 110. The height of the vase found in Sussex is 12 inches, its diameter 10 inches; the two handles are of considerable breadth and solidity, the globular body of the vessel being of thin green glass. A small glass phial, described as having the appearance of a "lachrymatory," was found inserted as a stopper in the neck of the vase, but there can be little doubt that such had not been its original

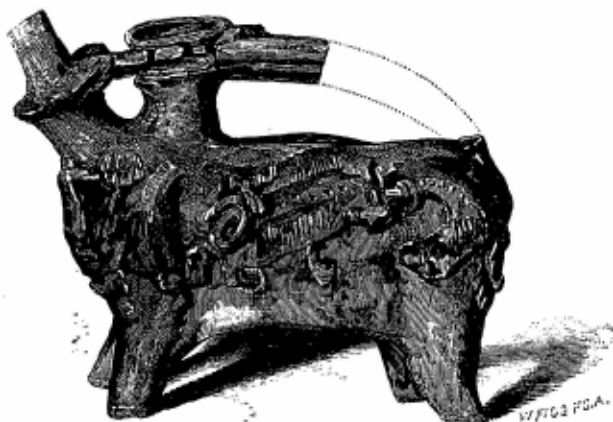


intention. It appears to be one of the small recipients for perfumes or unguents, often found accompanying ancient interments; but this example is remarkable as bearing at the bottom a device, or maker's mark, a human figure robed and surrounded by an inscription of which the letters . . . RIM . . . only can be decyphered. (See woodcuts.) Two other glass vessels were also found, and are figured above. These had been formed in a mould, and measure  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. One of them contained remains of some brown vegetable substance, resembling lees of red wine. Notices of vessels of glass, either used as *Ossuaria*, or discovered with Roman interments, may be found in the memoir by Mr. Yates before cited, also in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, plates ix. x., and in the two valuable works by the Abbé Cochet, "*La Normandie Souterraine*," and "*Sépultures Gauloises, Romaines*," &c.





Ewer of glazed ware, found at Lewes in 1846.  
Height, 10 in.; length, 11½ in.



Ewer of glazed ware, found at Seaford, May, 1858.  
Height 8½ in.; length, 11½ in.



Ancient Greek vessel, found at Agrigentum.

Mr. LOWER has slightly touched the subject of Inns and Inn-signs in Sussex. We agree with him that "the archaeology of Inns is a subject which merits more attention than it has yet received. It offers several illustrations of the manners and habits of our ancestors which have become obsolete. The Signs, too, by which these houses of entertainment are distinguished, are in many instances connected with religious symbolism and with heraldry." In our old towns where little change has taken place the inn-signs are historical, and even sometimes biographical fragments. Royal and baronial badges, that were famous rallying points, and marks of fellowship, protection, and support in those days, there linger, though little understood; and some of the Signs are among the latest vestiges of families that have almost passed into oblivion. Often may the tourist with an heraldic eye still read, who have been the ancient lords of the soil, in the Bulls, Bears, Lions, Dragons, Boars, Swans, &c., of the humble inns of our villages and country towns.

Mr. FIGG has called attention to another quaint piece of mediæval pottery that has been discovered in Sussex. It was found at Seaford in May last, in digging the foundation of a school-house, and bears some resemblance to the mounted knight found at Lewes in 1846, of which a description by him and a wood-cut were published in this Journal, vol. iv., p. 79, and also in the Sussex Collections, vol. i., p. 45. Of the newly-discovered piece, which is in height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and in length  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches, he says, "the figure is intended for that of a stag; on each of the sides are rude figures representing boars attacked both before and behind by animals of which it is difficult to give a description; they may be intended for griffins or dogs. It is covered with green glaze of a somewhat lighter colour than that found in 1846. The workmanship is so similar as almost to lead to the supposition that they were both made by the same individual. In that recently found the workmanship is more elaborate, and therefore probably a later production from the same manufactory, if not from the same hand." It was much broken, but has been so well restored, that nothing is wanting except a few small pieces, the loss of which in no way interferes with the perfect understanding of the whole design. Several fragments of pottery, apparently patterns of a similar figure, were discovered in the earth turned up on that occasion. With the representation of this curious ewer we are enabled to place before our readers that of the vessel formerly discovered at Lewes as above noticed, and an example of a much earlier period, found at Agrigentum, and in the form of a cow. It appears to have been intended for some such purpose as the mediæval vessels found in Sussex, and is well deserving of notice for comparison with them. Ewers in forms of lions or other animals, knightly figures, &c., have repeatedly been brought under our notice, and an enumeration of the most remarkable examples has been given in this Journal, vol. xv., p. 280. Mediæval relics of this description are comparatively rare. Part of a vessel of dark mottled glazed ware, probably intended to serve as an ewer, was exhibited in the museum at the meeting of the Institute at Chester. It was found in that city, and is in the collection of the Chester Archæological Society. A fragment, part of a knightly figure on horseback, found in London, is figured in Journ. Arch. Assoc., 1857, p. 132. A similar relic, of green-glazed ware, dug up in the church-yard of Winwick, Lancashire, is now in the Warrington Museum; and another has recently been found at Warrington, which is in the

possession of Dr. Kendrick of that town. It is figured in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire, vol. x., p. 338.

Mr. J. G. NICHOLS has contributed a notice of the Progress of King Edward VI. in Sussex. It was the only progress made by that Sovereign, and took place, he says, in 1552, correcting, in regard to the year, some statements respecting it in more than one of the earlier volumes of the Sussex Collections. Edward's other journeys had only exceeded the round of his palaces by a visit to the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham. On this occasion he left London on the 27th of June, and visited the following places in the order in which they are named, viz., Hampton Court, Oatlands, Guildford, Petworth, Cowdray, Halnaker, Warblington, Bishop's Waltham, Portsmouth, Titchfield, Southampton, Beaulieu, Christ Church, Woodlands in Dorsetshire, Salisbury, Wilton, Mottisfont, Winchester, Basing, Donnington Castle, and Reading; and thence came to Windsor, where he arrived on the 15th of September. Mr. Nichols has confined his remarks, with few exceptions, to the Sussex portion of the Progress, as was to be expected from the purpose and title of his communication.

Some Notes and Queries conclude the volume. One of them records that the Brass at Echingham Church, to the memory of Elizabeth Echyngham and Agnes Oxenbrigg, who died in 1452 and 1480 respectively, has been found to have an earlier inscription at the back; and another of them announces the discovery of a Roman pavement near Danny, in the parish of Hurstpierpoint.

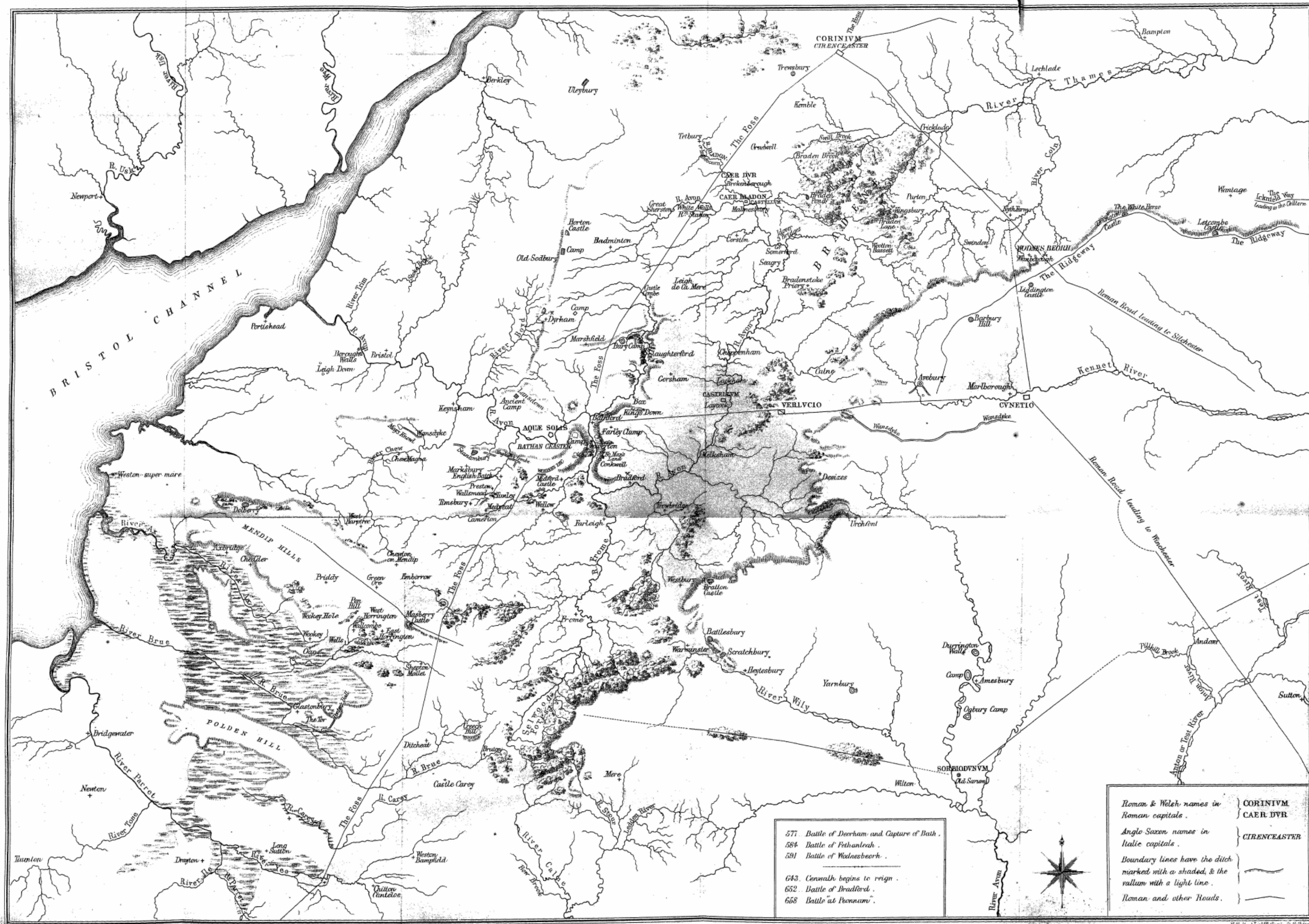
### Archæological Intelligence.

The Rev. ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A., announces as ready for the Press, a Dictionary of the Cornish Dialect of the Cymraeg, or ancient British language, in which the words are elucidated by examples from the Cornish works now remaining. The synonyms will be given in the cognate dialects, Welsh, Armoric, Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, showing the connection between the different dialects, and forming a Celtic Lexicon. A comparative grammar will be prefixed. The work will form one volume quarto; subscribers' names are received by the author, Rhydycroesau, Oswestry.

In the Public Library at Zurich is preserved a remarkable Roll of Arms, of the fourteenth century, formerly in the collection of the learned Scheuchzer. It measures about twelve feet in length, and comprises not less than 587 coats of sovereign princes, and of the chief noble families of Europe, carefully drawn and illuminated. Three specimen plates were produced by the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich, in 1848, in their valuable Transactions; and their President, Dr. Keller, proposes to publish a facsimile of the entire Roll (by subscription) forming one vol. 4to., with about 24 plates in colours. The great utility of so early an authority, for identification of monuments, works of art, &c., requires no comment. The subscription price is 20 francs (about 16s.). Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Willis and Sotheran, 136, Strand.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Archæological Institute will commence at CARLISLE, on Tuesday, July 26.





577 Battle of Deorham and Capture of Bath.  
 584 Battle of Fethanleah.  
 591 Battle of Wadnesbeorh.  
 643 Cenwalh begins to reign.  
 652 Battle of Brunanburh.  
 658 Battle at Pennum.



Roman & Welsh names in  
 Roman capitals. } CORINIVM  
 CAER DWR  
 Anglo Saxon names in  
 Italic capitals. } CIRENCEASTER  
 Boundary lines have the ditch  
 marked with a shaded, & the  
 vallum with a light line.  
 Roman and other Roads.





## The Archaeological Journal.

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JUNE, 1859.

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ON THE BOUNDARIES THAT SEPARATED THE WELSH AND ENGLISH RACES DURING THE 75 YEARS WHICH FOLLOWED THE CAPTURE OF BATH, A.D. 577; WITH SPECULATIONS AS TO THE WELSH PRINCES, WHO DURING THAT PERIOD WERE REIGNING OVER SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Gonville and Caius College.

SOME years back I laid before the Institute<sup>1</sup> certain opinions I had been led to form, with reference to the districts respectively occupied by the Welsh and English races subsequently to the Treaty of the Mons Badonicus. I would now call attention to the boundaries that separated the two races at another important epoch of our history, I mean after the settlement which necessarily followed the battle fought at Deorham, A. D. 577. This battle was one of those events which change the fortunes of a people. It led, as we learn from the Chronicle, to the surrender of the three great cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath; and must have left our ancestors in quiet possession of the whole basin of the Severn—at least, on this side of the river—from the walls of Bath to the woodlands of Arden. The Welshmen living south of Bath seem to have come early into an arrangement with the conquerors, but we know that these restless soldiers were carrying on their desolating inroads in other directions for several years afterwards. The following entry refers to one of these inroads.

“A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits at the place that is called Fethanleah, and there Cutha was

<sup>1</sup> Vid. “The early English Settlements in South Britain.” Salisbury Volume, Arch. Institute, p. 28.

slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry (*yrre*) he returned to his own country."

The Chronicle does not disclose to us any ground for Ceawlin's anger, and I can only account for the existence of such a feeling on the supposition that he considered the check he received at Fethanleah to be owing to some misconduct on the part of his own officers. This hypothesis may help us to an explanation of the following entries:

"A. 590. Now Ceol reigned 5 years."

"A. 591. Now was there great slaughter at Wodnes beorh and Ceawlin was driven out."

From Malmesbury we learn that on this occasion both Englishmen and Britons conspired against him, *De Gestis*, 1, 2; and from the Appendix to Florence we further learn, that among the rebels was his own nephew Ceol, whom two years previously he had made his viceroy—probably over the newly-conquered districts of the Severn-valley. The disaffection which Ceawlin's harshness had left behind him in that neighbourhood may have furnished the inducement which tempted the nephew to rebel against his benefactor: we are expressly told "*immerito rebellavit.*" *Flor. App.*

As Ceawlin's defeat is an incident of some importance in this inquiry, it will not be amiss to dwell awhile on the circumstances that attended it.

*Wodnes beorh* was not merely celebrated as the scene of Ceawlin's defeat. In the long struggle for supremacy between Wessex and Mercia, after the latter had advanced its frontiers to Cirencester, it was always at Wodensburgh that the kings of Wessex stood on their defence. Yet the situation of this important post has not yet been determined. According to Sir R. C. Hoare, it was at Woodborough, south of the Wansdyke, though he also tells us that there is a place called Wanborough;<sup>2</sup> according to a suggestion of the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*,<sup>3</sup> it may have been at "Wemborow?"—a place I am unacquainted with; according to Mr. Thorpe, the place is undetermined;<sup>4</sup> while Lappenberg<sup>5</sup> thinks there may have been a temple of Woden at Wodensburgh, and that it was with special

<sup>2</sup> North Wilts, p. 16 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Flor. Wig. Chron.* 9. *Hist. Society's*

*Series.*

<sup>5</sup> *Lapp. Hist. of Engl.*, Thorpe's Transl. i. 263.

reference to such temple that the kings of Wessex took post there. As there is so much in our early history which must ever remain uncertain, we ought not to leave unsettled any question that really admits of settlement. The place is beyond all question Wanborough, near Swindon.

I have observed elsewhere that names of places which, in the Anglo-Saxon times, took what may be termed the genitival form, not unfrequently appear as simple compounds a few centuries later. Thus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I should expect to find, instead of Wodens burgh the simple compound *Woden-burgh*;<sup>6</sup> and Wanborough would be the modern corruption of *Woden-burgh*, just as Wansdyke is the modern corruption of Wodens dyke,<sup>7</sup> and Wensday (the ordinary pronunciation of Wednesday) is the modern corruption of Woden's day. Here, then, we have identity of *name*, and that it indicates identity of *place*, will hardly be doubted by any one who casts his eye over the map, and sees all the great highways of Wessex converging to a point in the neighbourhood of this village. When posted at Wanborough, the king of Wessex had Roman roads whereby to communicate with Winchester and Old Sarum, the capitals of his two principal shires, while another Roman road came to him from Silchester through the heart of Berkshire, and the Icknield Street brought him the men of the Chiltern, and adjacent parts of Oxfordshire. It was neither to protect nor to be protected by any Temple of Woden, that he took post at Woden's burgh. A military necessity fixed him there; it was the key of Wessex.

At Wanborough, then—as it were in the threshold of his house—Ceawlin prepared for the final struggle. After a reign of more than thirty years, and conquests such as no

<sup>6</sup> Aubrey, in his *Mon. Brit.*, actually calls Wanborough by this name.

<sup>7</sup> I have ever considered this word as exhibiting the true etymology of Wansdyke. Vide Salisbury Vol. Arch. Institute, p. 28 n. From some expressions that occur in Mr. Scarth's paper on "The Course of the Wansdyke," *Som. Arch. J.* vol. vii. part 2, p. 16, a hasty reader might be led to infer, that I adopted Stukeley's etymology, which every Saxon scholar must repudiate.

It is a speculation of Grimm, in which he is followed by Kemble, *Sax. in Engl. i.*

52 and 343, that Woden, like Mercurius, was the God of boundaries. The Latin Mercurius, the Greek Hermes, and his prototype the Saramaya of the Sanscrit hymns were all of them supposed to have the superintendence of boundaries, and as they all three presided over the planet Mercury, with which our own Woden was connected, it is a reasonable conjecture, that Woden is the English representative of these divinities, and as such partook of their attributes. This hypothesis will account for the names both of Wanborough and of Wansdyke.

other English king could boast of, he had to meet revolted subjects in alliance with the people he had so often vanquished. The English settlers of the Severn-valley, with their Welsh confederates, must have advanced, like the Mercians at a later period, along the Roman road leading from Cirencester; and after one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles recorded in our annals, Ceawlin was defeated. Two years afterwards he died in exile.

After such a defeat, Wessex must have been long in a state of weakness and prostration, but it had recovered its former power, when A.D. 643, Cenwalh became its king. His repudiation of his wife, the sister of Penda King of Mercia, the invasion of Wessex by that monarch, the expulsion of Cenwalh, his conversion to Christianity during his exile, and his return to his kingdom by the aid of his kinsman Cuthred are matters of history, and need not here detain us. It was four years after his return from exile, and in the ninth year of his reign, that he began the career of conquest, which brings him into connection with our present subject.

From Malmesbury we gather, that after the expulsion of Cenwalh, the Britons, emboldened it would seem by the opportunity, and ill brooking the condition to which they had been reduced, made attempts to throw off the supremacy of Wessex.<sup>8</sup> The steps by which Cenwalh re-asserted English dominion, and effected the final subjugation of the Britons in the north of Somersetshire, are recorded in the following entries of the Chronicle.

"A. 652. Now Cenwalh fought at Bradan ford (Bradford) by Avon.

"A. 658. Now Cenwalh fought against the Weals at the Pens (æt Peonnum), and drove them to the Pedride (Parret)."

It will be seen that the Chronicle does not mention the enemy with whom Cenwalh fought at Bradford. But we know of no enemy he was engaged with after his return from exile but the Welsh, and it would be difficult to say what other adversary he could encounter in that locality.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> De Gestis, i. 2.

<sup>9</sup> There would not be room for doubt on the subject, but for the expression of Ethelwerd, "*bellum gessit civile*." Little

weight, however, is due to the statements of this writer at any time; and his ignorance is more than usually conspicuous in this part of his narrative.

The battle "at the Pens" must have made the whole of Somersetshire north of Selwood English ground, and the Welsh, who up to the period when Cenwalh began his conquests, had been living in the neighbourhood of Bath, must either have retired southwards, or been absorbed in the English population which followed the tide of conquest. We have to inquire what were the boundaries which separated the Welshmen of this district from their English neighbours during the interval that elapsed between the conquests of Ceawlin and these later conquests of his successor Cenwalh.

It was for a long time, and I believe it still is<sup>1</sup> the prevalent opinion among our antiquaries, that the Wansdyke was the southern boundary of Ceawlin's conquests. The doubts I had long entertained as to the correctness of this opinion were strengthened on reading the account of the survey of the Wansdyke which Sir R. C. Hoare has given us in his work on North Wiltshire. After tracing the dyke over certain meadows to Englishcombe Church, he tells us, "In the two uppermost of these fields, called farther and hither home grounds (Cattle) the ridge is very grand and perfect. At the head of the latter of these grounds I observed another bank and ditch steering towards Wansdyke from the south-west."—North Wilts, p. 25. I took the earliest opportunity that offered itself after reading this passage of examining the bank and ditch referred to, and found them extending the whole length of the hither home ground, alongside of, and merely separated by a hedge from, the lane leading thence to English-batch. The vallum was some 4 feet high, and the ditch was *to the westward*. On leaving the hither home ground the dyke<sup>2</sup>

He actually mistook the name of the place where the second battle was fought for that of an English king—"Cenualh et Peonna reges bella restaurant Britan-nos adversus."

<sup>1</sup> The latest notice of the subject I have met with, is contained in a paper written by the Rev. F. Warre, a gentleman who has made the earthworks of the West of England his particular study. He thinks Ceawlin "probably extended his conquest to the coast of the Bristol Channel, somewhere between Portishead and Weston-super-mare." Som. Arch. Jour. 1856 and 1857, part 2, p. 50. At

some point of the coast between these two places, the Wansdyke, according to the generally received opinion, terminated its course.

<sup>2</sup> The Anglo-Saxon term *dīc* was used both as a masculine and as a feminine substantive; and it was a suggestion of Kemble's, that in the former case it might signify the vallum, and in the latter, the foss or ditch. *Dyke* is its modern representative in the north, and *ditch* in the south of England, and our ordinary English employs the first of these words to signify the vallum, and the other the fossa. But in the north *dyke* is used in

crossed the lane and entering a ploughed field was lost. I followed its direction in the hope of finding some other portion of it; but the season was an unfavourable one, the trees being in full leaf,<sup>3</sup> and it was not till I reached Walls-mead some 6 miles south of Bath, that I recovered any traces of the object I was in search of. Eastward of the homestead of this name a stretch of meadow sweeps over a small combe, and then rises to the ridge overlooking the great valley in which lie Medyat and Camerton. Here, just where I had expected to find it, on the very line of watershed separating the drainage of the Frome from that of the Avon, I discovered a fragment of the dyke. It was but a fragment, for the grass land narrowed to a point on reaching the ridge, but though the dyke was on the very verge of the descent into the valley, its ditch was to the westward, and I felt convinced that it formed part of the line of earth-work I had been examining at Englishcombe. A belt of trees that had been planted on it,<sup>4</sup> was continued some 300 yards into the ploughed field immediately adjoining it to the northward, and I had little doubt that when the belt was planted, the dyke was for the whole of this distance a conspicuous feature in the landscape, and as such gave name to the adjacent pastures.

My search south of Walls-mead was not very successful, as might perhaps have been expected with so little to guide it; but I examined Wallscombe near Wells with care, and discovered in its neighbourhood, what I believe to be another portion of the dyke. About half a mile west of the picturesque hollow which bears this name of Walls-combe, there is an occupation road leading from Pens-hill farm down to the turnpike road from Wells to Bristol. The lower part of this occupation road passes between high banks covered with gorse. The westward bank is formed by the natural slope of the ground, but that to the eastward is

both these senses, as is *ditch* in our southern counties. A portion of the Fleam-dyke, near Cambridge, is still called "High Ditch" by the peasantry.

<sup>3</sup> The proper season for these investigations is the winter, or early spring. A wood which, at such a time, might be satisfactorily explored in half-an-hour, would at another season require a day's searching before it yielded up its secrets.

<sup>4</sup> The habit of planting rows of trees

along the course of these boundary dykes seems to have been very prevalent during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. It would have been well if the same respect for antiquity had been exhibited by some of our modern landowners. The wanton destruction of these monuments which has been so general during the last ten or fifteen years is certainly not creditable to those who might have prevented it.

evidently artificial, and might be thought at first sight to consist of mere heaps of mud and filth thrown out of the hollow way beneath it for the convenience of passage. But a careful examination convinced me such was not the case; and when I found a little farther on mounds of earth, in a direction where the dyke might pass, and the road did not, I felt satisfied that I had been examining a portion of "the wall," though in a state of much degradation. On Salisbury Plain, Malborough Downs, the Chiltern, and other districts where the surface of the ground has been little disturbed, we frequently find ancient trackways entering into these boundary ditches and running along them, sometimes for considerable distances. Before the inclosure of Pens-hill, now some seventy or eighty years ago, I believe one of the ancient trackways leading up to it ran along the ditch which accompanied the vallum, and that the present occupation road, in some part at least of its course, coincides with such trackway.

In the neighbourhood of Walls-combe is the mineral district of the Mendip. The high value set on the lead mines of that district in times immediately preceding those we are treating of, is manifest from the pains, which must have been taken, in carrying through an intricate country the Roman road which led to them from Old Sarum. Nothing was more natural than for Ceawlin to insist on the possession of these lead-mines; and if it were conceded to him, no line of demarcation could be drawn, which would more neatly or more effectually secure his object than the one we have been describing. Lead-mines are now working immediately to the west of this line, but I know of none to the eastward; while the vallum proceeds from Englishcombe towards the coveted mines in a course as direct as the water system of the country would allow, with any regard to the mutual convenience of the parties.

That such boundary line did at one time separate the two races, is strongly indicated by the topography of the district. Close to the supposed boundary, and on what has been considered to be the English side of it, are Englishcombe and Englishbatch—and I would ask, whence could these names originate? Certainly not from any proprietor bearing the name of English, for Englishcombe is mentioned in Domesday, which was compiled before surnames were known in



England; and the only way in which I can account for their origin, is by supposing that the places they indicate were inhabited by Englishmen at a time when an alien race were living in the immediate neighbourhood. There is, I think, a fair and reasonable presumption, that by the terms of the settlement between Ceawlin and the Welsh princes, the latter retained possession of the Frome valley, and raised the dyke we have been endeavouring to trace, as the line of demarcation between them and the formidable strangers who had invaded their country.

The name of another locality in this neighbourhood may deserve a passing notice. West of Englishcombe, and at the foot of the strong earthwork now known as Stantonbury, is a village called Merkbury, *i. e.*, the burgh or fortress of the March. Here, or perhaps in the adjacent earthwork, the kings of Wessex may have kept a guard, to watch over the marches and to punish any Welshmen who might cross the dyke to "lift" the cattle, or other property of their English neighbours.

If we admit the premises, the boundary line south of Bath is a very obvious one. At Wookey Hole, near Wells, rises the Axe, which is the drain of the marshes lying south of the Mendip, and along this river, from its mouth to its source, the boundary must have run, then along the vallum by Walls-combe and Walls-mead to English-combe, and then along the Wansdyke<sup>5</sup> to the river.

Our knowledge of the boundary north of Bath must be gleaned mainly from a passage to be found in the *Eulogium Historiarum*. This well-known MS. was written, as the scribe informs us, in the year 1372, and by command of a certain prior. Leland, whose notice of its contents has been the chief means of drawing public attention to it, considered it to be a Malmesbury MS., written by some monk of Malmesbury, at the command of some prior of Malmesbury; and though the opinion has been controverted, I

<sup>5</sup> The Wansdyke seems like other portions of the boundary line to have been known at one time as "the wall." I learn from my friend Mr. Dickinson of King Weston, that the neighbourhood of the house known as "The Cross Keys," immediately south of Bath, and situated on the very line of the Wansdyke, is called in certain maps "the wall-tyning."

The Old-English verb *to tunc* signifies to be lost; and "wall-tyning" must mean the loss or disappearance of the wall. It is probable that in the neighbourhood of this, the main line of approach to the city from the south, the "wall" was levelled at a very early period, and that the name of "wall-tyning" originated in this circumstance.

believe it to be in the main a correct one.<sup>6</sup> The following is the account the Eulogium gives us of the foundation of the great monastery, which has conferred celebrity on the name of Malmesbury :—

“There was in Ireland (Scotia)<sup>7</sup> a certain monk named Meildulf, who was so harassed by thieves and robbers in his own country that he could hardly live. He, seeing that he could not long remain there, took to flight, and came as far as England. As he was surveying the country and thinking how God would dispose of him, he at last took up his quarters under the Castellum of Bladon, which in the Saxon tongue was called Ingelbourne Castle. This Castellum was built by a certain British king, the eighteenth from Brutus, by name Dunwallo, and by surname Molmuncius, 642 years before the Incarnation. There had formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners (alienigenis) but the castellum, being a fortified building, maintained itself, and stood there a long time after the Incarnation without having any dwelling near it. The king's residence and the manor belonging to it were, both in the Pagan and in Christian times, at Kairdurburgh, which is now called Brukeburgh, or otherwise Brokenbern (Brokenberh). The hermit aforesaid by name Meldulf selected for himself a hermitage beneath the Castellum, having obtained permission from the men in charge of it for there was not much resort of people there, and when the necessities of life began to fail him, he collected round him scholars to teach, that by their liberality he might mend his scanty commons. In a short time, these scholars so learning the rudiments swelled into a small convent,” &c. (c. 92).

From another passage in the Eulogium we learn that besides his work at Malmesbury, Dunwallo built castella at Laycok and Tetraonburgh. Laycok is, of course, Laycock on the Avon, but the locality of Tetraonburgh has not yet been ascertained.

The writer of the Eulogium took his very absurd

<sup>6</sup> Since this question was argued at Bath last summer, it has been elaborately discussed in the edition of the Eulogium lately published by the Treasury Commissioners. The editor has been led to the same conclusions as myself.

<sup>7</sup> Whether we should translate Scot-  
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land or Ireland depends on the question, whether the writer of the MS. was using the language of his own century, or merely transcribing from an ancient MS., one that might probably date from Anglo-Saxon times.

chronology from Jeffrey, but I think no critical reader will doubt, that the main facts of his story must have been derived mediately or immediately from authorities that were contemporaneous, or nearly so with the foundation of the monastery. We may, I think, safely infer, that when Maildulf visited the place, he found an English guard posted in a certain castellum, said to have been built by a Welsh prince named Dyvnwal Moelmyd;<sup>8</sup> that the castellum was surrounded by the ruins of Caer Bladon—or, as we now term it, Malmesbury<sup>9</sup>—which still lay waste as the “alienigeni,” or in other words our ancestors, had left it a century before; and that the king’s steward, who, by the bye, was an officer of rank and dignity, resided at Caer Dur or Brokenborough,<sup>1</sup> and held the surrounding district as part of the royal demesne. The brook flowing by Brokenborough seems to have been known to the Welsh as the Bladon,<sup>2</sup> and to the English as the “Ingelbourne,”<sup>3</sup> and hence the castellum built at its junction with the Avon was called by the English “Ingelbourne Castle.” I think we may further gather, that when our ancestors sacked Caer Bladon, A.D. 577, the Welsh still maintained themselves in the castellum, and that as the Brokenborough brook took the name of Ingelbourne, that is the brook of the Engle, the *other* brook, that is the Avon, was considered as belonging to the Welsh. Some time must have elapsed before the name of Ingelbourne was generally accepted in the neighbourhood; and as it is stated that Brokenborough was the seat of the Royal Manor during both the Heathen

<sup>8</sup> This name is well known to Welsh legend. The Latinised form Dunwallo Molmutius, was probably first used by Jeffrey. Had the name been Latinised at an earlier period, the first element now represented by *Dyvn*, would no doubt have taken the shape of *Domno*. In adopting the chronology of Jeffrey, the writer of the *Bulogium* seems also to have adopted his nomenclature.

<sup>9</sup> The old English name for the place was Maildulfsbury, of which Malmesbury is the corruption.

<sup>1</sup> The name of Brokenborough is what may be called “suggestive.” We readily picture to ourselves the king’s steward settled in the Welsh town, brewing his ales, salting his meats, and busily storing up wheat in his granaries, to be provided

against the next occasion when his master shall pass down the Foss from Cirencester to Bath; and at the same time we see the breach by which our ancestors first entered Caer Dur still unrepaired, though a Welsh garrison is lying only two miles off in the castellum at Caer Bladon. It is the old story—that contempt of enemies which has ever been characteristic of our countrymen, and which, if it has often led them to victory, has sometimes entailed upon them very humiliating reverses.

<sup>2</sup> The Welsh name of the river was sometimes used by the Monks of Malmesbury. Vid. C. D. No. XI.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. the boundaries of Brokenborough. C. D. No. 460, vol. iii. p. 447.

and the Christian periods, there is a fair presumption that the Welsh and English were neighbours to each other at Malmesbury during the whole of the interval that elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's conquest and that of Cenwalh's.

Here, then, we have two fixed points; the one near Bath, where the Wansdyke reached the Avon, and the other at Malmesbury. The question is, how were they connected? Now, at the point where the Wansdyke reached the Avon, there is on the opposite bank a succession of high steep bluffs, Farley Down, King's Down, &c. which, as they trend northwards form the eastern side of the Box-valley. The valley gradually narrows into a ravine, one of those singular rents which characterise the outcrop of the oolite—as it were a natural ditch some two hundred feet deep, and even at the present day one-third filled with forest. Along this valley the boundary must have run to Castlecombe, where there is reason to believe was once a Roman Station, and thence over the open to Malmesbury.

I have not examined the country between Castlecombe and Malmesbury in search of the dyke which no doubt at one time crossed it, for an open country that has been under the plough for a thousand years holds out little encouragement to the explorer. But estates lying in this district are the subject of several charters, and in the description of the boundaries, we find references to a "*vetus fossatum*," to a "*fossatum quod appellatur dych*," &c. If these boundaries were thoroughly investigated, there would, I think, be a fair probability of our lighting upon some fragments of the ancient ditch, which, at the period in question, must have separated the two races.

To the north-east of Malmesbury are to be found the scanty remains of Bradon Forest. When disafforested in the time of Charles I., it reached eastward as far as Cricklade; and in the eighth century it seems to have touched in the opposite direction upon Malmesbury, for the historian of that name informs us, that it was the beauty of these woodlands that induced Maïldulf to select the place for his residence—"Nemoris amœnitate quod tunc temporis immensum eo loco succreverat captus eremiticam exercuit."<sup>4</sup> From Bradon

<sup>4</sup> De Pontificibus, Lib. v.

a line of forest seems to have stretched almost uninterruptedly to Selwood. It must have run nearly parallel to, and in some places immediately beneath, the chalk hills which bound to the westward the bleak upland known as Salisbury Plain. Large masses of natural wood are still to be met with along this line of country and tracts now denuded of timber still bear names, such as Melksham Forest, Blackmore Forest, Pewsham Forest, &c., which plainly indicate their former character.

On the line of this natural boundary, on the very brow of the hill looking down upon the basin of the Avon, stands the town of Devizes. The etymology of this name has given rise to much absurd speculation, but is not, as it seems to me, very far to seek. The continuator of Florence,<sup>5</sup> and William of Newburgh,<sup>6</sup> both call the place *Divisæ*, a word which is found used in our charters as the technical term for boundaries, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The probability is, that the district where the Roman road leading from London to Bath, stooped down into Welsh territory was known as "the borders;" and that when Devizes was founded in the twelfth century it took its name from the district, and was called *Divisæ* according to the phraseology of the period. A Cistercian monastery in Northamptonshire, which was also founded in the twelfth century, was called *De Divisis*, either because it lay on the borders of Rockingham Forest, or because the forest itself was looked upon as constituting the *Divisæ* or borders of the county—certainly not for either of the foolish reasons which are given us in the *Monasticon*. Devizes is of course nothing more than a barbarous anglicism for *Divisæ*.

Further south, at the extreme angle of Salisbury Plain, and immediately adjoining to localities which still exhibit very remarkable traces of British occupation, we meet with the village called Mere. This name is no less significant and appropriate than that of Devizes; and may indeed be considered as the English equivalent of the Latin word.

It may be thought strange, that the Welsh should retain a tongue of land some 50 miles long by 14 broad, in the midst of a country which had become English territory. But everything tends to show us, that these anomalies were

<sup>5</sup> Flor. Wig. Chron. 2, 126. Hist. Soc. Publ.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Angliæ: b. 1, c. vi.

of frequent occurrence in the territorial arrangements of the period. After one of these dreadful inroads of which we have spoken, the open country—more especially in the neighbourhood of the great roads—must have presented a scene of desolation over which our ancestors moved as masters; but scattered here and there must have been towns, castella, and forests in which the wretched inhabitants had taken refuge, and were they still maintained themselves. In resettling the boundaries the great problem would no doubt be, how to unite these scattered localities with other Welsh territory, so as least to encroach upon the districts which the sword of the foreigner had won. The difficulty was not badly met in the case before us. The main lines of communication, to wit the Roman roads leading from Cirencester to Bath and Winchester respectively, were yielded up to our ancestors, but the wooded valleys of the Frome and the Avon were left in the possession of their old inhabitants. The new frontier may have been a weak one along the "Wall," from Wallscombe to Englishcombe, and again from Castlecombe to Malmesbury; but in every other part of its course, it was a line drawn by the hand of nature herself, and as strong as hill forest or marsh could make it.

In following out these speculations, the questions naturally arise, who were the British princes that negotiated the treaty which resulted in all this parcelling out of territory? who the British king that led his Welshmen to the fierce fight upon the plains of Wanborough? who the leaders that withstood Cœnwulf at Bradford, and at "the Pens?" These are fair and reasonable questions, but they are not easily answered. In the whole course of our national history there is no period, in which the fortunes of the British race are involved in more bewildering uncertainty than the one we are now concerned with. Still, however, there are some glimmerings of light which if rightly used may help to guide us, and contemptible as is the authority of Jeffrey's work considered as a history, yet it may possibly contain legendary matter that will be of service to us in the inquiry.

This fabler traces the line of Brutus through a long series of British kings till it terminates in the death of the two brothers Ferrex and Porrex. Then, we are told, after some

interval a certain young man named Dunwallo Molmutius, son of Cloten, Duke of Cornwall, rebelled against the king of Loegria (England) and made himself King of Britain. This Dunwallo constructed roads, compiled the celebrated code of laws which bears his name, and died leaving two sons Belinus and Brennus. Civil war arose between the brothers, the latter of whom was aided by the King of Denmark. They were, however, at last reconciled, and Brennus passed over to the continent, and after various adventures took Rome—was in short the Brennus whom Livy has made famous. Belinus left his kingdom to his son Gurguntius Barbruch, a mild prince but a man of spirit; and when the King of Denmark refused to pay the customary tribute, Gurguntius attacked him, and after many fierce battles compelled him to submit, &c.

We have already observed that a prince named Dyvnwal Moelmyd—of which name Dunwallo Molmutius is merely the Latinised form—figures largely in Welsh legendary history. He is commemorated in no less than four of the triads; and not only are his laws represented as the groundwork of the celebrated Code of Hywel Dda, but copies of them are said to be still extant in certain MSS., and have been more than once published. There is no character of early Welsh story that comes before us in a more consistent shape, or with circumstances that more nearly approach to historical probability. If we look merely to Welsh tradition, it seems difficult to suppose that Dyvnwal Moelmyd was a mere myth; and when we find the early accounts of Malmesbury ascribing to him the erection of the castellum at that place, and of two other castella in the neighbourhood, we can hardly help drawing the inference, that he was a real personage, who before, and perhaps not long before, Ceawlin's inroad exercised a certain supremacy in that part of Britain. If we further suppose that certain loose traditions of his reign reached Jeffrey, we can easily understand how such a writer would feel little scruple in fixing him some 400 years before Christ, merely in order to identify his son Brennus with the conqueror of Rome.

The hypothesis we have sketched out is indirectly supported by another and perfectly independent line of inquiry. "The Book of Llandaff" in its present shape is a

compilation of the twelfth century, and some of the legends it contains may perhaps be of a date not long anterior to its compilation. But the charters it contains were certainly taken wholly or in part, literally or with slight verbal alterations, from the Registry of the Cathedral, and from these charters we learn that the principal benefactors of Llandaff were certain princes, who reigned over the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, in the following order; Teithfalt, Tewdric, Meuric, Athruis, Morgan, &c.; and from the latter Glamorgan took its name—Gwlad Morgan, the country of Morgan. The charters which mention these princes never meddle with chronology, and the dates which have been quite recently assigned to the reigns of some of them, differ by centuries. Yet it seems easy enough to settle within narrow limits the periods when these princes must have lived. It appears from the charters that King Meuric was a contemporary of the two bishops Dubricius and Odoceus. Now according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, Bishop Dibric (who must certainly be Dubricius) died A.D. 612; and according to the same authority King Iudris (who must certainly be the same person as Athruis), was slain in battle on the banks of the Severn in the year 632.<sup>7</sup> We may then conclude that his grandfather Tewdric was reigning over Glamorgan towards the close of the sixth century. The story which represents<sup>8</sup> this prince as leaving his hermitage on the banks of the Wye to join the army of his son King Meuric, of his defeating our ancestors and earning a martyr's fate and fame in the moment of victory, is no doubt familiar to the reader. In St. Teilo's legend,<sup>9</sup> Mailcun, Tewdric son of Teithpall, and *Gwrgant Mawr*, that is, Gwrgant the Great, appear among the earliest benefactors of Llandaff, and they are all three represented, according to the loose statements common to this class of compositions as contemporaries of the saint. Mailcun is of course the celebrated Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of North Wales, whose death is recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 547, and Gurgantus Magnus, we learn from the charters, was father-in-law to King Meuric. If we suppose Teudricus and Gurgantus Magnus to have flourished during the half

<sup>7</sup> The death of "Iudruis, King of the Britons," is recorded in the *Annals of Tighernach*, under the date 633.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. Land. 183.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. Land. 111.



century which followed Maelgwn's death, we shall sufficiently meet the requirements of the story, such as it may be gathered from the disjointed notices, contained in the charters and other trustworthy portions of the *Liber Landavensis*.

From the manner in which the name of Gurgantus Magnus is mentioned, it is evident he was a prince of high rank and dignity among his contemporaries. When Bishop Oudoceus returned to Wales from Canterbury after his consecration, we are told<sup>1</sup> that "King Meuric, with his two sons and his wife Onbraus, *daughter of Gurgantus Magnus*, and the three Abbots of the three monasteries, and all the princes of the kingdom," went out to meet him, and though the whole story be a fable, it may suffice to show us the place which Gurgantus Magnus occupied in Welsh tradition. Again, in a certain charter,<sup>2</sup> "Meuric King of Glamorgan, son of Teudric, and his wife Onbraust, daughter of Gurgantus Magnus," &c., gave certain estates to Llandaff and Bishop Oudoceus; and in another charter, estates in Gower are given to the same religious foundation by "Athruis, grandson of Gurgantus Magnus."<sup>3</sup> These princes of Glamorgan, though certainly among the most eminent in South Wales, seem to have been proud of their connection with this great but mysterious personage. Yet we know not who or what he was or where he lived, though we can give the genealogy of some half dozen petty princes, who must have been his contemporaries. Every little district west of the Severn is provided with its *regulus*, and we are fairly driven across the Bristol Channel before we can find room for one who filled such a space in the eyes of his contemporaries. May he not have been king of Domnonia, the same Gurguntius Barbtruch, whom Jeffrey represents as the grandson of Dunwallo Molmutius, and who, under the name of Gwrgan Varytrwch, figures so largely in Welsh legend?

Welsh scholars, who have annotated the *Liber Landavensis*, seem inclined to think that all the estates conveyed by the charters in which the name of Gurgantus Magnus occurs, were situated in Gower.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that the supremacy of this king of Domnonia was acknowledged

<sup>1</sup> Lib. Land., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. Land. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. Land. 136.

<sup>4</sup> The port of Swansea, which adjoins to Gower, must have been the chief means of communication between South

by the Welsh princes west of the Severn, and that the lands conveyed to Llandaff by his daughter and grandson were part of the royal demesne, which, as suzerain, he had a right to dispose of, and which he had given to his daughter on her marriage with Meuric. That the suzerain had power to make these territorial grants may be inferred from the statement we find in Nennius, to the effect that Pascentius, son of Vortigern, received the territory called Guortigiaun, in Herefordshire, as a gift from Ambrosius, who was "king over all the districts of Britain"—*largiente Ambrosio qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britanniaë*. Again, the *Liber Landavensis* contains a charter,<sup>5</sup> in which Pepiau king of Ercyng bestows on Llandaff and Bishop Dubricius an estate lying near the Wye, and described as "the gift (*jaculum*)<sup>6</sup> of his father-in-law King Constantinus," who signs as one of the attesting witnesses. This charter precedes the two which make mention of Gurgantus Magnus, and must therefore, I presume, be of earlier date. I infer, that before the time of Gurgantus Magnus, the sovereignty of Constantinus was acknowledged west of the Severn, and that by virtue of his sovereign power, he conveyed the estate in question to his son-in-law King Pepiau.

"The conversion of Constantinus to the Lord," is a celebrated entry in the *Annales Cambriaë*, from which Tighernach appears to have borrowed it. The date attached to it, according to the calculation of the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, corresponds with the year of our Lord 589; but in the annals of Tighernach the entry appears under the date 588. The "conversion," if we may trust our later historians, meant simply a retirement into some monastery; and, according to Fordun,<sup>7</sup> into a Scotch monastery, though I suspect he drew this inference simply from having met with the entry in the Scotch, *i.e.*, the Gaelic Annals of Tighernach.

Wales and Domnonia; and therefore we can understand how the kings of Domnonia came to possess territorial rights in that neighbourhood. The intercourse between Swansea and the opposite coast seems to be still active. When I explored the district of Gower some fourteen or fifteen years ago, I was much surprised at the great number of persons I met with who were natives of Somerset or Devon.

<sup>5</sup> *Lib. Land.* p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> I do not remember to have seen any other example of this word. Judging from the meaning given to the related word *jacto*, I infer that *jaculum*, in mediæval Latin, signified a gift or conveyance of property.

<sup>7</sup> *Scot. Hist.* iii. 25. In the pages of Fordun "the sainted Constantinus, King of Cornubia," appears as a missionary and a martyr!

Having viewed these dark and intricate questions by the light of Welsh tradition, and by the aid of such casual hints as are furnished us by the *Annales Cambriæ*, and by the charters contained in the *Liber Landavensis*, let us now turn our attention to the scanty but precious notices which have been handed down to us in the two works of Gildas—his *Epistle* and his *History*.

The *Epistle* of Gildas refers to Mailcunus as still living, and therefore could not have been written later than the middle of the sixth century. It could not have been written much earlier, for Gildas was born in the year of the siege of the Mons Badonicus, which was probably the year 520, and we cannot suppose the epistle to have been written by a man much under thirty. In this work Gildas inveighs against five British princes by name; Constantinus, "the tyrannical whelp of the lioness of Domnonia;" Aurelius Conan, spotted like a leopard; Cuneglassus, who is reminded that his name signifies a tawny butcher; Vortiperius, the aged tyrant of the Dimetæ;<sup>8</sup> and, finally, "the island-dragon" Mailcunus, at once himself a tyrant and the uprooter of tyrants. We are told that Constantinus had that very year violated sanctuary and murdered two royal youths in their mother's arms, and beneath the very "amphibalum" of the abbot; and that this was not his first crime, for that many years before, lost in adulteries and sins, he had repudiated his lawful wife, &c. Aurelius Conan is bid take warning by the untimely end of his ancestors and his brothers (*patrum fratrumque*), and told that he is now but a barren stock. Cuneglassus and Vortiperius are not mentioned elsewhere, except in the veracious pages of Jeffrey. Mailcunus is the well-known Maelgwn Gwynnedd, whose chief seat Anglesea no doubt suggested to Gildas the abusive epithet he applies to him.

The "History" of Gildas was written forty years after the siege of the Mons Badonicus, or about the year 560. It is in this work that we find Aurelius Ambrosius described as "courteous, mild, and true," as being of Roman descent, and as having lost in the disturbances of the time relatives (*parentes*) who had *worn the purple*. The writer's meaning may not be expressed with all the precision we might wish

<sup>8</sup> That is, the people of Pembroke and the adjacent districts.

for, but I think there is only one conclusion<sup>9</sup> that any critical mind can come to, viz., that Aurelius Ambrosius was a descendant of the two usurpers Constantinus and Constans, who passed over into Gaul, A.D. 407, and perished there four years afterwards.

Aurelius Ambrosius, there can be little doubt, was the same person as the Natanleod of the Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> and therefore must have perished A.D. 508. From Gildas' History we gather that at the time it was written, *i.e.*, some half century after the death of Aurelius, his descendants were occupying a large space in the public eye, though Gildas describes them as having greatly degenerated from the worth of their ancestors. Now, when we remember that the two princes whom Gildas in his Epistle makes the first objects of his invective, bore the names respectively of Constantinus and Aurelius, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that they were the descendants, however unworthy, of Aurelius Ambrosius; and when, moreover, we find Aurelius Conan reminded, in the same epistle, of the untimely end of his ancestors and of his *brothers*, we are almost necessarily led to infer, that he was the brother of the royal youths whom Constantine had murdered. Jeffrey makes Aurelius Conan the nephew of Constantine, but it will agree better with the tenor of our present speculations, if we suppose him to have borne to him the relationship of great-nephew. It is clear from Gildas' narrative that the murdered princes were mere youths when slain by Constantine, and consequently that neither they, nor their brother Aurelius Conan, could have had Owen Vinddu (of whom we shall speak shortly) for a father, if this elder brother of Constantine died at the time we have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> supposed to be the case.

The scanty notice that is taken in Welsh legend of a man so eminent as Aurelius Ambrosius is very remarkable. It seems to have resulted mainly from the popularity acquired by Jeffrey's romance, that unhappy work which is everywhere found darkening the pure light of our early history. Nennius tells us, that Arthur was called *map uter*, the terrible boy, because he was cruel from his childhood; and

<sup>9</sup> Vid. Salisbury Vol. Arch. Institute, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Salisb. Vol. Arch. Institute, p. 60.

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 58.

Jeffrey having somewhere met with the phrase, and mistaking the adjective for a proper name, supposed it to mean "the son of Uther," and so called into existence that fabulous personage Uther Pendragon, the brother of Aurelius Ambrosius, and the father of Arthur. Accordingly, and in open defiance of Gildas' History, he treats Ambrosius as a childless man, and passes on the sovereignty to this supposed brother, the mere creature of his own imagination. The triads and other Welsh legends that mentioned Ambrosius appear to have been altered with the view of accommodating them to these fables, and when a difficulty occurred, the name of the usurper Maximus (Maxen Wledig) seems very commonly to have been substituted for that of Ambrosius. Owen Vinddu, Peblig, Ednyved and Cystennyn Goronawg, are represented as the sons of this Maxen Wledig—a statement which it is impossible to reconcile either with Roman or with British history. But there are certain MSS., for instance the one translated by Roberts, which make Owen Vinddu to be the son of Ambrosius. This hypothesis has nothing in it inconsistent with the known facts of history, and gives probability to the statement contained in the remarkable triad which represents Owen Vinddu as one of the three *Cynweissiaid*<sup>3</sup> or overseers, and whom, according to some MSS., all followed "from the prince to the peasant at the need of the country, on account of the invasion and tyranny of the foe." Cawrdav, son of Caradawg Vreichvras, was another of those who are said to have attained the perilous honour of being the nation's "overseer" under like circumstances.

We have then some authority, that is such authority as Welsh tradition can furnish us with, for considering Owen Vinddu not only as the son, but also as the successor of Ambrosius; and indeed there is a triad which actually represents him as one of the three British kings who were raised to the throne by the general convention of the country. On the authority of the same triad we may venture to consider Cawrdav son of Caradawg Vreichvras, as one of those who attained the like dignity; and if we adopt this conclusion, it may be a support to the inference which other considerations lead us to; namely, that his father Caradawg Vreichvras, was the son or other near

<sup>3</sup> Myv. Arch. 2, 4.

relative of Owen Vinddu. The best informed Welsh scholars consider *Caer Caradawg*, so often mentioned in Welsh story, to be—not Salisbury as Jeffrey represents it to be, but—the strong earthwork immediately adjoining to Amesbury (*Caer Emrys*); and its neighbourhood to, if not its identity with, the city of *Emrys* or *Ambrosius*, seems to warrant the inference, that by virtue of his descent from this prince, *Caradawg* became lord of the important fortress that bore his name. *Caradawg Vreichyras* is celebrated as one of the three *Cadvarcogion* or Battle-knights, and his prowess has been repeatedly the theme of Welsh eulogy. He must for some twenty or thirty years have fought the Welshman's battle, and borne the brunt of every hostile inroad.

The circumstance that *Caradawg Vreichyras* acted as one of Arthur's officers, need not lead us to distrust the conclusion, that *Caradawg* was a descendant of *Ambrosius*. Alternations of power and dependence on the part of the great families seem to have been characteristic of the period; and there is reason to believe<sup>4</sup> that *Vortimer*, son of *Vortigern*, at one time acted as the lieutenant of *Ambrosius*, his father's rival. As to the origin and early career of *Arthur*, I have nothing to add to what has been stated elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> I know of no trustworthy authority that connects him with the family of *Ambrosius*, and I still believe him to have been elected the *dux belli* in a moment of danger, probably on the death of *Owen* without children, or with children too young to meet the exigencies of the times. On the death of *Arthur*, *Caradawg* probably continued for some time to stem the tide of invasion in South Britain, and his son *Cawrdav* may have succeeded to the same perilous duty on the death of his father.<sup>6</sup>

The pedigree of *Dyvnwal* has been variously given by different writers. The tradition that makes him the son of *Prydain*,<sup>7</sup> son of *Aedd Mawr*, &c., is mythical on the face of it, for *Prydain* is evidently the eponyme of Britain; and that which makes him the son of *Clydno*, son of *Prydain*, &c., is

<sup>4</sup> Salisbury Vol. Arch. Inst. p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 67.

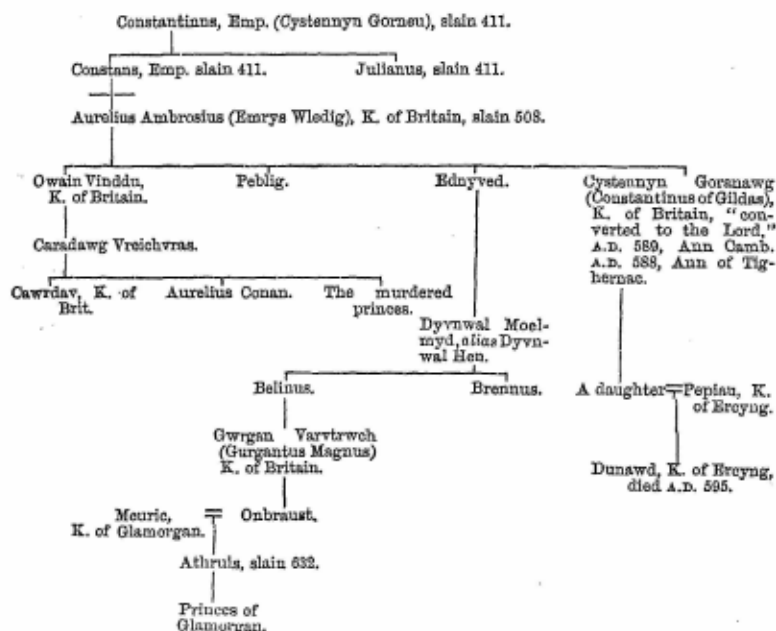
<sup>6</sup> In the Salisbury Vol. Arch. Inst. p. 63, I stated that *Caradawg* probably lost his life at the battle of *Cattraeth*. It is the commonly received opinion, but con-

siderations which I cannot here enter upon, have convinced me that it is an untenable one. *Caradawg Vreichyras* could not possibly have been the *Caradawg* mentioned in the *Gododin*.

<sup>7</sup> *Myv. Arch.* 2, 67. *Triad* 58.

merely another edition of the former one accommodated to Jeffrey's narrative.<sup>8</sup> But we are told that one Dyfnwal Hen, that is Dyfnwal the Old, was the son of Ednyved, brother of Cystennyn Goronawg, and, if we suppose—and the supposition has every probability in its favour—that Dyfnwal Hen was the familiar name assigned by tradition to Dyfnwal Moelmyd, then Dyfnwal Moelmyd must have been nephew of Constantinus and grandson of Ambrosius.

The reader will now understand the grounds on which the following scheme is constructed. It is an attempt to show the pedigree and descendants of Aurelius Ambrosius, and is indeed little more than an enlarged edition of the scheme which was published in the Arch. Jour., Salisb. Vol., p. 70.



<sup>8</sup> The oldest MS. of the *Dull Gwynnedd*, or N. Welsh version of the Laws of Hywel Dda, which was probably written in the twelfth century, contains the following notice of Dyfnwal Moelmyd. "Before the crown of London and the sovereignty were seized by the Saxons, *Dyfnwal moel mud* was king of this island, and he was son of the Earl of Cernyw (Cornwall) by the daughter of the king

of Loygyr (England), and after the male line of succession to the kingdom became extinct, he obtained it by the distaff, as being grandson to the king." *Dull Gwynnedd*, cxvii. Later MSS. make him the son of Clydno, Earl of Cernyw. These various notices of Dyfnwal are evidently fables originating in Jeffrey's History.

I have, whenever it was possible, tested these speculations by the aid of chronology. It is a searching test, and in the present case requires to be applied with caution and with a certain allowance for the imperfection of the instrument. The dates assigned to the events recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ*, are calculated from an unknown epoch. It is probable that the several entries were taken from the Registry of some monastery, and that the "year one" indicated the year when the monastery was founded and the Registry commenced. Before we can know the real date of any event, we must ascertain from other sources the date of some preceding or subsequent event, and then add or subtract the number of intervening years. Unfortunately there is hardly a single event recorded in the earlier part of these annals whose date is known with perfect certainty. Even the relative dates are not always trustworthy. The Roman numerals, which indicate these dates, are particularly liable to error in transcription, and it would be easy to show that in some cases the copyists have blundered. The dates I have given according to the vulgar era, are those calculated by the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; and though as I have stated elsewhere, I consider them to be not altogether trustworthy, yet I believe them to be in most cases near approximations to the truth. The dates which are given in Dr. O'Connor's edition of Tighernach's *Annals*, are of course open to the same criticism.

The principal, if not the only difficulty in the scheme which has been submitted to the reader, relates to the age of Constantinus, on his retirement into the monastery. Though we suppose him to have been left an infant at the death of Ambrosius, and though we take the most favourable dates the *Annals* furnish us with, he must have been at least eighty years of age, when he was "converted to the Lord." I do not shut my eyes to the grave objections, which at first sight surround such a hypothesis, but formidable as is the difficulty, I may venture to ask, is it an insuperable one?

Gildas wrote his *Epistle* before, but not very long before the year 550, and in it he tells us, that the murder of the princes was not the first crime Constantinus had committed, for that *many years* before, lost in adulteries and



sins, he had repudiated his lawful wife.<sup>9</sup> We can hardly suppose that the prince so addressed had not reached the period of middle life, and the age which on our hypothesis must be assigned to him, namely, some forty years, agrees well with Gildas' statement. Again, Dunawd, son of Pabo post Prydain, is celebrated in the Triads as one of the "three pillars of battle of the Isle of Britain." Pabo must certainly be the same prince as Pepiau, son-in-law to King Constantinus; and the death of "King Dunaut" is recorded in the Ann: Cambriæ, A.D. 595. If we suppose that Dunawd was only thirty years of age at the time of his death, his grandfather, some six years previously, may very well have reached the age of eighty. These considerations may not lead to any very definite conclusion, but both point in the same direction, both would lead us to infer, that the wretched king was sinking under the weight of his years, no less than of his crimes and his misfortunes, when he sought refuge in the cloister.

With this explanation, I believe the scheme that has been submitted to the reader's notice will answer all the fair requirements of the test it has been subjected to; and I do not hesitate to express my belief, that no such coherence of dates would be found in a story which had not, to say the least, a certain substratum of truth to rest upon.

Before we close the paper, it may be well briefly to review the conclusions to which these speculations lead us.

It would seem that in the middle of the sixth century, when Gildas wrote his Epistle, Constantinus, youngest son of Aurelius Ambrosius, was lord of Domnonia, and gradually working his way by a course of intrigue and violence to the supremacy of Britain. We have grounds for the belief that he succeeded in this object of his ambition, though his success was soon followed by the revolt of his nephew Dyvnwal Moelmyd, and, as a consequence of such revolt, by the loss, not only of Domnonia, but also of certain districts which belonged to the *Civitas* of the Belgæ. Dyvnwal appears to have secured his conquests by the erection of castella, and to have established a wise and vigorous government. When the battle of Deorham was fought, the terri-

<sup>9</sup> Et hoc ne post laudanda quidem merita egit. Nam multis ante annis crebris alternatisque fœtoribus adul-

teriorum victus, legitima uxore contra Christi Magistrisque gentium interdictum repulsa, &c.

tory subject to this king—or it may be to his son and successor Belinus—must have reached to within a few miles of Cirencester; and to the lukewarmness or the disaffection of these princes, Ceawlin may have been in some measure indebted for his success. To the same causes may perhaps be attributed the comparative facility with which, as it would seem, the Britons in the neighbourhood of Bath came into an arrangement with our ancestors.

The British kingdom which Dyvnwal Moelmyd succeeded in establishing took the name of the *Civitas*, which formed its larger portion, and was called Domnonia. Under Gwrgan Varvtrwch, it appears to have reached its greatest height of prosperity. The lord of the rich and beautiful district, which stretched from Malmesbury to the Landsend, must have been little inferior to the king of Wessex himself, either in the extent or in the resources of his dominions. We have reasons for believing, that the supremacy of Gwrgan Varvtrwch was acknowledged, probably on the retirement of his aged relative Constantinus, by such of the British chiefs as survived the ruin of their country; and it was probably under the leadership of this prince that the Britons fought in the great battle, the loss of which drove Ceawlin into exile—at least, I know of no other event which tradition could have tortured into those successes against the king of Denmark, ascribed by Jeffrey to Gurguntius Barbtruch.

In Gwrgan Varvtrwch I would also recognise the king of Domnonia, who is represented by Malmesbury<sup>1</sup> as the founder of Glastonbury Abbey. "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 601, a king of Domnonia granted the land in five hides, which is called Yniswitrin, to the Old Church there situate, at the request of the Abbot Worgret. 'I, Bishop Mauron, have written this charter; I, Worgret, of the same place abbot, have subscribed my name.' Who the king was, the great age of the instrument prevents us from ascertaining, but that he was a Briton might be inferred from this, that he called Glastonbury in his own language Yniswitrin, for it is well known that it is so called by them in the British tongue. To Abbot Worgret whose very name smacks of British barbarism, succeeded Lodemund, and to

<sup>1</sup> De Ant. Glast.

him Bregored. The dates of their promotion are uncertain, but their names and rank are exhibited in the greater church, on the tablet by the altar. To Bregored succeeded Berthwald."

Here we have a king of Domnonia dealing *as such* with a portion of the Belgic province. It was not the sovereign of Britain, but the king of Domnonia, who made the grant, and I would ask whether this does not strengthen the conclusion to which we have been led by other trains of reasoning; to wit, that sometime in the sixth century the kings of Domnonia conquered certain tracts of Britain lying beyond the boundaries of their proper territories, and thus gave rise to the traditions on which Jeffrey based his story of the revolt and successes of Dunwallo Molmutius?

The direct male descendants of Gwrgan Varvtrwch, if indeed he left any, are unknown, for it would be idle to follow the statements of Jeffrey when not supported by independent testimony; but we have ample proof that the descendants of his daughter Onbraust were reigning over the modern counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan for many generations. The first of his successors on the throne of Domnonia whom history recognises, is Gereint the opponent of Ina king of Wessex. In the days of Gereint, Domnonia though stripped of half its provinces must still have been, both in power and in dignity, the first of the British kingdoms. I cannot think that Aldhelm would have addressed any of the petty princes of Wales in terms like those he uses in the preface to the celebrated letter he wrote to Gereint on the subject of Church Discipline.

"To the most glorious Lord of the Western Kingdom, whom—he that searches hearts and weighs our actions is my witness—I love with brotherly affection; to King Gerontius, and at the same time to all the priests of God scattered throughout Domnonia, Aldhelm, abbot, &c., sends health in the Lord."

The writer of this epistle was among the first, if not actually the first of the learned men of Europe, and also a very near relative of Ina. Making all allowance for epistolary compliment, I think we may fairly draw the conclusion, that a prince addressed in such language by a man so

eminent could have held no mean place among the crowned heads of that period.

It is not my object to trace the several stages of decay through which the power of Domnonia passed, as it melted away before the ascendancy of England. The more intimate relations of this British kingdom were no doubt with the kindred races of Wales and Brittany, but the influences it exercised over the national progress, and even over the literature of its English neighbours, were by no means of slight account, though they have hitherto been most strangely overlooked. They afford, I think, the only solution of some of the most intricate problems connected with our early history ; and the little attention which has hitherto been directed to the subject can only be excused by a consideration of the great difficulties which surround the inquiry. Materials for such inquiry may be scanty, but they are not altogether wanting, and if subjected to a searching criticism might possibly yield results no less important than unexpected. May I venture to express a hope that some rays of light have been thrown on these dark passages of our history in the present essay ?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES OF A TOUR IN DENMARK,  
PRUSSIA, AND HOLLAND.

BY J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A., F.L.S.,  
Keeper of the Hope Collections in the University of Oxford.

A DESIRE long entertained to inspect the National Museum of Copenhagen, and to examine a remarkable manuscript of the Psalter preserved at Utrecht, which had once formed part of the Cottonian library, led me to Hamburg in the course of last August. Since my former visit to that city, the devastation caused by the terrible fire of 1842 has been in a great degree effaced, and a new city has arisen from the ruins. It is not necessary to dwell upon the antiquated appearance of the old part of the town, with its tall gables and dirty canals, nor upon the very mediæval character of the dresses of the Vierlanders and their wives, who supply the Hamburgers with fruits and flowers, and who retain their very characteristic costume with great tenacity; nor to describe the hired mourners to be seen occasionally in the streets in full dress, with their plaited ruffs, curled and powdered wigs, short Spanish cloaks, and swords. Although all these have charms for the eyes of an archaeologist, it was to the Johanneum College of Hamburg that I bent my way, to inspect the more interesting of the MSS. which I had understood were contained in the Library, and of which a list of those relating to our own country is given by Mr. Purton Cooper in the Proceedings of the Record Commission.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, I did not succeed in finding any Anglo-Saxon or Irish MSS., nor are there any illuminated MSS. of a date previous to the year 1000. Of a later period, however, there are several of considerable interest, especially a Psalter of the twelfth century, with large drawings at the beginning of the volume, in a very unusual style, one of which, representing the Last Supper, has the centre of the page occupied by a large circular table, the Saviour and Apostles seated round it; a finely drawn figure of the

<sup>1</sup> Appendix A. pp. 108—121, and Supplement, p. 24. Fifty-three documents from the Archives of Hamburg, from

1350—1561, are also printed in full in Appendix C, p. 1—142.

Virgin and Child occupies an entire page; the features of both have, however, as it seemed to me, been retouched, but by a very skilful artist. A German MS., of the end of the fourteenth century, of folio size, has many grand illuminations, and another thick volume, an historical MS., has very numerous illuminations in the style of the woodcuts of the Nuremberg Chronicle, many of which are very deserving of being published. One of the old MSS. in this collection owes its chief interest to an ivory carving on the cover, the design of which has hitherto perplexed antiquaries. It measures 5 inches by 4, and contains a representation of an angel standing with expanded wings, the right hand holding a spear, which is thrust into the chest of a man kneeling on one knee, the hair of whose head is seized by the left hand of the angel. The right hand of the victim holds a short drawn sword, and his left hand is raised and open. Over him stands a third figure in a scaly coat with long sleeves. These three figures occupy the whole of the ivory. The chief librarian, for whose attention I have to express my best thanks, furnished me with a cast of this very curious ivory, which I should consider as not later than the tenth century, and possibly of Byzantine origin. He informed me that a dissertation upon it had appeared in V. Quast, *Zeitschrift für christliche Archaeologie*, 1857. Heft 1.



After travelling from Hamburg to Kiel by railroad, and from Kiel to Korsar by steamboat, the road took us thence

to Roeskilde (on the way to Copenhagen), a town of moderate size, formerly the capital of Denmark and the residence of the Danish kings. It contained not fewer than twenty-seven churches, besides monasteries; the cathedral and one church, St. Mary's, now alone remain. The cathedral is the most important monument, not only of the town itself, but also of this part of Denmark, of which, indeed, it is the mother church. Its interest is, moreover, enhanced to the English archaeologist from the circumstance of its having been erected in the eleventh century by Bishop William, an Englishman (as many of the clergy of Denmark at that time were), Chancellor and Confessor to Canute the Great, whose memory is held in the greatest veneration in Denmark, and of whom various relics are still preserved with pious care. The cathedral was nearly finished when Bishop William died on the 8th May, 1074 or 1076, in the forest of Topshoi, near Ringsted, to which place he had gone to meet the funeral procession of King Svend (or Sweyn) Estridsen.

The Chapel of the Three Kings on the south side of the cathedral was built between 1462 and 1464, and that of Frederick IV., also on the south side, between 1772 and 1825. The latter contains the splendid monument of Queen Louisa, daughter of George II. of England, who died in 1751. The chapel of Christian IV., on the north side, was built in 1615. The altar-piece is a magnificently carved work in oak, highly gilt and colored, containing a series of carvings illustrative of the life of our Saviour; it was originally brought from the chapel of Frederiksborg Palace. The style of its execution refers it to the early part of the sixteenth century. The stalls, twenty-one on each side, of oak beautifully carved, were placed there by Bishop Jens Andersen in 1420; above these are scenes of Scripture history, in carved work, often of ludicrous design, in which knights and priests are clothed in the latest Middle-age costume, and courtiers are clad in dresses as described in ancient Scandinavian ballads.

Behind the altar Queen Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, lies entombed in a marble sarcophagus, erected by Erik, King of Pomerania, in 1423, and this is the oldest well authenticated royal monument in the church.

The painting on the south-west pier of the choir is said to represent the founder, Bishop William. Below ar

inscribed the words "WILHELMUS EPISCOPUS ROSKELDENSIS." Before the aperture to the burial-place in the pillar is placed a slab of blue sandstone, between which and the wall is a crevice, through which the bones within may be seen. Some of these bones were, as it is stated, extracted by certain naval officers during the time that Copenhagen was in possession of the English in 1807, and they were carried off as relics. Under a simple stone in the north entrance to the chancel lie the remains of Saxo Grammaticus, and near to it on the wall is a tablet with his epitaph in Latin verse. On the stone sill of the door, at the south side of the cathedral, is still shown the print of Bishop William's foot, when standing on that spot he opposed the entrance of Svend Estridsen, and thundered forth the sentence of excommunication against the king for having desecrated the Church with innocent blood. A remarkable monument in the sacristy of the cathedral is worthy of notice ; it represents a man with a padlock on his mouth, portraying, as it is stated, Meister Jens Henriksen, Prior of the Hospital in Roeskilde, who treacherously revealed to the king the amount of the riches of his monastery, for which foul betrayal his memory was thus ignominiously punished by his brethren.

The interior of the cathedral has recently undergone considerable reparations and decoration, in which, as according with the general style of the eastern part of the church, the Byzantine style of ornamentation has been adopted.

I am indebted to the Rev. R. H. Codrington, Fellow of Wadham College, who has carefully investigated the history and architectural peculiarities of this remarkable structure, for the following interesting particulars.

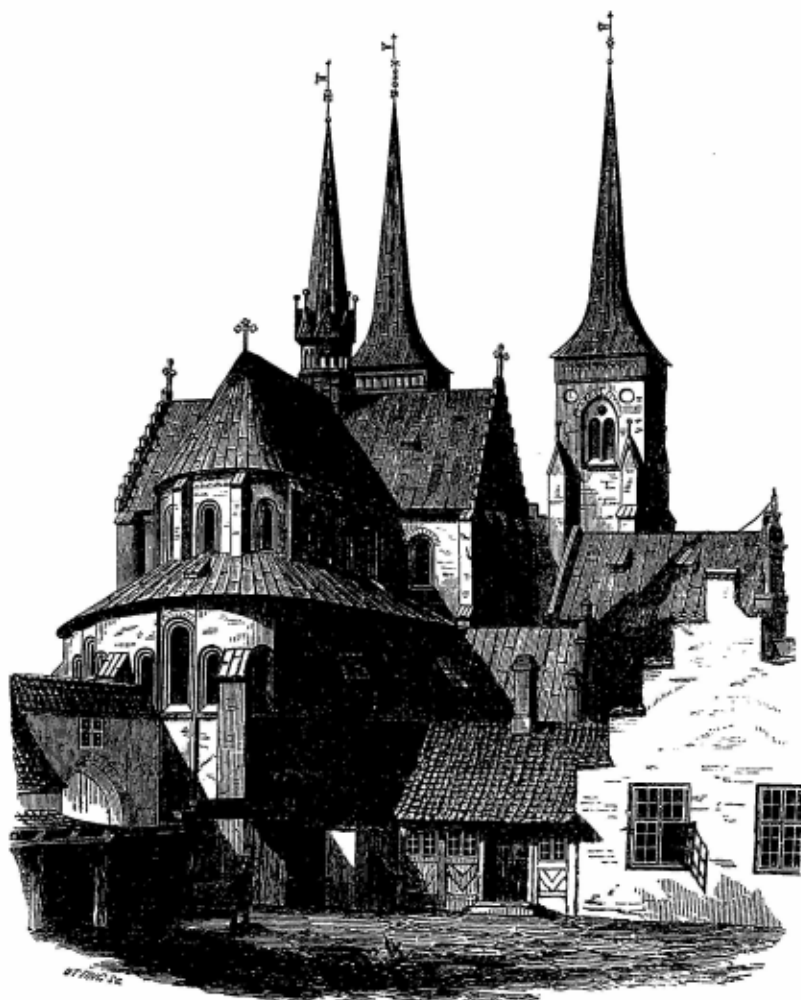
"The church of Roeskilde is decidedly the most interesting in Denmark ; as it is also the largest and the principal cathedral in the country. It stands upon a slight elevation near the shore of the Fiord, which takes its name from the town.

"The founder of the church was Bishop William, an Englishman, who died when only a part of the building was finished, and was buried in the northern pier at the entrance to the choir. King Svend Estridsen, whose body was on its way to Roeskilde when the bishop died, found a tomb in the opposite pier. The building was completed by Bishop William's successor towards the end of the eleventh century.



According to the popular account, the church of Bishop William is that which still exists, and in proof of it, the bones of the bishop were, till the occupation of this part of Denmark by the English in 1807, exhibited to the curious by means of an accidental opening in the masonry of his singular resting-place. But the style of the architecture enforces the conclusion that the account is the more correct which places the building of the present church in the latter half of the twelfth century. The church, as then erected, consists of a long nave, with a short apsidal choir, and transepts of no greater projection than the aisle, which, running round the choir and nave, terminates in towers at its two western extremities. The original ground-plan of the cathedral, therefore, was a narrow oblong with a semi-circular termination; and the towers were doubtless crowned with spires.

"The nave has seven bays. The seventh is of only half the width of the rest, from the intersection of the transept; to the east of which one bay reaches to the apse. The choir is prolonged into the transept. The windows of the clerestory are quite small. Each bay of the aisles, except those filled by the towers and those of the choir, are marked externally by gables. Within each gable is a triplet, and underneath, in the nave a single smaller window; in the choir a principal entrance. The triforium of the apse consists of a remarkably large and handsome arcade of five bays, and is the most striking part of the interior. The choir is raised considerably above the level of the nave and aisles, and is adorned with a very complete and beautiful set of stalls in wood. A very elaborate series of carvings, representing the legend of a saint, with an inscription setting forth that the work was done by order of Queen Margaret, runs above the stalls; of which two, returned, at the west of the choir, are surmounted by lofty and handsome canopies. The reredos behind the altar consists of an immense and splendid triptych, carved and gilt. The space behind the altar, which now stands in the chord of the apse, is filled with tombs, among which is to be noticed that of Queen Margaret, erected in 1423. The vaults beneath contain many royal coffins. The aisle surrounding the choir contains some interesting specimens of wood-carving in the furniture of a bishop's court. The interior is coloured throughout, in an intended



Roeskilde Domkirke. The Cathedral of Roeskilde, in Denmark.



restoration of the original decorations. Every arch and window in the original work is round; the piers of the nave massive; the centre window of each transept very high and narrow; and the triplets in the aisle-gables, large and light. The most striking portion of the exterior is the transept, of which the buttresses running up to the gable form three panels, and in these the windows are again recessed.

"To this, which may safely be taken as the original fabric, has been added, a wooden spire on the intersection of nave and transept roof, also two spires upon the towers, lofty and slender, but with a wide and shallow broaching. From the southern side of the church projects a modern mausoleum, crowned with a shallow dome, and used for the burial of the later Danish kings; and on the northern side, a chapel of later pointed work, altered by Christian IV. at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and adorned, externally, with a façade in the most florid style of that time. The original paintings remain within this chapel, unrestored, though incomplete. The ironwork of the entrance-gate is very remarkable and original in style; it was, in fact, of the work of King Christian, whose tomb is in the vaults below the chapel. There are several lateral additions to the church, of later date, which do not demand much notice; the sacristy, however, contains some fine woodwork. The organ, which is the most admired in Denmark, is bracketed out from the southern wall of the nave, and curiously carved and painted. A royal pew is fixed opposite to it, erected by Christian IV.

"From the extreme plainness of the style employed, there is no beauty of detail to be observed in the building; but in the abundance and excellence of its wood carvings, and in the singularity of its ironwork, the Cathedral of Roeskilde will bear comparison with many much more famous and highly decorated churches. The dimensions are 270 feet long by 80 broad, internally."<sup>2</sup>

Several relics of much interest connected with Roeskilde are preserved in the national museum at Copenhagen. The bishop's pastoral staff of narval-bone, represented in Worsaae's *Afbildninger* (fig. 408, p. 116), was obtained from the cathe-

<sup>2</sup> A description of the Roeskilde Domkirche has been published at Copenhagen by Steen Fris, in 1851. The ground-

plan and elevation of the south side are given in Ferguson's *Handbook of Architecture*.

dral of Roeskilde. The head is a simply convoluted whorl, terminating in a dragon's head, the outstretched tongue of which is greatly elongated and knotted, ending in a fish's tail. The ornamental scroll pattern along the whorl is not carved, but simply painted and gilt.

The matrix of the seal of the cathedral is also represented by Worsaae (fig. 415, p. 119). It is of narval or walrus ivory, being one of the very few matrices known formed of such a material. This matrix is of the peculiar fashion, with chamfered edges, producing that kind of impression which has been distinguished as *scyphate*, from its resemblance to Byzantine coins so termed. It is inscribed SIGIL' · S' · TRINITATIS · DOM'. In the centre appears a demi-figure, probably representing St. Lucius, holding a palm branch in the right hand, in the left a book; the hair is curly in detached locks. The façade of a church appears in the back ground, with two towers, within a semilunate battlemented enclosure, probably typifying the city walls. The words LVCI' PAPA' appear in the field. I obtained a mould of this matrix. A small gold gemmed cross of the patriarchal form was also found at Roeskilde, and is represented in Worsaae's work before cited, figures 454 a. and b.

The seal of the nunnery of St. Clare in Roeskilde is described in the *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*, 1843, p. 25. It is inscribed +ABBATISSE SORORVM STÆ CLARÆ ROSKILDENSIS.

Many of the mediæval kings of Denmark are buried in the church of Ringsted, a small town in Zealand, about fifteen miles south of Roeskilde. A very elaborate account of these royal interments has recently been published by order of the present king, illustrated with numerous engravings representing the royal monuments, coffins, and even the present appearance of the remains of the kings, enveloped in their shrouds, with the various relics which were discovered with them. The only sepulchral brass in Denmark is preserved at Ringsted; it is of a very large size, and of highly elaborate workmanship; the tabernacle-work is very beautiful; it appears to be of the end of the fifteenth century, and displays full-length figures of a king and queen: of both of these unfortunately the heads are wanting. A very careful rubbing of this brass was shown to me by the Counsellor Strong, one of the chief curators of the Royal Museum.

Of Copenhagen, as a city or as an university, it would be out of place here to speak, neither shall I allude, with one exception, to the churches, as they are all comparatively modern. The collections of objects of the fine arts are numerous and important; the series of museums are deserving of careful study, and they offer a system of distribution worthy of being followed in other far more important cities. The Royal Gallery of Paintings, occupying the upper story of the Christiansborg Palace; the "Moltkeskes Malerisamling," originally founded by Count Moltke, and since greatly increased by his son and grandson, and the collection of paintings in the Academy of Arts in the Charlottenburg Palace, are all open to the public. The Thorwaldsen Mausoleum, adjoining the king's palace, filled not only with the sculptor's own works, but with his collections of painting and sculpture, antique gems, medals, bronzes, and other works of art, ancient and modern, together with a reproduction of several of the apartments of Thorwaldsen's house as inhabited by the artist himself, with his books, pictures, working tools, unfurnished studies, &c., also constitutes an invaluable museum. The Royal Collection of Engravings is now arranged in the "Prindsens Palai," and the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals in the Rosenberg Palace. The "Kongelige Kunst Museum" is also now in the Prindsens Palai, but is not yet arranged or accessible to the public. It contains objects of art, especially sculpture, from the early and middle ages of various nations. Here is also now located the ethnographical Museum, one of the most important in existence, arranged in not fewer than thirty-five apartments, containing 274 glazed cases. Such a collection, made by such a small state as Denmark, and at a very small expense, puts our great national establishment to the blush. The opportunities which we have lost of obtaining the productions of many tribes, now either extinct, or altered by intercourse with Europeans, have been so numerous as to cause the greatest regret.

The classification of this noble collection is as follows:—

1. Nations not possessing or previous to possessing the use of metal.
2. Nations possessing the use of metal but destitute of literature.
3. Nations possessing the use of metal, and having a literature of some kind.

The small nucleus of this collection existed in the old museum attached to the royal palace, but its enormous development may be attributed to the exertions of Counsellor Thomsen, to whose untiring zeal both this and the old Nord-sagen Museum almost owe their existence.

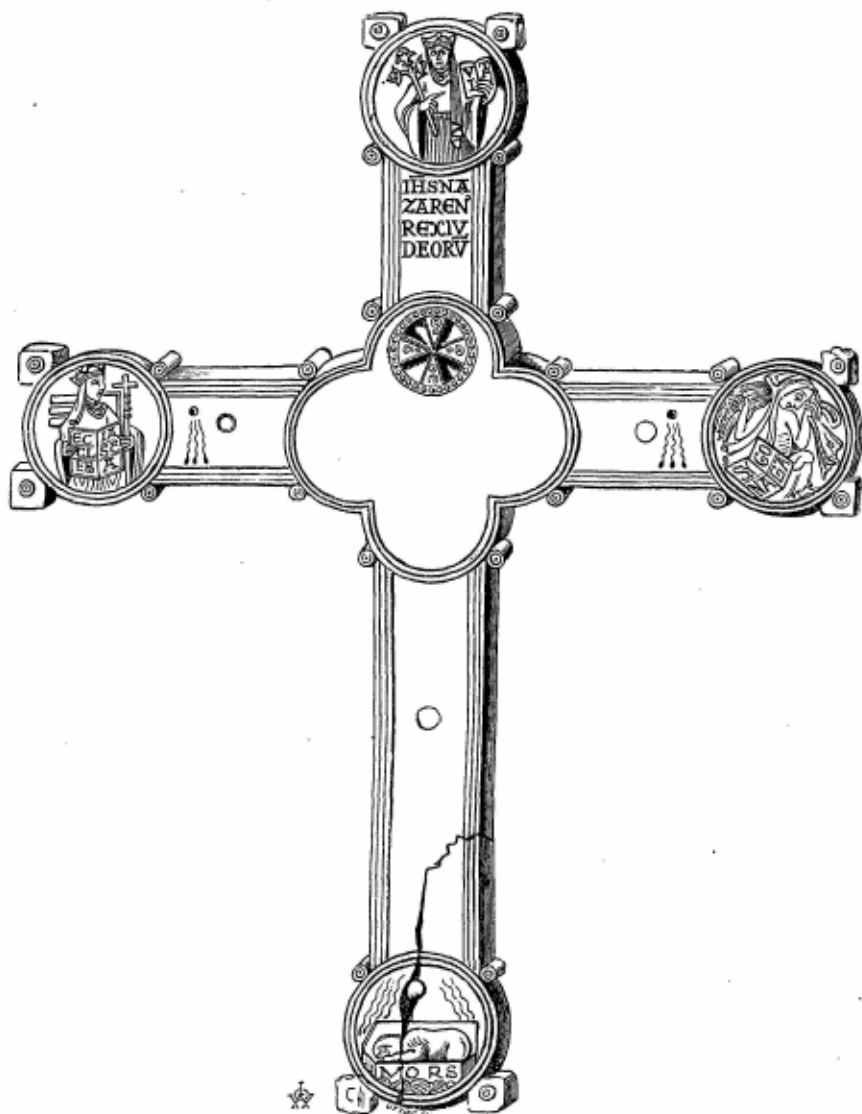
The Historical Museum is contained in the Rosenberg Palace. Here are preserved the Regalia, a fine collection of Venetian glass, the famous silver-gilt drinking horn of Oldenberg, the silver throne of the Riddersal, many enamels, miniatures and personal relics of the sovereigns of Denmark, arranged in separate rooms according to the reigns during which they were collected.

To the English archæologist, however, the "Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager" is of the highest importance. It was instituted in 1807, but, like the Ethnographic Museum, it owes its great development to the diligence and industry of its chief curator Thomsen, a gentleman not less distinguished for his antiquarian knowledge than for his great kindness to visitors. It was with much regret that during my stay in Copenhagen I had but little communication with this gentleman, as he was under the necessity of going to Funen to receive a collection of about 2000 relics of antiquity bequeathed to the museum. Of the extent of this museum I am not able to speak precisely, as there is no printed catalogue; I believe, however, that there are 20,000 different objects. Of the nature of its contents, which occupy almost as many apartments as the Ethnographical Museum, we may, however, form an excellent idea from the volume published by Worsaae, under the title "Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager;" a work of the highest merit, containing most scrupulously executed figures of not fewer than 459 of the most remarkable specimens in the collection.

By the kindness of Mr. Thomsen and his excellent assistants, the Kammerarden Herbst and Strunk, I was enabled to take casts of many interesting relics, especially those of ivory, as well as some of the early ecclesiastical metal relics figured in Worsaae's work. Of the former, the most important is the ivory cross of Gunhilde or Helena, the daughter of King Svend Estridsen, who died in 1076. She was grand-niece of Canute the Great.







Front of the Ivory Cross of Gunhilde or Helena, daughter of Svend Estridsen, King of Denmark, 1047—1076.

The original is in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen. Scale, one-half the original size.

The back of this cross is represented by Worsaae (fig. 393). It measures  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 9 inches. In the centre is the Saviour, with outstretched hands, seated on the rainbow, with four angels at the junction of the four arms of the cross. In the circle at the top of the cross is Abraham with Lazarus on his bosom, and four other figures. In the circle at the bottom is Dives tormented by demons, pointing with his finger to his outstretched tongue. In that at the end of the left arm of the cross is a group of the blessed approaching the Saviour, and a group of the damned departing from Christ occupies the end of the right arm of the cross.

The face of the cross originally displayed a figure of the crucified Saviour, now wanting; the place of the head is marked by a cruciferous nimbus, and representations of drops of blood appear where the hands had been attached. In the top circle is a female figure, crowned and holding a sceptre and a book, representing Life, whilst at the foot is a remarkable representation of Death, a weeping figure half concealed in a coffin. In the circle at the end of the left arm of the cross is a crowned female figure of the Church, holding a book and a standard; and in that on the right arm is a crouching figure of the Synagogue tearing her long disheveled hair.

This curious representation of Life and Death recalls to mind the two delineations of the same subjects, in the Cottonian Psalter (Tiberius, C. 6.), and in the Missal of Leofric in the Bodleian Library, both of about the end of the tenth century, but quite different in the treatment of these subjects.

The inscriptions upon this remarkable cross present various palæographical peculiarities: there are numerous ligatures and contractions.

On the front of the cross, over the nimbus where the head of the figure of Our Lord originally was, is the inscription IH'S NAZAREN' REX IVDEORV'. On the open book in the hand of the figure in the upper circle is the word VITA. On the book held by the figure in the circle at the Saviour's right hand is written ECCLESIA SC'A: on that at his left, SYNAGOGA. On the front of the tomb in the circle at the foot of the cross is inscribed MORS.

On the reverse of the cross, in the circle surrounding the enthroned figure of Our Lord, + VIDETE · [M]ANVS · MEAS · ET ·

PEDES MEOS ·DIO'·DN'S'; and on the open book upon his knees appear Alpha and Omega, the latter having the central stroke terminating in a cross. On the scroll upon the shaft of the cross, PAT' HABRAHAM MISERERE MEI ET MITTE LAZAR' VT .... TINGVAT<sup>3</sup> EXTREMV' DIGITI SVI I' AQUA' VT REFRIG... and upon the scroll on the upper part, FILI RECORDARE QUIA RECEPISTI BONA I' VITA TVA. Upon the scroll on the arm of the cross to the right hand of Our Lord, VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI; and on the other, DICEDITE A ME MALEDICTI I' IGNEM. On the right edge of the cross, and under the right arm the following inscription may be seen, which may probably be read thus,—Qui Christum Crucifixum credunt Liutgeri memoriam orando faciant, qui me sculpserrat rogatu Helene que et Gunhilde vocatur.

Q' XP'M	CRUCIFIXV'	ORED'T	LIVTGERI	MEMO-	G	T
·R... OR	ANDO	FACIA'T	Q' ME	SCVLPSERAT	RO-	A
					V	
	HELENE	QVE	ET			
	GVNHILD		VOCAT'			

On the left edge and under the left arm,—

Q' ME	CERNIT	P'	HELENA	MAGNI	E	ME
SVENONIS	REGIS	FILIA	XP'M	ORET	Q	
	AD	MEMORIA		DN'ICE	A	
	PASSIO'IS	PARA		RI	FECE	T

Before the word Suenonis on the left side there appear five Runic characters representing the name of the Princess. This inscription may be thus read,—Qui me cernit pro Helena Magni Suenonis regis filia Christum oret, que me ad memoriam dominice passionis parari fecerat.

The upper portion of an abbot's pastoral staff, from Lygumskloster in Slesvig (Coll. No. 16,120), is also of ivory. It is of elegant workmanship, representing the abbot seated, at full length, in the centre of the whorl, whilst the reverse is occupied with well designed foliage, in open work, of the twelfth or thirteenth century. A portable altar consisting of a large plaque of narval-bone, measuring eight inches square, with a representation of the Saviour seated in the centre, and with the Evangelistic symbols in the four angles; the work is rude, and apparently of the fourteenth century.

Another piece of narval ivory, apparently the hilt of a sword, is covered with elegant interlacing foliage, in the

<sup>3</sup> The Codex Brixianus (alone!) reads "intinguat."

style of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of one very remarkable chess-king,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches high (represented half size by Worsaae, fig. 424), the chess pieces in this Museum are not so important as I had hoped to have found them. Several pieces of the German type (namely, with the figure on horseback, surrounded by a number of small attendants, armed with bows, or assisting the king or knight to mount his horse), are here preserved: a chess-knight, also, formed simply of a head (unarmed) and bust in tegulated armour, with a round shield and a short sword, is to be noticed (Worsaae, fig. 426), as well as a draughtsman, representing a figure strangling two dragons (Worsaae, fig. 427). A small ivory box, with a king and a bishop carved on the lid, and the sides ornamented with grotesques and foliage of the end of the thirteenth century, especially merits notice (Worsaae, fig. 420). Three interesting ivory carvings, of the thirteenth century, representing the Marys at the sepulchre, the Harrowing of Hades, and the Resurrection, exhibit great merit in the very deep undercutting of the principal figures.

There are also a number of diptychs and triptychs of the Gothic period, several of which are important works of art.<sup>5</sup> Of larger carvings, the remarkable door from a church in Iceland, with its Runic inscription of the twelfth century (Worsaae, fig. 388), and the church-seat of carved wood, of a later period, with the signs of the Zodiac, and Runic and Latin inscriptions (*ibid.* fig. 42), are also worthy of note. Of these objects I obtained rubbings. Of metalwork, I was especially curious to examine the reliquary represented by Worsaae, fig. 398, as it is the only representation in his work which indicates Anglo-Saxon or Irish influence. I have now no hesitation in regarding it as a production of our own islands, most probably of Ireland. The interlaced riband patterns, forming the groundwork of the ornament, are so slightly incised, that they would scarcely have afforded any trace in a gutta percha cast. The three circles, formed of spiral lines terminating in the centre in dragons' heads, will be at once recognised as especially characteristic of Irish work.

The Royal Library, founded in 1665, now possesses about

<sup>4</sup> Engraved in the "*Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*" for 1838—1839: fig. 4.

<sup>5</sup> I may mention especially one marked B, B, 6, 17.

400,000 volumes of printed books and MSS., the latter being especially rich in Hindoo, Pali, and Zend literature, brought from India by Professor Rask.

I transcribed the only Anglo-Saxon fragment existing in this collection. This, with my notes of several volumes of Irish literature, and also of two Scandinavian MSS., pointed out to me by the very obliging head librarian as the most valuable, will be found appended to this memoir.

Of illuminated MSS., the most important to English archaeologists is a copy of the Gospels, evidently executed in England about the close of the tenth century, and forming part of the old Danish Royal Collection, No. 10. It is of a large folio size, having the Eusebian Canons at the commencement followed by the Gospel of St. Matthew, commencing with a grand "*LIBER generationis*" in the style of the Canute Gospels in the British Museum (copied in my *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*). Opposite this page is a representation of St. Matthew, which the Anglo-Saxon artist has evidently copied from the remarkable figure of that Evangelist in the Gospels of St. Cuthbert (MS. Cotton. Nero, C. 4); the figures of the saint with the attendant angel and drapery, and with a man's head and hand peeping out, being copied in the same manner as the artist of the Anglo-Saxon copy of Aratus illustrated by Ottley, had copied (with a modification) the earlier drawings which that author thought were of the third century. The figure of St. Luke does not exhibit any peculiarity, and those of St. Mark and St. John are wanting.

The old Royal Collection also contains a Greek MS. of the tenth century, of parts of the Old Testament,<sup>6</sup> having a magnificent illumination of Solomon seated on his throne, with an attendant, as fine a work of art as those of the Paris Psalter. Other illuminated MSS. worthy of notice are, a folio Psalter (Thotten Coll. No. 143), of the end of the twelfth century, with large and fine illuminations at the commencement, and many beautiful initial letters. Also a copy of the Gospels (Old Roy. Coll. No. 1325), a small quarto volume of the end of the ninth century, with diminutive rude figures of the Evangelists.

The University Library is arranged in a spacious room

<sup>6</sup> This volume is of folio size, marked No. 6.

over the Trinity Church. It contains about 100,000 volumes, its principal treasure in MSS. being the Icelandic Collection. These MSS. are numerous, and many of them have already been printed, or are in course of publication. None of them are, however, earlier than the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth century, and many are much later. The most important of these were kindly exhibited to me by Mr. Gundorph, the learned librarian of the University, and none of them contained illuminations of any importance. An early Bestiarium in the Arnæ-Magnæan collection, and some other MSS., however, are ornamented with paintings, but I did not see them.

The singular tower of the Church of the Trinity is circular, having a central column supporting a spiral inclined paved way, sufficiently wide to allow a carriage and four to be driven to the top, an elevation of not less than 115 feet. On the inner walls of this inclined way are affixed a number of Runic stones with inscriptions, early coffins and other lapidary monuments, which have been described in the *Antiquariske Annaler*, 4 vols. 1820. Of several of the most important of these inscriptions I made rubbings. On the outside of the east end of the church there are placed three other still larger stones, with longer Runic inscriptions, together with a curious and rude early stone carving, apparently part of a coffin, having on one of its sides a figure on horseback, in front of which stands an archer with bow and arrow, and behind the horse is a figure of a standing angel. At the end of the stone is sculptured a standing figure.

The reader will by this time be doubtless of opinion, that Copenhagen must be regarded by the archaeologist as one of the most interesting cities in the world.

*(To be continued.)*

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INVESTIGATION OF BARROWS ON  
THE LINE OF THE ROMAN ROAD BETWEEN OLD SARUM  
AND THE PORT AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER AXE, SUP-  
POSED TO BE THE "AD AXIUM" OF RAVENNAS.

BY THE REV. HARRY M. SCARTH, M.A.<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the most interesting lines of Roman road in the West of England, for the careful tracing of which we are indebted to Sir R. Colt Hoare, lies between the ancient city of Old Sarum and what was once the port at the mouth of the River Axe, on the Bristol Channel, opposite to Brean Down, supposed to be that known anciently as "AD AXIUM." The visitor to Weston-Super-Mare must have contemplated that huge headland projecting into the Channel, but has probably thought little of its ancient interest, and of the remains existing on it and in its vicinity.

At the extremity of this projecting point, and also at the embouchure of the river Axe, not very far from the ruined old church which crowns the high ground above Uphill, but situated on the side of the ridge looking towards Bleadon, are the remains of an ancient settlement, probably of very considerable importance in Roman times. A British settlement, of considerable magnitude, is also traceable on the same side of the Mendip. These I had an opportunity of examining, as late as July last, and can verify the accuracy of Sir R. C. Hoare's description, when he says, "On going from Cross to Uphill, the road passes through the village of Bleadon, and before you descend the hill to it, I recommend a digression on the left side of the road, where there are decided vestiges of a very extensive British settlement, covering on all sides a wide tract of land as far as the Roman station."<sup>2</sup> These I had noticed a year or two previous to reading Sir R. C. Hoare's account, and determined to examine them at an early opportunity. The Roman station is small, but quite distinguishable. From hence has been

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to the Section of Antiquities, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Bath, July, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Wilts, vol. ii., Roman Æra, p. 44. See the Map of the localities above described, *ibid.* Iter ii. plate iii.

traced in almost a direct line, and broken only at particular intervals by the increase of modern cultivation, a continuous course of Roman road. Two, or probably more, Roman stations are distinctly traceable, and have been accurately laid down by Sir R. C. Hoare, to whom we are indebted for a careful survey of this most interesting district, extending along the ridge of the Mendip Hills, until it enters Wilts, and terminates in the fortress of Old Sarum.

The line of Roman way appears to have been formed, like most other Roman roads, in the line of an ancient British trackway. Long before the coming of the Romans, the line of the Mendip Hills appears to have been a thickly populated region, from the vestiges which remain of extensive settlements not only near Bleadon, and other points in Somerset, but at Stockton and Groveley Wood in Wilts. The sides of the Roman road are studded with ancient tumuli. In one place the Roman road is made to turn out of its course, to prevent the violation of one of these enduring records of mortality, possibly also to avoid wounding the feelings of the people, by whom it had been raised.

While Sir R. C. Hoare carefully examined the course of this road, and noted the vestiges of the settlements of the original inhabitants, and the later works of their Roman conquerors, his friend, the Rev. John Skinner, undertook to examine the interior of some of the barrows which seemed to offer the best chance of ascertaining by their contents the probable date of their construction, and the degree of civilisation of the people who formed them. The account of the examination of these tumuli is contained in a volume of MS. letters, and other papers, presented by him to the library of the Literary and Scientific Institution at Bath, and written for the most part to his friend the Rev. James Douglas, author of the *Nenia Britannica*. These letters, as far as I know, have never been published, and as they appear well worthy of being brought to light, I have been desirous to bring them under notice, because in the present advancing state of archaeological investigation, especially as regards ancient interments, every record of any careful examination becomes of value. The subject of burial and cremation has of late excited so much attention, and such valuable treatises have been put forth upon it; investigation has also been carried on throughout such an extended field of



inquiry, that every additional record which can be relied on, must be considered valuable in determining the difficult question. Professor Grimm and the German archæologists, as well as our late esteemed and talented countryman Mr. Kemble, have done much towards elucidating this subject; the extensive excavations carried out by Lord Braybrooke, and the careful researches by Mr. Wylie and Mr. Akerman, have contributed still more to invest the inquiry with interest.

Sir R. Colt Hoare makes mention indeed in his *Ancient Wilts* of the researches of Mr. Skinner, and adds a brief note as to their contents,<sup>3</sup> considering these tumuli to be similar to those already investigated in Wilts; but this notice will hardly satisfy those who seek to gather up every vestige that may throw light upon the manners and habits of the ancient inhabitants of their country.

I will now proceed to place before the archæologist some notices of the sepulchral antiquities in Somerset, as recorded by Mr. Skinner in the MS. collections to which I have referred; commencing with the tumuli opened by him near the village of Priddy, between Chewton and Cheddar.

No. 1. A tumulus, 10 feet in perpendicular height, 182 feet in circumference, formed chiefly of mould taken from the spot. On the east side, at the depth of 10 feet, a small interment of burnt bones was found, in quantity almost a pint. From the thinness of part of the skull, it appeared to have been that of a child. The ashes were found on a flat stone, without any cist or covering. Two feet lower down a similar interment was discovered, and at the bottom, just below the natural surface, was found the primary deposit, in a small oval cist covered with a flat stone, and near it a rude clay urn which was unfortunately broken.

No. 2. This tumulus was 8 feet high, 163 in circumference, formed of earth and loose stones, and contained the primary interment of burnt bones in a small cist, 16 inches in length, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. The cavity was nearly filled with burnt bones, and covered with a flat stone; in it were found four amber beads in excellent preservation, and a fifth somewhat in the form of a heart, which broke in pieces on being handled. Part of a bronze spear or arrow-head was also found, much corroded, and a ring of the same

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. *Roman Æra*, p. 42.

metal. The appearance of decayed wood on the blade, seemed to indicate that it had been enclosed in a sheath. Not far from the cist was found a small oval cup of pottery, 4 inches long, 3 wide, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  deep in the interior, the outside embossed with a number of projecting knobs; this little urn is similar to one given in Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wilts.* The amber beads were of fine rich red, or ruby colour, highly polished, and transparent when held up to the light; a small blue opaque glass bead was found with them, perforated; only one of the amber beads had a hole made through it; the others were bored on one side, probably for the admission of a pin. The cist was covered by a mass of rude stones to the height of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, heaped over with earth taken from the vicinity of the barrow.

No. 3. This barrow consisted of a pile of loose stones, with only sufficient earth to cover the surface; it measured 12 feet in height, 164 in circumference; some of the loose fragments weighed from 150 to 200 lbs. The cist, formed of loose stones, was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length by 2 in width, and was covered with a large flat grey stone of a material not found in the neighbourhood. It contained a quantity of burnt bones, but no beads or bronze implements. An urn was found reversed, as is usual, and it was so much decomposed by the moisture, that its form could not well be ascertained. Within  $\frac{1}{2}$  foot of the summit was found a deposit of burnt bones, deposited in a small cavity covered with a flat stone.

No 4. This barrow measured 7 feet high, 181 in circumference. It was formed of earth to a depth of 3 feet; beneath this appeared a pile of loose stones to the bottom. A quantity of burnt bones was found here, in the same kind of cist as in No. 3, and a brazen (or bronze) spear-head or dirk blade. When perfect it was probably 5 inches long and 1 inch broad, retaining near one extremity three bronze rivets which had fixed it to the handle; on the blade was the appearance of decayed wood, as if the sheath had rotted away.

No. 5. This barrow measured 6 feet in height, 155 feet in circumference, formed of earth. No interment discovered.

No. 6. Eight feet and a half high, 180 feet in circumference,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet of earth from the summit, 3 of small stones. At the bottom lay a considerable quantity of burnt bones and charcoal in a cist, which also contained a large urn,

dotted over by some blunt instrument, when the clay was soft; this was unfortunately broken.

No. 7. Seven feet high, 163 feet in circumference, formed of about 3 feet of earth from the summit, and 4 feet of loose stones; burnt bones and charcoal in the centre, with part of a brazen (or bronze) blade much corroded.

No. 8. Six feet high, 150 feet in circumference, formed of earth; a small quantity of burnt bones lay at the bottom, but no urn.

There was a ninth barrow in this line, but stated to have been removed, in order to supply materials for a wall in the vicinity.

The range is still called "*Priddy Nine Barrows.*" They stand out boldly on the ridge of the hill as you look towards Wells on the road thither from East and West Harptree. I visited them July 12, 1858, but the operations of agriculture are fast encroaching on all this tract of country, and will soon eradicate these memorials of ancient occupation; we cannot feel too thankful to Mr. Skinner for having undertaken their investigation at the time he did, and for having recorded his researches so carefully. A tract of land not far distant has been taken for improved cultivation, and a Model Farm commenced.

Within a quarter of a mile south of this line, is another range of seven barrows; the smallest of these was opened by Mr. Skinner, who found a quantity of charcoal and a few scattered ashes; it had probably been opened before.

Near them are some circular banks,<sup>4</sup> called by the peasants "*The Castles;*" the diameters of which are each 500 feet, the mound is low, and they have no external ditch. They are a quarter of a mile from the barrows opened, and about 250 feet distant from each other.

Nothing can surpass the wild desolation of this tract, which contrasts vividly with the rich valleys on each side of it; yet the soil appears fertile and produces good crops, and the interior of the hills is productive of minerals, some lead mines being in active operation.

Mr. Skinner describes other barrows which he opened, half a mile to the south of Priddy Church, in the autumn of 1818, all of small dimensions: one of them measuring only 4 feet

<sup>4</sup> Similar circles exist in Walton Down near Clevedon, for which see a note at the end of this memoir, communicated by Mr. Long whilst it was in the press.

in height, and about 50 feet in circumference; and the other being 3 feet high, and also a flat barrow, wider in circuit; these two stood together. In the first he found pieces of charcoal and a small flint arrow-head, almost 2 feet from the summit; and nearly the same depth below, some stones and burnt bones. The interment seemed to have been disturbed, and the barrows previously examined. In the second of these no cist was found as indicative of burial, although three openings were made.

A group of barrows, standing in a line to the north-east of Priddy Church, commonly called "Ashen Lane Barrows," about half a mile distant from the church, was next examined.

No. 1. The workmen dug to the depth of 8 feet, and made a large excavation, but found nothing. This barrow was 7 feet high, and 80 feet in circumference.

No. 2. About 7 feet high, and 60 feet in circumference. This barrow contained burnt bones and charcoal, at the depth of 6 feet, but no appearance of a cist or urn.

No. 3. This barrow measured only 3 feet high, 37 paces in circumference. It contained a cist 15 inches deep and a foot long, nearly filled with charcoal and burnt bones, the latter much injured by being wet, the barrow being so low.

No. 4. At the depth of 6 feet an oval cist was found, of larger dimensions than the former, containing burnt bones, also some thick fragments of an unbaked urn which may have been traces of a second deposit.

No. 5. In this interment were found burnt bones, without any urn or cist.

The ground was not opened between Nos. 4 and 5, but it appeared to be a place of interment. The whole group, as Mr. Skinner supposed, may have been a family burying-place.

I will next proceed to notice Mr. Skinner's examination of a tumulus known as "Lime Kiln Barrow," rather more than a quarter of a mile north-west of Priddy Church, and so called from being near a lime-kiln. It measured 75 paces in circumference, and 6 feet in depth. Immediately on removing the earth from the summit, a rude urn was discovered, 16 inches in diameter, turned bottom upwards on a heap of ashes; and on being examined a flat bronze arrow-head was found, very thin and sharp at the edge, with a rivet hole

at the extremity to fix it to the shaft. The length was about 3 inches, the breadth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, the thickness not more than that of a shilling in any part. The edge was sharp enough to mend a pen ; this, as Mr. Skinner observes, shows how different a mode they must have had in ancient times of tempering bronze, to that at present used, and accounts for swords having been formed of this metal, as well as arrows and spear-heads.

It is also worth noticing, Mr. Skinner here remarks, "how exactly the shape of this brass (bronze) arrow head was formed after that of similar objects made of flint ; the metal was obtained, probably, by the Britons in an unwrought state, of foreign merchants, and fashioned after their own models." No primary interment was found in this barrow, which had evidently never been opened before. "I suppose," says Mr. Skinner, "we missed the centre, or did not dig deep enough."

In an inclosed field, recently walled in, near this spot, were five other barrows, four of which were opened without any thing being found ; but Mr. Skinner observes, that the workmen employed by him did their work so badly, that they may have digged wide of the cists, as he was not at the time on the spot to direct them, and could not rectify this mistake except by working the ground all over again.

Four Barrows half a mile to the N.W. of "Ashen Lane Barrows" were subsequently opened.

No. 1. This contained an oval cist of rough stones, covered with a flat one, at the depth of 4 feet ; the cist was nearly a yard long, and contained burnt bones and charcoal in large quantities.

No. 2. Burnt bones at a depth of 5 feet, no cist or urn, the ground very wet.

No. 3. No cist and few ashes, but a quantity of charcoal.

No. 4. Nothing found. Being a flat barrow, the centre was not properly ascertained.

Half a mile to the N.W. of the last-mentioned barrow is another called "Green Barrow," from its surface being more verdant than the rest. In this was found, not exactly in the centre, but to the side of it, a quantity of burnt bones, heaped on a flat stone, without any appearance of a cist or urn ; among the ashes was discovered a brazen (or

bronze) spear-head, the two nails which fastened it to the haft still remaining in the socket. Near it was found lying "an ivory<sup>s</sup> pin," upwards of 4 inches in length, rather broken at the point, and of a green colour from having been deposited near the brass; three holes were perforated in the head of this pin. A pin very much resembling this, but made of brass (bronze) was dug up by Sir R. C. Hoare's workmen from a barrow near Abury. The ivory, observes Mr. Skinner, seems to present a strong confirmation of the British commerce with Eastern merchants.

Mr. Skinner states, that he was prevented from examining two other barrows by the rain, which began to fall very heavily. A labourer residing in Mendip informed him that twenty years ago, he and another while removing some stones from a high hillock, about a mile and a half to the north-west of Priddy, called Beacon Barrow, found nearly twenty brazen (bronze) weapons. These he sold to a farmer for two gallons of cyder. They were almost a foot in length and very heavy. Beacon Barrow stands on a high spot, commanding a view of the Welsh hills: and, as its name imports, it was probably used to convey signals by fire.

At Charterhouse, within a quarter of a mile east of Beacon Barrow, are very interesting remains of a Roman station, and a perfect amphitheatre. On visiting this (July 12th, 1858), and on entering a farm-yard to ask the road, the first thing that caught my eye was the upper stone of an old quern. The farmer at once conducted me to the hollow I enquired for, and on the way thither told me that the quern had been dug up in the field beyond the amphitheatre, and that a pot of coins had also been found there. I was delighted to find the amphitheatre so perfect. It is ploughed over and sown with hemp, but the form of it remains, and the entrances are quite distinct. In walking eastward from the amphitheatre, I discovered by the yellow colour of the fresh growing corn, where the settlement had been, just as at Wroxeter you could trace the form of the city by the change in the colour of the growing crops, there being no depth of earth owing to old foundations. The farmer pointed out the site of another amphitheatre, about

<sup>s</sup> Possibly formed of the tooth of *sea horse*, here called "ivory" by Mr. Skinner.

half a mile distant to the south, beyond the farm, in the direction of Cheddar Cliffs. Sir R. C. Hoare speaks of one, which he says "has been destroyed," but this is probably the one to which he alludes. I understand that in making a drain, two or three years since, the labourers came upon the old Roman road. This was mentioned to me incidentally, and it was described as in very perfect condition.<sup>6</sup>

From the examination of these barrows, Mr. Skinner observes that cremation appears to have been general among the inhabitants of Mendip, for, as he remarks, he had discovered in that district no single instance to the contrary. On this he proposes the following questions:—

1.—Was not the custom of burning the dead observed by a race distinct from those who buried the body entire?

2.—Were not the vaulted barrows, when the body was interred entire, generally speaking, of more ancient construction than the raised tumulus?

3.—What distinction is to be made between the Lowes of Cheshire and Derbyshire, and some of the northern counties, and the barrows of the southern and western?

4.—Did the original inhabitants of Britain before the Belgic invasion bury or burn the bodies?

In answer to the first question I am disposed to think that burning the dead was practised by a race distinct from those who buried the body entire. The description which Tacitus has given us of the Jews, and their feelings and customs with regard to the dead, seems to throw light upon this enquiry. His words are these,—"*Animasque prælio aut supplicii peremptorum, æternas putant. Hinc generandi amor, et moriendi contemptus. Corpora condere, quam cremare, e more Ægyptio; eademque cura, et de infernis persuasio; cœlestium contra.*" We remark that he mentions the burial of the dead as a *national peculiarity*, and the manner in which it is mentioned, seems to imply that it was coupled with their belief in the immortality of the soul.—He says, "*e more Ægyptio,*" they did it after the

<sup>6</sup> Sep. 23, 1858. I have had another opportunity of visiting Charterhouse, and find that the second amphitheatre, said to have been destroyed, was only partially filled up. The farmer told me that his father contemplated filling it

entirely, but that the visit of Sir Richard Hoare caused him to desist and leave it as it now is. The entrances are not here traceable as in the other, but in size it is much the same. The farmers seem now to place more value on these relics.

manner of the Egyptians, with whom they had a similar belief in rewards and punishments hereafter. This I conceive to be the real meaning of "de infernis persuasio." The soul was weighed in the balance and rewarded or rejected according to its acts, as we see represented in paintings on Egyptian tombs and mummy cases or coffins; but while they coincided with the Egyptians in this belief, they differed from them in their belief in a multitude of divinities. There seems good reason to suppose that a belief in the doctrine of a resurrection was originally prevalent in Egypt, and that it was held that after a cycle of years the body should be reanimated, hence the care to embalm it, and construct the sepulchre which should endure the needful time. Hence the sumptuous tombs of the kings and queens, and the pyramids. This is corroborated by the story of the phoenix believed by the Egyptians, which is mentioned by St. Clement in his epistle, as an emblem of the resurrection. If we turn from profane to sacred writings, we find that the patriarch Job, who dwelt in Arabia, believed in the doctrine of the resurrection. We find Abraham covenanting with the children of Heth for the possession of a burying-place, and completing a purchase which was afterwards the burial-place of his family.

But the burial of the human body appears everywhere to have accorded with the simplest and purest feelings of mankind, if it had not its origin in some primæval tradition of the hope of a reunion of soul and body.

The memorable words of Cyrus respecting the disposal of his body after death, seem almost to imply something of the kind. "Τὸ δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θῆτε, μήτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ, μήτε ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε· τί γὰρ τοῦτου μακαριώτερον τοῦ γῇ μυχθῆναι, ἢ πάντα μὲν τὰ καλὰ πάντα δὲ τὰγαθὰ φύει τε καὶ τρέφει." Xenoph. Cyri Inst. H. It appears to me that the last sentence, which refers to the earth re-producing all that is good and beautiful, almost breathes a hope which he dared not express. Cicero considered burial to have been the most ancient mode of disposing of the body. "Mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulchræ genus id videtur fuisse, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur." Plutarch has recorded in his life of Numa, that the Roman lawgiver was buried in a stone coffin, and his laws in another. From the Septuagint version of the Holy Scrip-



tures, we learn that when Joshua was buried, the stone knives with which he had circumcised the Israelites were interred with him. Here we have an early intimation of the burial of weapons, or articles of note or value, with the deceased. *Καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις τοῦ κλήρου αὐτοῦ ἐν Θαμνασαράχ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἐφραΐμ ἀπὸ Βορβὰ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Γαλαάδ· ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ μνήμα εἰς ὃ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς πετρίδας, ἐν αἷς περιέτεμε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Γαλγάλοις, ὅτε ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καθὰ συνεταξεν αὐτοῖς Κύριος· καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.* Joshua xxiv. 30.

This latter portion of the verse, though not in the Hebrew, is nevertheless good as a tradition of what had been done, since we may regard the Septuagint as a paraphrase rather than an exact translation of the Hebrew original.

May we not venture then to reply, in answer to the first question suggested by Mr. Skinner, "Was the custom of burning the dead observed by a race distinct from those who buried the body entire?" that those nations which retained any tradition amongst them of a restoration and reanimation of the human frame, would doubtless continue to bury their dead, but when such an idea became extinct, and the human family became numerous on the face of the earth, and when cities became populous,—when war and pillage often led to the desecration of the sepulchre,—then, as we find in the case of the Greeks and Romans, cremation succeeded to inhumation, until such times as Christianity produced another change, and brought back the ancient custom of burial without burning. This leads to the attempt to answer the second question, "Were not vaulted barrows where the body was interred entire, of more ancient construction than the raised tumulus?"

Whoever examines that very interesting chambered tumulus still preserved entire at Wellow, in Somersetshire, and remarks that no iron tool has apparently been used in its construction, but that the stones are simply split and placed in their position, and similarly with respect to that at Uleybury, in Gloucestershire, may, I think, be inclined to consider these as anterior to the barrows in which bronze weapons are found, implying a certain knowledge of metals not perceptible in these chambered tumuli.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Remarks on Chambered Tumuli; Proc. Som. Arch. Soc. vol. viii. and Dr. Thurnam's Memoir on Uleybury in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 316.

I am not prepared to enter into the third question, respecting the Lowes of Cheshire and Derbyshire, not having had opportunity of examining any of them; but in relation to the fourth question proposed by Mr. Skinner, I would, with all diffidence, suggest that we may attribute the chambered tumuli to the race inhabiting our country previous to the coming of the Belgæ. The barrows in Mendip, examined by Mr. Skinner, may probably be assigned to the Belgic tribe. They are certainly older than the Roman times, as is noticed by Sir R. Colt Hoare, in the construction of the Roman road at Lower Pertwood Farm, Wilts, where the road is carried round outside the barrow.<sup>1</sup> They have no characteristics of Saxon burials, and they seem most properly to occupy the interval between the extinction of the aboriginal race, among whom the practice of burial was observed, and the time of the Roman invasion and subsequent occupation of this country.

<sup>1</sup> Hoare's Ancient Wilts, vol. ii. p. 39.

Mr. W. Long, author of the valuable memoir on Stanton Drew in this Journal, has communicated a note on earthworks on the hills between Bristol and Clevedon, which deserve careful examination. Upon the brow of Walton Down may be seen a circular enclosure, diam. about 130 paces, surrounded by a vallum and ditch, and approached on the north-east by a winding way, 12 to 15 paces in width. The entrance to the approach is flanked by defences, and the circle would appear to have been a *locus consecratus*. At the end of the Down are about fifteen hut circles, of which three were opened by Mr. Long. Under the thick turf and fine mould, about a foot deep, lay some stones, and underneath them fragments of coarse black pottery, burnt earth, burnt bones, two crystals, and a stone spear-head, as supposed. The mould seemed saturated with animal matter, and the ground hollow. At about 4½ feet deep, two thigh bones and other human remains were found; the body had been drawn up, the size of the cist not allowing it to lie at full length. The skull lay at the side; it seemed of a savage type, the cheek-bones high, the mouth projecting. The earth beneath was dark and unctuous, and about two feet below was a second deposit of bones, broken pottery, and burnt earth. The cavity was about six feet deep. A singular round cake of clay was thrown out in this excavation. The width of this hut-circle was about 5 feet. The skeleton was pronounced to be that of a female.

NOTICE OF THREE SILVER CUPS, PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC  
LIBRARY AT ZÜRICH, PRESENTED BY BISHOP JEWEL AND  
OTHER ENGLISH BISHOPS, IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH,  
TO THEIR FRIENDS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THAT  
CITY.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. FERDINAND KELLER,

President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, and Honorary Foreign Member of  
the Archaeological Institute.

IN the library of the city of Zürich there exist, among various objects of ancient plate and other valuable relics, three silver beakers, which are of interest as associated with the history of the early times of the Reformed Church in England, and the friendly refuge found in Zürich by the English Protestants who were expatriated during the time of Queen Mary. The extensive collection of correspondence and papers which throw light on the period of the Reformation, preserved in that library, extending to not less than 100 volumes, is well known to all who take an interest in the history of the period; and a considerable number of letters, still to be found at Zürich, from learned Englishmen and eminent members of the Protestant church in England in the sixteenth century, have been published by the Parker Society. The existence, however, of the silver cups, inscribed with the names of three of the earliest Protestant bishops, John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester, and John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, appears to have been scarcely known to the English visitor of Zürich. The following brief notice, it is hoped, may not be unacceptable to the Archaeological Institute.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was a common custom in Switzerland among persons associated, either by their station in society or by friendship, to establish a place of social and convivial meeting, called a "Trinkstube," or drinking-room. For such purpose they selected in some house in the town a suitable chamber, where they might assemble in the evening or on such occasions as suited

- their pleasure, in order to pass the time in drinking or in play. In such chamber were provided the requisite furniture and appliances for their recreation ; and an attendant was engaged, called the "Stubenknecht," who resided there. The members of such convivial associations, or, as they would now be termed, clubs, subscribed a small contribution for the supply of firing for heating the apartment ; they made appointment of some member of the society as a steward or director, styled "Stubenmeister," whose duty it was to take care of the wine, the fuel, the objects used in play, and so forth.

All corporate bodies or gilds in the city, as well as the association of marksmen who exercised themselves in shooting with the crossbow, and also other private societies, had their Trinkstube or club-room. The dignitaries of the Collegiate Church of Zürich were originally associated in the club of the nobles, because they ranked on an equality with that class, and for the most part these dignitaries were of noble descent. At a later period, however, they found themselves obliged to establish a distinct association or club of their own body. On a certain occasion when the canons presented themselves to take part as usual in the customary festivities of the club of the nobles, their table appeared unprovided, and the attendant, on their asking the cause of such neglect, replied very discourteously that he had received from his masters no direction to take care of them, and that they might go to the Jews, if they pleased, and find entertainment with them. This occurrence took place, as Bullinger supposed, about the middle of the thirteenth century. It may here be observed that the Jews appear to have been established at Zürich at an early period, and to have suffered grievous persecution on various occasions. Mention of the Jews occurs in the municipal ordinances of the thirteenth century ; and after repeated insult and oppression, they were totally expelled in 1436.

The precise date of the institution of the Trinkstube or club of the canons at Zürich has not been ascertained. In the year 1245 the Ban was proclaimed by Pope Innocent IV. against the Emperor Frederic II., and the interdict extended to the city of Zürich, which took part zealously with the Emperor. In consequence therefore of the refusal of the canons of the Collegiate Church in that city, and also

of the other clergy, to administer the divine offices to the citizens, they were expelled from Zürich, and were only permitted to return after the interdict had been withdrawn. The convivial association or club established by the dignitaries of the city, doubtless about the time of their return in 1249, had its place of assembly in the conventual buildings connected with the church, where the members of the choir originally had their common place of abode.<sup>1</sup> The accommodations appropriated for the social meetings in question consisted of an apartment which might be heated when necessary by means of a stove; and in an open chamber to be used in summer. We learn from a passage in the manuscript *Passionale*, written in the year 1452 by the Provost Hemmerlin, that about that time several secular persons were expelled from the society. It appears also that, owing to the disturbance caused by the canons and chaplains in drinking and in noisy disports, not only the services in the adjoining church were occasionally interrupted, but frequently through such unseemly assemblies the requisite number of persons could not be brought together to officiate in the sacred functions.

The association of the Trinkstube of the Canons at Zürich continued subsequently to the Reformation in Switzerland, but it had at that period assumed a more dignified character. The appliances of gambling, the dice-box, the chessboard and tables, had disappeared. Instead of the carousing brethren of the former establishment, the professors of Zürich and the preachers composed the assembly; and after the labours of the day, they there found refreshment in social intercourse and moderate refectations. The society had, moreover, assumed a more extended character, since, together with the members of the collegiate church, the other clergy of Zürich, and also the professors and physicians were admitted. Into this association, which at a subsequent time received the designation of the Learned Society (*Gelehrte Gesellschaft*), foreign Literati were also introduced, and entertainments were given to their honour. The only expense permitted in this society consisted in the acquisition of drinking vessels of silver. In the year 1548 it was determined that each canon should give

<sup>1</sup> See a detailed account with views of these buildings in the *Neujahrsblatt*, issued by the Public Library at Zürich in

1853 and in that of 1854, and to which we are indebted for many particulars above related.

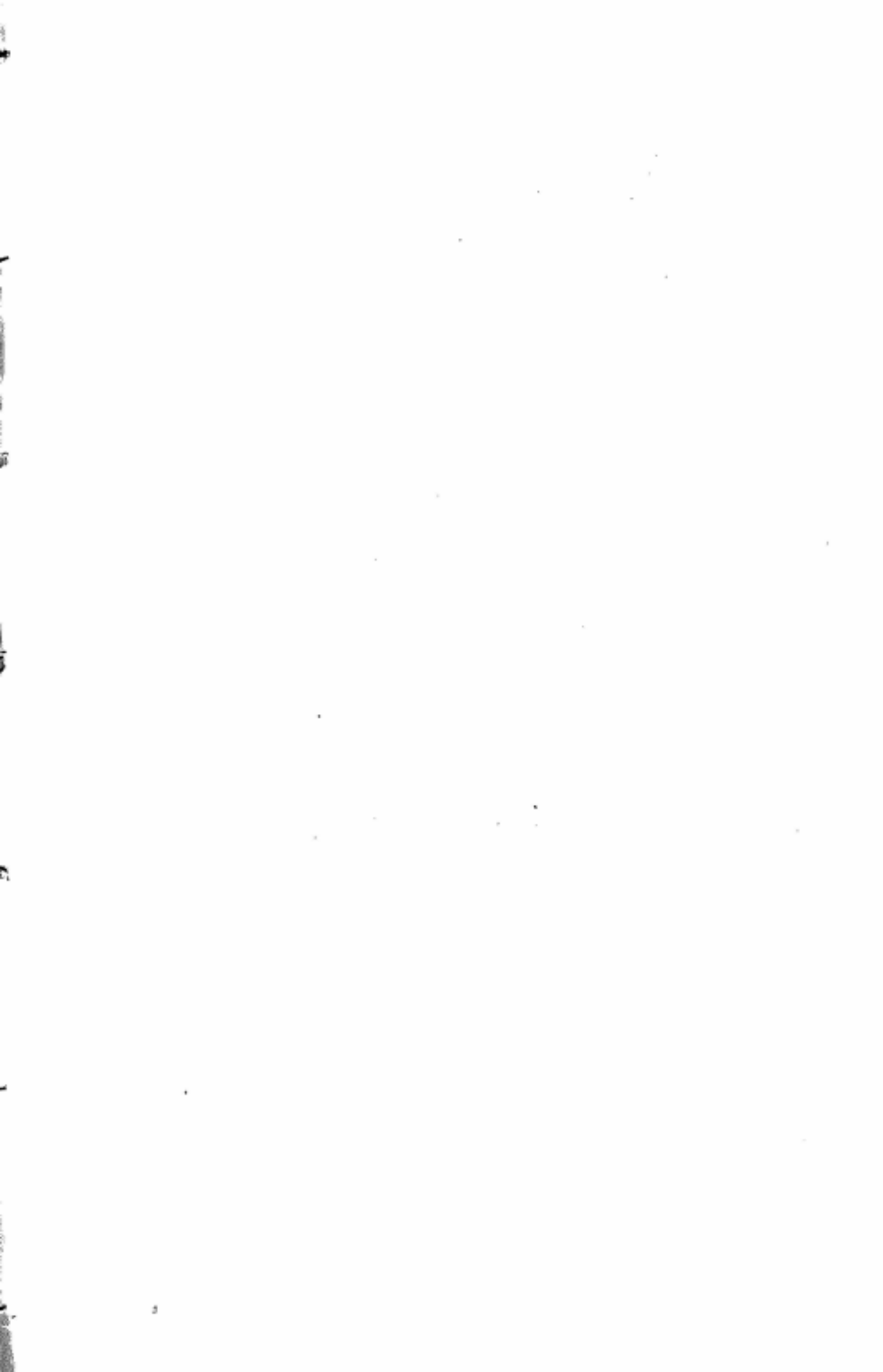
to the association a piece of plate of that description ; and that, of the other members, every two individuals should jointly present a similar offering. Every associate newly elected, and each member on his becoming advanced to any public function, were required to provide a cup of a certain value. In the year 1653 the number of such drinking vessels belonging to the society amounted to as many as 142, but in 1656, a third part of these silver cups, those especially which were of greatest value and of most artistic character in their workmanship, were melted down, the Society of the Canons being compelled, in common with all other associations and gilds, to pay a certain sum for the outfit and expenses occasioned by the war with the Catholic Cantons. In a short time, however, the plate thus unfortunately destroyed was replaced, and the valuable possessions of the society, of such description, were considerably augmented. The contribution imposed by the French upon the city of Zürich in 1798 made an end of all such display. The whole of the silver vessels were sold, with the exception only of twelve cups or beakers, and these were ultimately presented by the Learned Society, on its dissolution in the year 1830, to the Library of the city of Zürich.

Of the silver beakers now preserved in the library, the three which had been presented by English bishops have been regarded as possessing considerable historical interest. On the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England in the year 1553, she proceeded with much severity against those who had favoured the Reformation, and of these, upwards of a thousand persons, according to Bishop Burnet, sought refuge among the Protestant churches on the continent. Many of them settled at Zürich, where they were entertained, as he informs us, both by the magistrates and ministers, by Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Gessner, and all the rest of that body, with a degree of consideration and affection that led these refugees to make, to the end of their lives, the greatest acknowledgments in their power. After their return home, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1558, they maintained close correspondence with their late friendly hosts at Zürich ; and their letters, together with those of Bullinger, have long been regarded among the principal objects of interest in the archives of that city.

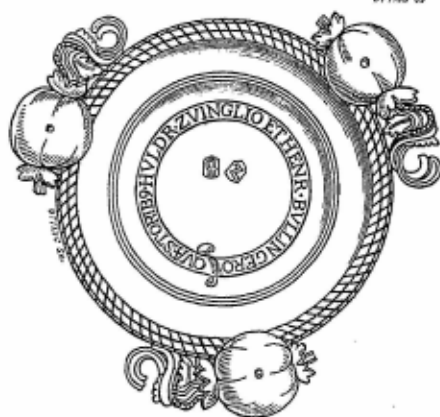
Not merely, however, by their letters, but in a more substantial manner, did the English Protestants who had thus found refuge and hospitality make demonstrations of their grateful feelings towards their friends at Zürich. They received with hearty welcome several persons from that place who on various occasions visited England; and they sent money and presents from time to time, as frequently appears in the Zürich Letters published by the Parker Society, evincing how solicitous they were to offer any acknowledgment in their power to those friends who had rendered them services in their troubles. During the residence of the English refugees in Zürich, several persons who were subsequently promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the episcopal dignity had been invited to frequent the club or Association of the Canons, and had there passed pleasant hours of friendly intercourse among those with whom they were united in the sympathy of their common faith. Of three of these English Protestants, as already mentioned, namely, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Horn, and Bishop Parkhurst, a memorial is still to be found in the tokens of their grateful acknowledgment to which these notices relate. Of the present thus tendered, as their slender means at that period permitted, traces occur in the letters to which allusion has already been made. The three bishops appear to have transmitted, in the year 1562, to the Society of the Canons' Club the modest sum of about fifty shillings, in English money, destined for the purchase of a drinking-cup or beaker. On December 13, 1563, Bishop Horn, writing from Winchester to his friend Bullinger at Zürich, makes the following allusion to the present in question: "And when you daily refresh your remembrance of me in that silver cup, I take it thus, that as nothing can be more gratifying to me than your kindness and esteem, so it is a source of exceeding pleasure to me to be in your frequent recollection, and to be, as it were, constantly before your eyes. But since a cup of so moderate a price must be very small, I have sent you fourteen crowns more, together with my coat-of-arms, as you desire, that you may get a cup made that is larger and more suitable for a large party."<sup>2</sup> Several other passages occur in the correspondence of the English

<sup>2</sup> Zürich Letters, 1558—1579, edited for the Parker Society, Letter lxi. p. 135.

Compare the original Latin in the same volume, p. 80.







Silver Cup presented by Robert Horn, Bishop of Winchester, to the Learned Society at Zurich, in 1564. (Half original size.)

Reformers, preserved at Zürich, in which mention is made of sums of money and other presents transmitted to that city, as also of their desire to be retained in the friendly remembrance of the members of the "*Hypocaustum*," or Trink-tube, the social society in which they had found so cordial a welcome.

I enclose a drawing of the silver beaker presented by the Bishop of Winchester in 1564. (See woodcut.) It measures  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, and about 5 inches in diameter at the mouth, which is parcel-gilt, as are also a band near the foot and the pomegranates, with leaves of elegant workmanship, upon which the beaker stands. Near the mouth is the following inscription: D. ROBERTI HORNI EPISCOPI VINTONIENSIS  $\Xi$ ENION. 1564. On an enameled roundel within the cup appear the arms of Bishop Horn, to which allusion is made in his letter cited above. The escutcheon displays the coat of the see of Winchester, *gules*, a drawn sword and two keys in saltire, impaling the coat of Horn, *or*, a cross flory between four griffins' heads erased *sable*, on a chief of the second three hunters' horns *argent*.<sup>3</sup> The field of this roundel is enameled light green over foliated diapered work chased upon the metal. There are to be seen on the under-side the plate marks, the letter Z, commonly used until recent times by the goldsmiths of Zürich, and a little escutcheon charged with a stag, the personal mark of the artificer by whom the cup was made. Of the other two beakers preserved at the public library one, standing likewise upon three golden pomegranates, is inscribed JOANNI PARKHURSTI EPISCOPI NORDOVICENSIS  $\Xi$ ENION. 1563, and within the cup there is an enameled roundel, displaying the arms of Bishop Parkhurst, *gules*, a cross *argent* between four stags trippant, *or*.<sup>4</sup> On the under side of the foot the following inscription is to be seen, upon a circular scroll; QVÆSTORIB' HVLDR. ZVINGLIO ET HENR. BVLLINGERO. These were probably the directors or stewards at the period. Huldred Zuinglius, it should be observed, was the son of the distinguished

<sup>3</sup> In Cassan's Bishops of Winchester the arms of Bishop Horne are thus given: *Or*, a cross flory *gules* between four griffins' heads erased *azure*, on a chief *Sable* three bugle horns stringed of the first. On the seal of this Bishop, and in the plate in Abp. Parker's Antiquities, Han-

over edition, a different coat occurs,—*Sable*, three bugle horns stringed and garnished *Argent*. See the Blazon of Episcopacy, by the Rev. W. R. Bedford, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> This coat does not agree precisely with that assigned to Bishop Parkhurst.

Reformer of that name. The other cup is of like form, but of rather simpler fashion, the foot being plain, without the pomegranates : it was the gift of Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, and is inscribed, R. D. D. JOANNIS IVELLI EPISCOPI SARISBERIENSIS SENION. It bears no armorial escutcheon. The three cups were made at Zürich, each bearing the goldsmiths' mark used there ; the two enameled roundels are of silver, with enamel partly opaque, partly translucent ; the design of the heraldry in each instance closely resembles that in fashion in England at the period, and the patterns were doubtless in each case sent over from England.



Robert Horn, Bishop of Winchester,  
1561 to 1580.



John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich,  
1560 to 1575.

In noticing these pieces of plate, which possess a certain historical interest, another may claim mention, which has been preserved in the neighbourhood of Zürich. It is a covered silver cup, of elegant workmanship, presented by Queen Elizabeth to Bullinger in 1560, doubtless as a mark of her consideration of the kindness shown to the Protestants, who had been so hospitably received by that distinguished divine and the other ministers of the Reformed Church at Zürich. This cup was transmitted to him by Bishop Parkhurst : it measures, the cover included, about 10 inches in height, is parcel-gilt, and is engraved with the heraldic bearings of the Bullinger family, a mill-rind, the crest being a demi-man holding in each hand a pine-tree drawn up by the roots. This royal gift, which has been briefly noticed by Bullinger's biographers, and

Compare the Blazon of Episcopacy, by the Rev. W. K. Bedford, p. 81. "John Parkhurst, 1560 to 1575. Arms.—A cross engrailed Ermines between four

bucks trippant proper; on a chief G. three crescents O.—Grant by Dethicke A.D. 1559."



Silver Cup presented by Queen Elizabeth in 166 to Bullinger.

(Height of the original, 10 inches.)



especially by Dr. Pestalozzi in his recent life of the Reformer, bears the following inscription, round the inner margin of the cover :—<sup>5</sup>

ANGLORUM EXSILIUM TIGURINI ECCLESIA FOVIT.

SUB MARIE SCEPTIS, ID SANCTE AGNOVIT ELISA,

ET BULLINGERUM HOC DONAVIT MUNERE POCLI. 1560.

The present, thus offered by the Queen of England to the great reformer and divine of Zürich, has been described also by Salomon Hess, in his Biographical Memorials of the Swiss Reformers, and by Orelli, in one of the Treatises on matters of local and literary interest, issued by certain learned Societies and Institutions at Zürich as New Year's gifts.<sup>6</sup>

I hope that these notices of relics in my native city, associated with the early times of the Reformed Church in England, may prove of interest to the Archæological Institute, and that they may be received as a token of my sense of the honour conferred by the Society, in receiving me among their foreign correspondents.

FERDINAND KELLER,

President of the Society of Antiquaries at Zürich.

<sup>5</sup> Henrich Bullinger; *Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*, &c., von Carl Pestalozzi. Elberfeld, 1858, 8vo., p. 448.

<sup>6</sup> Hess, *Ursprung, Gang und Folgen der Reformation*, s. 101: and Biogra-

phien berühmter Schweizerischer Reformatoren; Zürich, 1829; p. 176. See also Orelli's account in the New Year's Gift (*Neujahrsblatt*) of the Hülfsesellschaft at Zürich for 1840.

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We would here acknowledge with gratification the kindness of the Head Librarian of the Public Library at Zürich, Dr. Horner, in allowing every facility for the examination of the interesting relics of the English Reformers there preserved, as also for permission to have drawings executed by the faithful pencil of M. Græter, from which the accompanying woodcuts have been prepared. We have on former occasions experienced the obliging courtesy of Dr. Horner, in freely communicating the treasures under his charge, comprising many of high interest to the English antiquary.

## Original Documents.

### THE WILL OF JOHN FROMOND, BENEFACITOR TO WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. W. H. GUNNER, M.A.

JOHN FROMOND, whose very curious will we have now the pleasure of laying before our readers, through the kindness of the Reverend the Warden of Winchester College, among the archives of which it is preserved, was the founder of that beautiful Chantry Chapel which stands in the area of the College Cloisters, and is now used as a library. Of the testator himself little is known. His will shows him to have been an extensive landowner, and that some of his possessions had descended to him from his ancestors, as it speaks of lands and tenements in Sparsholt, Stokebridge, and Sombourne, which had belonged to his grandfather Richard Fromond. He was in the employment, and appears to have won the confidence and favour of William of Wykeham, who in 1392 appointed him to the office of Bailiff of the Manor of Waltham, as appears by the following instrument, recorded in the Register of that prelate. (*Pars secunda fol. cclj. verso.*)

"Williaam, par la suffrance de Dieu Evesque de Wyncestre, à toutz ses amys et bien voillantz et à toutz ses tenantz frankes, et autres que cestes lettres verront ou orrount, salut en Dieu. Sachez nous avoir ordeigne et faitz nostre chère et bien amé John Fromond baillif de nostre Manoir et seigneurie de Waltham ou toutes les membres appartenantz à ycelles, à gardez et gouverner nos terres, fines, hundredes, et fraunchises, et nos courtes tenir et poursuivre, et chalanz toutes les droitures et fraunchises appartenantz à nostre Egglise de Wyncestre, et à Manoir susdicte, en toutz lieux, pour le temps quilz plect à nous. Et pour ces prions à noz amys et bien voillantz, et commandons à toutz noz tenautes frankes et autres, que à dit Johnes choses susdictees soiez entendantz, conseilantz, et responantz, en due manière à tout ces que à dit office appartient. En tesmoignance de quelle chose nous luy avons faite faire cettes noz lettres, seallez de nostre seal. Don à nostre chastell de Farnham le ij<sup>de</sup> jour de Janver l'an du regne nostre seigneur le Roy Richard II<sup>de</sup> xv, et de nostre cons' xxv."

He is generally reputed to have been afterwards Steward to William of Wykeham, but I am unable to find any authority for this assertion. He was, however, Steward to the College, and seems to have attended to its affairs with great zeal and fidelity, doubtless from feelings of gratitude and reverence for its great founder, his own early friend. This feeling was proved by the liberal benefaction which he bestowed on the college, and which is in part continued to this day, since it is to him that the sixteen choristers, maintained in the College, are indebted for their clothing. The chantry is of course suppressed, as is also that which he founded in the parish church of his village of Sparsholt, situate about three miles north-west of Winchester. There can be little doubt that the altar of St. Catherine, to which he attached his chaplain, was placed at the east end

of the south aisle of that church, and that the aisle itself was the work of Fromond. If so, his liberality there has not been wholly lost.

The chapel founded by Fromond within the enclosure of the cloisters of the College at Winchester has been so fully described by others, that it would be superfluous to speak of it here. But it may not be uninteresting to describe somewhat in detail the particulars of his foundation; which may help to illustrate some curious features in the habits and religious notions of our forefathers. It will be observed that in his will, dated 1420, the year of his death, Fromond bequeathed to the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College certain rents and tenements in the city and soke of Winchester, for the purchase of clothes for their choristers, and a moiety of his Manor of Aldyngton (now written Allington), after the death of his wife Matilda, for the purpose of celebrating his anniversary every year within the College; and for paying those who should be present at the mass on that day a certain sum of money, according to their rank in the College; also for providing a pittance in the hall; and for the further purpose of sustaining a chaplain to celebrate mass in the place where the bodies of himself and his wife should be buried. This chaplain was also to take his part in the ordinary services of the College Chapel. Such are the provisions of the will, so far as concerns the benefaction to Winchester College, which alone it is proposed to notice. They appear not to have been carried out until 1446, in which year, his wife being then dead, a deed was executed by Robert Thurbern, Warden, and the Fellows and Scholars of Winchester College, in which, after referring to the will of John Fromond, and acknowledging his long and faithful services as Steward of the College, it was stipulated for them, and their successors for ever, that they would find a chaplain, for the purposes contemplated by the testator, in the chapel within the cloisters of their College, where himself and his wife Matilda had been buried. This is an important fact in the history of this beautiful chapel, inasmuch as it enables us to fix more accurately the date of its construction. It is not mentioned, although its construction seems to have been contemplated in Fromond's will. We shall perhaps not be wrong, then, in attributing the actual building of it to his wife Matilda, or to her and her co-executors, who were empowered by the will to dispose of the residue of the personal estate in works of charity to the praise and honor of God, for the health of his own soul, that of his wife, their parents, ancestors, benefactors, and of all the faithful departed, as they would answer for it in the day of judgment. It is stated in the deed of 1446 that this chapel had been sumptuously constructed out of the proceeds of the estates of John Fromond. This may have been accomplished after the death of his wife, as the moiety of the manor was granted to the College only in reversion after her death. It seems most likely perhaps that the chapel itself was erected after her death, under the directions of the Warden, Robert Thurbern, over the ground, which contained the bodies of Fromond and his wife. All indications of the exact spot of their place of sepulture have long disappeared in the complete destruction of every thing that would mark the building as a chapel. But there is a stone over the entrance door in the interior, obtruding in a strange manner upon the central lights of the west window, which has much resemblance to the front of a tomb, and is, to all appearance, out of place in its present position. This stone may have been a part of the tomb of the founder of the chapel. It is sufficiently curious to justify an attempt to describe it, though words, without a



representation, will not convey a clear idea of it. The slab is divided into four quatrefoiled compartments, each 1 foot 4 in. square, the length of the stone being about 6 feet. In the first compartment on the left, looking towards the stone, is a grotesque figure, resembling a lion with a human head crowned; and a band, passed round the neck and over the back, is suspended a shield bearing the arms of Fromond, *azure*, a chevron *or*, between three fleurs de lys *argent*. In the second is a heart ensigned with a mitre encircled by a wreath of roses. In the third is a winged monster, half eagle, half lion; it is represented as having the tail apparently of a dragon in its beak, and trampling on the body, while one of the hind feet is being bitten by the monster. In the fourth is a grotesque figure, a wodewose possibly, half man, half beast, the upper half clothed in a shaggy garment, and with a singular cap on the head. It is blowing a trumpet, which is held in the right hand, while the left hand carries an axe uplifted over the back, and the arms of Fromond on a square-shaped shield hang at the side.

The chaplain was to receive ten marcs a year, and it was provided that he should not reside within the College, but in some honest place. For this stipend he was to say mass three times a week at least, in the said chapel, and besides that to take a part on all Sundays and Holydays in chanting and singing psalms, and in all masses, processions, and canonical hours (matins in the winter excepted), in like manner as the other chaplains in surplice and habit like them, but of his own providing (*de propriis*), in the choir of the College chapel; for which purpose he was to have a stall assigned to him. Besides the support of this chaplain, the College further agreed to give out of the proceeds of the manor and tenements to each of the choristers of the College, sixteen in number, on the Feast of the Nativity, every year, three yards of broad-cloth, of seven quarters wide, or six and a half at the least, of a dark colour, different from that worn by the scholars.

Moreover, it was agreed that on the 20th day of November, in each year, or, if any impediment should occur on that day, then on the earliest possible day after it, the obit or anniversary of the deaths of John and Matilda Fromond should be solemnly kept in the choir of the chapel, in the manner and order following, viz.: That solemn funeral rites (*exequie*) should be celebrated the night before, and on the morrow commendations and the mass of requiem; and that the Warden, if he were present and should celebrate mass, or if absent for any just and lawful reason, should receive 3s. 4d.; each fellow and conduct chaplain 2s.; the school-master 1s.; the hostiarius 8d.; each chapel clerk 4d.; each scholar 2d.; each chorister 1d.; and that a pittance should be provided in the common hall (*in communi* in the indenture, *per totam aulam* in the will) for the Warden, Fellows, Chaplains, Scholars, and Choristers, on which 13s. 4d. should be expended. If the rents of the manor and tenements should decrease and become insufficient for these purposes, then first the pittance was to be withdrawn, and next the distribution of money among the Warden and the others, next the cloth of the choristers, and last of all the stipend of the chaplain. For the due performance of all these engagements the Warden and Fellows bound themselves in a penalty of 5*l.*, to be paid in equal portions to the Bishop of Winchester, and the College of St. Mary of Winton in Oxford, in case of neglect or omission.

Such were the obligations entered into by the Warden and College, to

carry out the objects of Fromond's will. His chaplain is suppressed; but the beautiful little chapel in which he officiated is in existence; and, since it can no longer be used for the purpose for which it was originally destined, it has been converted into a library. The memory of its founder is still respected in the list of benefactors; while the choristers, in their dark-brown dresses, continue to recall to our minds his thoughtfulness and care for them.

W. H. GUNNER.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego, Johannes Fromond de Spersholt prope Wynton xiiii<sup>mo</sup> die Novembris, Anno Domini Mcccc. xx<sup>mo</sup>, sane memorie, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis, lego animam meam Deo, beate Marie Matri sue, et omnibus sanctis ejus; corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in medio cimiterii Collegii beate Marie prope Wynton. Item, lego x<sup>li</sup>. pro missis celebrandis et inter pauperes distribuendas die sepulture mee ad orandum pro anima mea, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Item, lego Abbati et Conventui de Hyda c<sup>a</sup>., Priori et Conventui Sancti Swithuni c<sup>a</sup>., Custodi, Sociis, et Scolariis Collegii Beate Marie prope Wynton x. marcas, Priori et Fratribus Kalendar' Wynton xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., Capellanis et Clericis domus Sancte Crucis apud Sparkford xx<sup>a</sup>., Capellanis et Clericis Sancte Elizabethæ xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., Abbatisse et Conventui Monialium Sancte Marie Wynton xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., Abbatisse et Conventui de Romesey xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., ad orandum pro anima mea. Item, lego iiiii<sup>li</sup>. ad distribuendum equaliter inter Fratres quatuor ordinum Wynton commorantes, ad orandum pro anima mea. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Spersholt x<sup>li</sup>, et Vicario ejusdem ecclesie vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., et Clerico parochiali ibidem xl<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ibidem xx<sup>a</sup>., ad orandum pro anima mea. Item, lego ecclesie de Mapulderham xx<sup>a</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ibidem xx<sup>a</sup>., et Capellano ibidem parochiali xl<sup>d</sup>., et Clerico ecclesie ibidem xii<sup>d</sup>., fabrice ecclesie de Petresfeld xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., et Capellano parochiali ibidem ii<sup>a</sup>., fabrice ecclesie de Kateringhton xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ibidem vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., et Vicario ejusdem ecclesie ii<sup>a</sup>., et Clerico parochiali vi<sup>d</sup>., ad orandum pro anima mea. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Waltham vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., et Capellano parochiali ibidem ii<sup>a</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie parochiali de Derle xl<sup>d</sup>., et fabrice Capelle de Aldyngton xl<sup>d</sup>., Abbati et Conventui de Dureford xx<sup>a</sup>., Priori et Conventui de Mottesfont xx<sup>a</sup>., fabrice ecclesie de Elyngge xx<sup>a</sup>., et Vicario ejusdem ecclesie xl<sup>d</sup>., ad orandum pro anima mea. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Depeden xl<sup>a</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ibidem xxvi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Lymington vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., fabrice ecclesie de Milford vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., et Vicario ejusdem ecclesie xl<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ejusdem parochie xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Milton xl<sup>a</sup>., et Capellano ibidem ii<sup>a</sup>., et Clerico ejusdem parochie xii<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ejusdem parochie xl<sup>a</sup>. Item, lego Priori et Conventui de Christi Ecclesia et Vicario ibidem vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., et fabrice pontis ibidem c<sup>a</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Soppele xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., et Vicario ibidem xl<sup>d</sup>., et Clerico parochiali ibidem xii<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ejusdem parochie xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego Vicario de Romesey et Capellano ibidem xiii<sup>a</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Hoghton vi<sup>a</sup>. viiii<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos

ibidem vi<sup>a</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Longestoke xl<sup>d</sup>., et Johanni Maschall Vicario ibidem vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Stokbrug xiii<sup>s</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., et Capellano parochiali ibidem xl<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ibidem x<sup>s</sup>., unde Clerico parochiali xii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Sombourne Regis xiii<sup>s</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>., et Vicario ibidem vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter Clericum parochie et pauperes tenentes meos ibidem xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Stratfeldsay vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>., et ad distribuendum inter pauperes tenentes meos ejusdem parochie xiii<sup>s</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Worthy Mortymer xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei de Hyda xl<sup>d</sup>., et Vicario ejusdem ecclesie ii<sup>a</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Craule vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>., et Capellano parochiali ibidem ii<sup>a</sup>., et Clerico parochiali ibidem vi<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Farle Chamberlayn vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>., et Rectori ibidem xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Lytelton ii<sup>a</sup>. Item, lego duabus ecclesiis in Soca Wynton vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. Item lego Johanni Mark capellano vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego fabrico hospitalis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Wynton vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego ad distribuendum inter leprosos beate Marie Magdalene Wynton vi<sup>a</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego prisonibus de Wolvesey xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego prisonibus in gaola domini Regis Wynton xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego Sororibus beate Marie Wynton xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, Sororibus Spittle Sancti Swithuni Wynton xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego Custodi, Sociis, et Scolariibus Collegii Sancte Marie prope Wynton et eorum successoribus omnia tenementa mea et omnes redditus meos in civitate Wynton et in Soca ejusdem civitatis, pro indumentis emendis ad choristas Collegii predicti in perpetuum. Item, mea voluntas est ut Custos, Socii, et Scholares Collegii predicti et eorum successores habeant et teneant in perpetuum medietatem manerii de Aldyngton cum suis pertinentiis, quondam Johannis Wodelok, cum post mortem meam et Matildis uxoris mee vacaverit, pro anniversario nostro annuatim in Collegio predicto tenendo; ita quod quilibet Capellanus ejusdem Collegii, qui interfuerit exequiis nostris, et celebraverit missam suam pro nobis die supradicto, recipiat ii<sup>a</sup>. per manus Bursariorum ejusdem Collegii; et quod idem Custos, si missam solempnem pro nobis eodem die celebraverit, recipiat xl<sup>d</sup>.; et quilibet clericus sive scholaris ejusdem Collegii, qui interfuerit exequiis et missa predictis, recipiat ii<sup>d</sup>. Et fiat pitancia eodem die in prandio pro totam aulam ad valenciam xiii<sup>s</sup>. iiiii<sup>d</sup>. Et ulterius de exitibus medietatis manerii predicti iidem Custos, Socii, et Scholares et eorum successores annuatim inveniant unum Capellanum idoneum celebrantem pro animabus nostris, ubi corpora nostra quiescant, cui predicti Bursarii quolibet anno solvent, vel solvi facient, x. marcas; et quod predictus Capellanus veniat ad servicium et horas canonicas in choro Collegii predicti, ad legendum et psallendum secundum quod predicti Custos et Socii et eorum successores ei assignaverint, si expediens eis videntur: et quod idem Capellanus sit remotivus, tociens quociens necesse fuerit, ad voluntatem dictorum Custodis et Sociorum et eorum successorum. Et quod iidem Bursarii, qui pro tempore fuerint, de residuo exituum medietatis manerii predicti solvent annuatim pro integra liberata dictorum Choristarum redditus et proficua tenementorum, tam in Wyntonia quam in Soca predicta, [si?] ad plenam liberatam semel in annis [?] sufficere non potest; ita quod quilibet Chorista capiat ad minus pro liberata sua tres virgas lati panni, et alterius coloris quam scholares. Et Episcopus Wyntoniensis, qui pro tempore fuerit, in defectu hujusmodi Capellani alium idoneum Capellanum ad Cantariam predictam presentare potest, si per mensem vacaverit. Item, mea voluntas

est quod post mortem meam et Matildis uxoris mee, quoad omnia terras et tenementa nostra que habemus in Spersholt, Sombourne, et Stokbrug, que quondam fuerunt Ricardi Fromond avi mei predicti Johannis, quod Johannes Esteney et heredes sui ea habeant et teneant in perpetuum sub hac conditione, quod idem Johannes Esteney et heredes sui inveniant unum Capellanum idoneum in Ecclesia Sancti Stephani de Spersholt cotidie celebrantem ad altare Sancte Katherine pro animabus nostris, predicti Johannis Fromond et Matildis uxoris mee, ac Stephani Fromond, Ricardi, Alicie, Nicolai de Marisco, Matildis, Johannis Fromond, Alicie, Nicholai, Roberti, Willelmi, Johannis, Johanne, Ricardi atte Hangre, Alianore, Ricardi de Farnhall et Alicie, Ricardi, Roberti Markhaunt, et omnium aliorum parentum et benefactorum nostrorum, recipiendo annuatim pro stipendio suo x. marcas de terris ac tenementis que fuerunt Richardi Fromond in Spersholt, Sombourne, et Stokbrug. Et, deficiente hujusmodi Capellano, Episcopus Wyntoniensis, qui pro tempore fuerit, alium idoneum Capellanum ad Cantariam predictam presentabit. Item, do et lego Matildi uxori mee duos ciphos optimos et deauratos cum coopertoriis, duos ciphos stantes de argento meliores cum coopertoriis, unam pixidem pro pulvere deauratam, et vi. pecias planas argenti optimas cum uno coopertorio, ii. salaria de argento optima cum uno coopertorio, iij. ollas de argento, xxiii<sup>or</sup>. coeliaria argentea optima, unum godet cum coopertorio optimum, ad electionem ejusdem Matildis. Item, lego eidem Matildi unum note argento herneisiatum et deauratum, optimum, cum coopertorio. Item, do et lego eidem Matildi omnia vasa mea erea, enea, et lignia, et omnes pannos meos laneos et lineos, integre ad cameram, pantriam, et aulam pertinentes. Item, lego eidem Matildi unum par vestimentorum optimum cum veteri calice, et unum par vestimentorum pro diebus ferialibus cum tualis, cruettis, superaltari, et campana. Item, do et lego eidem Matildi omnes multones, matrices, agnos, boves, vaccas, vitulos, equos caretarios, porcos meos, existentes pro husbondria apud Spersholt et Mapulderham. Item, lego eidem Matildi totam partem meam concernentem apparatus corporis et capitis ejusdem Matildis. Item, lego Johanne sorori predictae Matildis, moniali de Romesy, xx<sup>s</sup>. Isabelle Esteny xx<sup>s</sup>., Margerie Kesewyk j. godet de argento cum coopertorio. Item, lego Waltero Pauncefot vij. gobelettes, ita quod semper remaneant heredibus suis. Item, lego Priori Sancti Swithuni Wynton et successoribus suis unum ciphum cum coopertorio deaurato, cum sole chaciatum et ponciatum. Item, lego Abbati de Hyda et successoribus suis alium ciphum predicto ciphio consimilem et ejusdem operis bene deauratum cum coopertorio. Item, lego Custodi Collegii vocati Seynte Marie College of Wynchestre et successoribus suis unum ciphum cum coopertorio, vocatum gobelet, bene deauratum. Item, lego Johanni Forest Domino Sancte Crucis et successoribus suis unum ewer deauratum, ij. crewettys, j. paxbred de argento. Item, lego Johanni Esteny j. peciam argenti, Nicholao North clerico j. peciam argenti, Willelmo Chaundler j. salare argenti, Thome Weston unum note argento ligatum cum cooperculo ad idem. Item, lego Waltero Sandes chir<sup>j</sup> j. ciphum argenteum cum cooperculo, ponciatum cum stellis in nubibus. Item, lego Collegio beate Marie prope Wynton j. antephanarium novum non ligatum, et unum calicem novum cum casula ad eundem. Item, lego Andree Russyngton x. li., et unum ciphum argenteum cum cooperculo. Item, lego Johanni Hampton unum ciphum argenteum. Item, lego Johanni Halle de Burgate unum ciphum bonum, et alterum quasi novum cum cooperculo, quorum parcelle deaurate. Item,

lego Johanni Harries unum ciphum alterum cum coopereulo, quasi novum, quorum parcella deaurate. Item, lego Johanne que fuit uxor Willelmi Oysell unum ciphum alterum argenteum cum coopereulo, quondam Thome Warener. Item, de illis sex peciis, vocatis Turdenerres, [?] lego Willelmo Rystor de Eldon unam peciam argenti planam, Johanni Philip unam peciam argenti planam, Ricardo Lecford unam peciam argenti planam, Willelmo Escote unam peciam argenti planam, Johanni Mottesfont unam peciam argenti planam, Johanni Kebbell de Lokerle unam peciam argenti planam. Item, lego Ricardo Wallop unum ciphum argenti planum cum coopereulo meliorem; Ricardo Seman clerico meo c<sup>o</sup>. et vj. coeliaria argentea, remanentia apud Haywode, cum mappis, lectis, ollis, patellis, et omnibus aliis catallis meis ibidem existentibus. Item, lego Elene Bygge v. marcas. et vj. coeliaria argentea. Item, lego Thome Weston servienti meo xx<sup>s</sup>. et vj. coeliaria argentea, et unum ciphum vocatum Note cum coopereulo deaurato. Item, lego Johanni Brice ballivo meo vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. et unam togam. Item, lego Alicie Brid vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Isabelle Etemete vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Margerie Spede vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Thome Panter vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Willelmo Couk xx<sup>s</sup>. et j. dressour knyf meliorem. Item, lego Rogero Pagetto coquine vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Waltero Carte xl<sup>d</sup>. Ricardo Cornhog xl<sup>d</sup>. Henrico Seviare xl<sup>d</sup>. Henrico Toncok xij<sup>d</sup>. Johanni de Stabulo xx<sup>d</sup>. Thome Trigge barcario ij<sup>s</sup>. Waltero Bronnyng vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Johanni filio ejus xx<sup>d</sup>. Item, de ordinatione mea volo quod Johannes Bygge et Willelmus Lane habeant victum et vestitum [ad totam vitam suam per Matildem uxorem meam. Item, lego utrique eorum xl<sup>d</sup>. et Johanni Gilput vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego ballivo meo de Mapulderham xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego x<sup>s</sup>. ad distribuendam equaliter inter servientes meos apud Mapulderham. Item, lego Henrico Potte firmario meo de Henton Markaunt vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Johanni Cole firmario de Henton Bourhounte vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Johanni Smith firmario de Haywode vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. firmario de Hangre vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. firmario de Depeden Hangre vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. firmario de Depeden Polayn vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. et collectori redditus ibidem xij<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>. firmario de Donketon xij<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>. firmario de Asshele vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. ballivo meo de Mulford vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. ballivo meo de Farnhull xx<sup>s</sup>. et unam togam, Thome Pantays xx<sup>s</sup>. et unam togam, ballivo meo de Milton et Avene vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Willelmo Brym de Avene, vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. collectori redditus mei de Christi Ecclesia xl<sup>d</sup>. ballivo meo de Hoghton, videlicet Johanni Maud, vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Johanni Cole firmario meo de Stokbrug vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. Willelmo Croydon firmario meo de Hoghton Edyngdon vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. et firmario meo de Langestoke, videlicet Thome Aylward, xl<sup>d</sup>. Item, mea voluntas est quod Thomas Weston habeat ad terminum vite sue unum annualem redditum xxii<sup>s</sup>. de redditu meo in Waltham et Claverle; et quod Ricardus Seman clericus meus habeat ad terminum vite sue unum annualem redditum quinque marcarum de et in manerio meo de Haywode. Et residuum omnium bonorum meorum superius non specificatorum, ubicunque fuerint inventa, debitis meis et legatis meis persolutis, do et lego Matildi uxori mee et executoribus meis, ut ipsi inde dispenent in operibus caritatis ad laudem et honorem Dei, pro salute anime mee et Matildis uxoris mee, patrum et matrum, parentum, amicorum, et benefactorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, sicut in die judicii respondere voluerint. Et ad executionem hujus testamenti fideliter faciendam et exequendam in omnibus supradictis, ordino et constituo executores meos, videlicet Matildem uxorem meam, Magistrum Robertum Thurbern, Johannem Halle de Burgate, Ricardum Wallop, Ricardum

Chedesey, et Ricardum Seman clericum meum. Et volo quod unusquisque predictorum executorum meorum, videlicet, Robertus, Johannes, Ricardus, Ricardus, et Ricardus, qui plenam administrationem testamenti predicti ceperit, capiat pro labore suo xl<sup>s</sup>., et aliter non. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui die et anno supradictis.

Probatum fuit presens testamentum coram nobis, Johanne Langthorn, venerabilis in Christo patris et domini, domini Henrici, Dei gracia Wynton Episcopi, commissario generali, approbatum, insinuatum, legitimeque per nos pronunciatum pro eodem, administratioque omnium bonorum supradictorum testatoris et testamentum quoquomodo concernentium, supradicte Matildi Fromond et Ricardo Seman administrationem hujusmodi sponte admittentibus, primitus in forma juris juratis, reservata potestate administrationem hujusmodi ceteris coexecutoribus suprascriptis committendi, cum venerint, est commissa. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum quo utimur in officio presentibus apponimus. Datum apud Sombourne Regis penultimo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup>. xx<sup>mo</sup>. Sexto decimo die mensis Decembris Anno Domini supradicto Johanni Halle de Burgate et Magistro Roberto Thurbern, executoribus supranominatis, primitus in forma juris juratis, administrationem suprascriptorum bonorum commisimus, eandem sponte admittentibus, &c.—Johannes Langthorn.

The seal of the testator is lost; but the seal of the commissary is attached to the will. It is a small oval seal of beautiful design, and represents a penitent kneeling at the feet of St. Catherine, who stands before him, with a crown on her head, her right hand leaning on a sword, the point of which reaches the ground, and with the wheel in her left hand. The legend is, VIRGO DIVINA CLEMENS MICHI SIS KATERINA.

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We cannot refrain from expressing deep regret at the untimely decease of our valued friend, to whom we owe the foregoing communication. This painful event occurred whilst this contribution was passing through the press, in consequence of which it has not had the advantage of his final revision.

## Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

December 3, 1858.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A COMMUNICATION was received from HENRY JOHNSON, Esq., M.D., of Shrewsbury, regarding the proposed excavations of the site of Uriconium. At a recent meeting of the Shropshire Literary and Archæological Society at Shrewsbury, a liberal proposition had been made by the President, Beriah Botfield Esq., M.P., offering the sum of fifty guineas in furtherance of the investigation of the Roman remains at Wroxeter, on condition that contributions of a like amount were obtained from persons interested in the antiquities and history of the county. Dr. Johnson stated, that it had been thought desirable to limit the subscription to a guinea, and that the amount required by the terms of Mr. Botfield's proposition had been obtained with a degree of prompt and cordial interest in the undertaking, which might well encourage the hope of realising ample funds to carry out a complete exploration of the Roman city. The site, he observed, occupied an area of considerable extent, estimated at between 300 and 400 acres, in which doubtless inscriptions of historical value, and numerous ancient vestiges, coins, and relics of every description would be discovered. It had been determined, according to the information given by Dr. Johnson, that all antiquities which might be brought to light should be preserved in the Museum of the Shropshire Society at Shrewsbury. The remains of structures of more than ordinary importance, as compared with other Roman sites in England, had been discovered at Wroxeter, and a thorough well-organised exploration would doubtless produce much valuable evidence in regard to Roman times. Dr. Johnson, who has accepted the post of secretary to the committee charged with the direction of the excavations, expressed a wish for the friendly co-operation of the Institute, feeling assured that many members who had visited Uriconium on the occasion of the meeting at Shrewsbury in 1856, and had examined the remains under the friendly guidance of the Rev. H. M. Scarth, could not fail to take interest in the proposed inquiry. The Duke of Cleveland, the proprietor of the site, had intimated his cordial assent that the works contemplated should be carried out, and the excavations would forthwith commence.

A memoir by Mr. FRANK CALVERT, communicated through Dr. Anthony, was then read, relating to the examination of sepulchral remains in the Troad. It has been printed in this volume, p. 1.

Mr. WESTWOOD gave a detailed narrative of an Archæological Tour which he had recently made in the North of Europe. See page 132, in this volume.

Mr. J. GREEN WALLER communicated the following notice of a remarkable sepulchral memorial existing in Belgium, of which he brought a

rubbing for exhibition. "In the church of S. Heeren, Elderen, near Tongres, an incised slab is to be seen, representing Sir William de Hamale, who died in 1279. Although very much worn, it possesses interesting details. The figure, of life-size, is under a canopy over which are angels censing, and immediately above the head of the knight is the hand of Providence in the gesture of benediction. The knight is armed in a suit of mail, and holds in his right hand a banner emblazoned with his arms. There are ailettes on his shoulders, which, as also the surcoat and shield, are charged with his arms. The material of which this slab is composed is a blue limestone, but the Divine hand and the face of the figure are of a white stone, inlaid on the surface of the slab. Other materials have also been used. This is one of six incised slabs of fine character in the above-mentioned church. In 1839 they were taken up from the pavement by the Count de Renesse, the same person who sold the fine sepulchral Brasses now in possession of M. de Man de Linnick, at Bierbais. The Count caused all these slabs to be painted over and veined in imitation of marble, so that unless closely inspected the incised lines are not visible. He also placed around each a wooden frame, imitating the drapery of a funeral pall, with a death's head and cross-bones at the apex. The whole are now placed against the walls, one on each side of the chancel arch, and two in each aisle, with the Count's arms and supporters, and the following inscription in large capitals over each.—*Restauratum et renovatum per Fredericum Comitem de Renesse. 1839.* I believe it was this personage who also sold the Flemish sepulchral brass, now to be seen in the Museum of Economic Geology in Jermyn Street. The slabs, we may reasonably conclude, possessed no marketable value."

Mr. HAWKINS gave the following description of the various medals struck in allusion to the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, of which two, preserved in the possession of his family, and now belonging to Mr. Peter Godfrey, had been produced by Mr. Mathews at the previous meeting. (See p. 91.) Mr. Hawkins brought for examination the entire series from his own cabinet, with a facsimile in gutta percha of the rare leaden piece preserved in the British Museum; also two medals of Titus Oates, and one relating to the Plot.

#### MEDALS OF SIR EDMONDBURY GODFREY.

1.—*Obv.* Bust three-quarters, *left*, hair long, laced falling collar, doublet buttoned. *Leg.* MORIENDO RESTIVIT REM EDMUNDBURY GODFREY.—*Rev.* Two men strangling, a third stabbing, Sir Edmondbury, who is seen struggling upon the ground. From his mouth is a label, inscribed, *Pro fide et patria.* The Pope stands near encouraging them, saying, *Hereticis non est servanda fides.* *Leg.* TANTUM RELIGIO POTERAT SUADERE MALORUM. Diam.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. (Pinkerton, *Medallic History*, xxxv. 7. Extremely rare.)

Pinkerton does not state in whose possession this medal was when he engraved it, in 1790, and it has not since been heard of. The account given of the death of Sir E. Godfrey was that Green and another strangled him, and that Gerald attempted to stab him, but was prevented by the others, "for fear it should discover them by the blood." The popular notion, that this murder was committed by the papists, is shown by the introduction of the Pope on this medal.



2. *Obv.* Bust of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, *right*, hair long, falling laced collar, doublet buttoned, mantle over his shoulder, two hands strangling him with his cravat. *Leg.* MORIENDO · RESTITUIT · REM · E · GODFREY.—*Rev.* Green strangling Sir E. Godfrey in the presence of the Pope, who is rejoicing, and holds up a sealed bull, inscribed BULLO.—*Leg.* TANTUM · BELLIGIO · POTUIT. *Edge,* CERVICIS · FRACTA · FIDEM · SVSTVLIT · ATLAS · XNS · 1678. Diameter, 1½ in. (Pinkerton, *Med. Hist.* xxxv. 1. *Brit. Mus. arg.* E. Hawkins, *arg.* Rare.)

This medal was probably executed by Rawlins; the notion implied is the same as that of the preceding. The inscription on the edge compares Godfrey to Atlas, who required his whole vigour to sustain the world, while Godfrey sustained the true faith with a broken neck.

There is a copy of this medal by Milton, whose principal works were executed at the close of the last century. Under the bust is his signature, MILTON · F. Sometimes the obverse is from the die noticed in the next medal. There is also a small seal, diam. three quarters of an inch, copied from the reverse, a leaden impression of which is in Mr. Hawkins' collection.

3. *Obv.* Bust similar to the preceding, but not from the same die, the bust extending entirely to the rim of the medal. *Rev.* Hill on horseback, carrying the dead body of Sir E. Godfrey before him; another murderer, apparently drunk, precedes them; stars show that it is night. Primrose Hill appears behind them. *Leg.* EQVO CREDITR TVCRI. (*sic.*) *Edge,* same as the preceding. Diam. 1½ in. (Köhler, *xiv.* 81. *Brit. Mus. arg.* E. Hawkins, *arg.* Rare.)

4. *Obv.* Bust similar to the preceding, but not the same as either of them. *Rev.* Very similar to the preceding, but no stars or clouds. Primrose Hill appears in front of the horseman. *Leg.* EQVO · CREDITR · TVCRI. *Edge* not inscribed. (Diam. 1½ in. *Med. Hist.* xxxv. 2. E. Hawkins, lead. Rare.)

5. *Obv.* Bust, similar, but not the same as any of the others. *Rev.* The Pope's head and the Devil's conjoined in one face. *Leg.* + ECCLESIA PERVERSA TENET FACIEM DIABOLI. *Edge,* inscribed as before. Diam. 1½ in. (*Med. Hist.* xxxv. 3. *Brit. Mus. arg.* E. Hawkins, *arg.* Rare.)

This medal is of rather smaller dimensions than the others, the relief higher, the work coarser. The design of the reverse is copied from medals which were very common at the time of the Reformation, the object being the same, to ridicule Popery. The Popish plot and the death of Godfrey contributed to excite hostility to papal power and influence.

6. *Obv.* Sir Edmondbury Godfrey walking, after being strangled with his cravat. *Leg.* GODFREY · WALKS · VP · HIL · AFTER · HEE · IS · DEAD : ERGO PARES (see SVMS on *rev.*) *Exergue,* PRO. (Protestant.) *Rev.* St. Denis walking with his head in his hand. *Leg.* DENYS · WALKS · DOWNEHIL · CARRYING · HIS · HEAD. SVMS. *Exergue* PA. (Papist). Diam. 1½ in. (*Med. Hist.* xxxv. 4. *Brit. Mus. arg.* E. Hawkins, *arg.* Rare.)

St. Denis, after his martyrdom, picked up his head, and carried it under his arm, to deposit it in a more agreeable place than that of his martyrdom. It was believed that Sir E. Godfrey was murdered at Somerset House; the Papists asserted that they had seen him walking, after the stated time of his murder, about Primrose Hill. It was retorted that the Protestant saint was equal to the Papist, since after his murder he walked to Primrose Hill, as more agreeable to lie upon than the stones of Somerset House. His

large laced collar was the only part of his apparel missing when the body was found, and with this it is supposed that he was strangled.

7. Three divisions: in the middle two monks strangling Godfrey, over whose head is 1678. Two men carrying him in a sedan-chair: above are the names GREENE · KELLY · HILL · & BERRY. Below, IVSTICE · KILLERS · TO · HIS · HO · [liness]. In the upper division appears the Pope prompted by the devil; in the lower division, Sir E. Godfrey, lying on his face, his sword passed through his body. *Leg.* ROMES REVENGE OR S<sup>r</sup> EDMONDBURY GODFREY MYRTHERED IN THE POPES SLAUGHTERHOVS. Diam. 2½ in. (Med. Hist. xxxv. 6. Brit. Mus., lead. Very rare.)

No reverse: rude design and workmanship. This piece displays the popular belief. Sir E. Godfrey, as a magistrate, was active in bringing to light the schemes of the Papists, and in revenge the Pope, at the instigation of the devil, is supposed to contrive his murder.

The deposition of Prance, one of the supposed murderers, whether true or false, was believed at the time, and is the best explanation which can be given of the various scenes represented upon these medals. Gerald, Kelly, Green, Berry, Hill, and Prance had resolved to murder Sir Edmondbury, as a bitter persecutor of the Catholics, and an enemy to the Queen's servants. On Saturday, October 12, 1678, Hill went to his house and talked with him in private. Then taking his leave he joined Gerald and Green, and waited for his coming out: they dogged Sir Edmondbury to several places till about seven in the evening, when Green called Prance from his house, and bid him hasten to the watergate at Somerset House, where he should meet Kelly and Berry. These three waited there till about nine, when suddenly Hill came running and said, "he was coming and they must pretend a quarrel, and he would fetch him in." Sir Edmondbury being thus induced to enter the gate to interfere in a pretended scuffle, the conspirators surrounded him; Green threw a twisted handkerchief about his neck, and immediately all four pulled him down and strangled him; after which they gave him some violent punches on the breast with their knees, and Green with all his force wrung his neck almost round. They then removed the corpse to the lodgings where Hill lived, and there left him until the Monday night. After several removals, having kept the body about five days and nights, they agreed to convey it into the fields, and leave him run through with his own sword, that he might be supposed to have murdered himself, and therefore his money, rings, &c., were all to be left upon him. Accordingly Hill procured a sedan, into which they put the body, and about midnight they carried it towards Soho Fields, hard by the Grecians Church, where they left the sedan, and placed the body upon a horse brought by Hill, on which he rode holding it up, three of the others leading the horse and assisting. They carried it to Primrose Hill about two miles out of town, where they left the corpse of Sir Edmondbury in a ditch, with his sword run through the body, in the position of a person who had murdered himself.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 428, the State Trials; the collections entitled "An exact Abridgment of all the Trials relating to the Popish and pretended Protestant Plots in the reign of Charles II. and James II.," London, 1619; and The Memoirs of the Life and Death of Sir

Edmondbury Godfrey, dedicated to the King by Richard Take, London, 1682. See also Brayley's Londiniana, vol. iii., p. 193—211, where three of the medals above described are figured; and notices of them are likewise given by Evelyn in his Treatise on Medals.

The silver medals exhibited by Mr. Mathews are Milton's copy of No. 2, in the list given by Mr. Hawkins, and No. 5. With these he brought also on the present occasion another silver medal, identical in design with No. 2, but a little smaller, and on close examination it is obviously chased all over, although the variations in design are very trifling. It may have been from another die, or possibly a casting from No. 2, carefully worked up by the tool.

The late Mr. Edward Godfrey, of Old Hall, Suffolk, possessed a contemporary portrait of Sir Edmondbury, which was purchased by Mr. Godfrey's brother-in-law, Sir J. Yarde Buller. Another portrait, dated 1678, may be seen in the vestry of the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, where the body of Sir Edmondbury was interred. Among various relics connected with his tragical history may be mentioned a curious silver tankard, in the possession of the Corporation of Sudbury, the gift of Sir Edmondbury, whose arms it bears, with inscriptions and a representation of the Fire of London in 1666. It is figured in the Gentleman's Magazine, November, 1848, with a detailed description and an account of the Godfrey family.

In reference to the curious stamped and painted hangings of leather, produced at the previous meeting by the Rev. J. Beck (see page 91), Mr. MORGAN stated that a considerable quantity of such mural decorations exists at Kefn Mably, the seat of Col. Tynte, in Glamorganshire; and he believed that some fine specimens were to be seen at the Earl of Derby's mansion, Knowsley Park, in Lancashire. Some curious leather, also described as painted in imitation of tapestry, decorates the apartment called Charles II.'s room, at Dunster Castle, Somerset. The earliest date of the introduction of such hangings into England had not been ascertained. In the inventory of jewels and valuable effects in Edinburgh Castle in 1578, which had belonged to Mary Stuart, this item occurs, under Tapestry, "Ellevin tapestrie of gilt ledder."<sup>2</sup> It is probable, however, that this substitute for tapestry was not generally used until the following century. In Sir Henry Slingsby's Diary, in 1638, he mentions the leather which he obtained for his house at Scriven, near Knaresborough. "Ye hangings I bought of Peter Pope in Bednall Greene . . . those in ye Lodgin chamber are Calfe skins silver'd and wrought upon w<sup>th</sup> a large flower in blue worstett: they come short of ye ground, having ye breadth of a pannell of wainscott below y<sup>m</sup> and a frieze and cornish above y<sup>m</sup>."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Burges called attention to the ancient fashion at Rome of placing a hanging of such painted and stamped leather to screen the opening of a door; he exhibited a *Portiera* of that description, which he had brought from Italy. It was decorated with silvered and gilt foliated patterns, and dark bronze green colouring, producing a very rich effect. In the centre is introduced, as usually found on these Italian door-curtains, an heraldic achievement. Leather appears to have been employed for various purposes of artistic decoration now disused; Dr. Waagen asserts that the so-called Titians at Blenheim are painted upon that material.

<sup>2</sup> Inventories and Records of the Royal Wardrobe, edited by Thomas Thomson, Edinburgh, 1815; p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Diary of Sir H. Slingsby. London, 1836, p. 5.

## Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By the Hon. Mrs. SCOTT.—A large brass coin of Trajan, recently dug up in a gravel pit near Savery's Weir, on the Thames, between Staines and Laleham. It was found at a depth of six feet, and is much defaced. The legend around the head of the emperor may probably be read IMP · CAES · TRAIANVS · AVG · GER · DAC · PARTHICVS · P · P, or some other of Trajan's usual titles. On the reverse is a female figure standing, holding a cornucopia and a rudder. The legend is very indistinct; it may have been FORTVNA · AVG. In the field s · c. The locality in which this coin was found is a circumstance which gives a certain interest to the discovery. At about a mile lower on the course of the Thames, may be noticed, on its western bank near Laleham Ferry, an encampment of undoubted Roman character; two other rectangular earthworks, possibly of the same period, are to be seen nearer Chertsey. The Roman road from London to Silchester passed not far to the north of this locality, crossing the Thames as it is supposed at Staines (AD PONTES), and Egham has been regarded as the ancient BIBRACTE. Other vestiges of Roman occupation have been occasionally traced in these parts of Surrey.

Mrs. ALEXANDER KERR presented to the Institute the following antiquities found in France. Several objects of flint, described as "Celtic knives," found near Lons le Saulnier, the Roman *Ledum Salorium*, in the department of the Jura.—A Roman armilla of bronze, supposed by some persons to be Saracenic, found between Gray and Salines, dep. Jura; also bronze bow-shaped fibulae and several bronze armillae, found near the lake of Autre, and a silver coin of Antoninus found at Pont des Arches, in the same parts of France.—An ancient intaglio on blood-stone (*jaspe sanguineux*), supposed to be of Flemish work; the impress is the crucifix; also a silver ring, described as an abbess's ring, bearing the sacred monogram I · H · S.

By Mr. HENRY L. LONG.—Fragments of pottery, supposed to be British, from Wagden Common, near Puttenham, Surrey. There appear no indications of any ancient enclosure or cultivation near the spot; the broken vessels have been found from time to time in abundance, appearing mostly upon a steep ferny bank, on which they have been thrown out by rabbits burrowing. Similar fragments of ware of early character occur, as Mr. Long observed, on Puttenham Common, in the same part of Surrey; the position of that locality appears more suited to occupation, and the absence of heath, furze, and fern at the spots where the pottery is chiefly found, may be accounted for by the supposition that the land had formerly been disturbed in the course of cultivation. Mr. Long had made some excavations, which produced no entire vessel, fragments only having been brought to light.—A portion of a fictile Roman vase of large dimensions, with finely moulded ornaments in high relief. It displays a standing figure of Jupiter, holding the thunder in his left hand, and a *hasta* in his right. A mantle is thrown over his shoulders, and hangs behind the naked figure. The ware, of considerable thickness, is of compact ashy-brown coloured paste, and appears to have had a lustrous black glaze.—Also a fragment of the handle of a vessel of brilliant blue glass, of remarkably rich colour. The two relics last mentioned were

found with coins of Augustus, and other Roman remains, by gravel-diggers at the Bois de Vand, to the west of Lausanne, supposed to be the site of the ancient *Lausonium*. It is stated that the town was overwhelmed by the Lake Lemman, and the remains discovered occurred in a stratum of gravel, the result possibly of such a catastrophe. The coins and other objects were thrown out by the spade, whilst Mr. Long was occupied in the examination of this interesting locality.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Antiquities discovered in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex. Among them was a celt of dark horn-coloured silex, worked and polished with unusual care; length,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.; width, at the cutting edge, nearly two inches; found at Lound.—A small four-sided bell of bronze, height,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in., and a bow-shaped fibulæ of the same metal, found at Burgh Castle; a brass ring, with three small concentric circles on the bezel; another ring with a pyramidal head, from Reedham; a leaden ring, with an oval device of rude design, possibly Roman; another with a merchant's mark, and one engraved with a castle; all three found in Norfolk; a buckle, curiously chased, from "Roman Bank," Walsoken, and a Roman ring of silver or mixed metal, set with an intaglio on cornelian with the device of a bird and a star over it; found at Colchester.—A brass dial plate, the circumference graduated twice from 1 to 12; and a quadrant, engraved with the hart ducally gorged and chained, the device of Richard II., having the date 1399 in Arabic numerals. We are indebted to Mr. Octavius Morgan for the following description of this curious object:—

"The instrument exhibited by Mr. Chester is a very early quadrant of brass,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches radius, bearing the date 1399. On one side are the two sights, and at the central point, where the radii meet, is the loop from whence the line and plummet depended. The limb is graduated into 90 degrees, for measuring altitudes, &c., and from the central point radiate a series of curved lines towards the limb, each for a particular hour, by which the hours, equal and unequal, may be learned, according to the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happens to be, the symbols of the signs being also marked on it. On this side is also engraved, as a medallion, within a circular band, the badge of Richard II., viz., a hart couchant, ducally gorged and chained, while on the band round it are the words PRI · 3 · DI · 3 · PASCHA · FL. What they mean it is not easy to explain, but they most probably have had some reference to the finding of Easter. On the other side is engraved another circle, on which the dominical letters are so arranged as to enable any one to find out the leap years, and in the middle of the circle is a scroll, with the words 'Tabuli Bisexti.' Beneath this scroll is the figure of a rabbit or hare couchant, and from the upper part of the circle projects a small label with the date 1399, being the last year of the reign of Richard II. In the spandrils, on small circles, are the letters s and m, one on each side of the tabula. Beneath, following the curvature of the quadrant, is a table or calendar of the months, one on each line; but it is not clear to what the various figures on the lines refer. The figures are very good examples of the Arabic numerals of the fourteenth century."

These instruments were used for taking altitudes, measuring heights and distances, learning the hour of the day, and making many observations for astronomical and astrological purposes; they were in full use in the fourteenth century, and at length superseded the astrolabes, the inconvenience of

using the latter arising from the difficulty of holding the instrument steady by the ring or pendant, so as to make an accurate observation.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A quadrant, thus described by Mr. O. Morgan. "A Sutton's Quadrant, 1658. This instrument consists of an impression on paper from an engraved copper-plate, fixed on a plate of brass, having on one side the two sights and silk line with a plummet. This instrument, besides the quadrantal arc for measuring altitudes, has various other curves stereographically projected on it, such as the equator, the tropics, the ecliptic, the horizon, and other circles of degrees, on a supposition that the eye is situated at one of the poles. By these curves, which cross and intersect one another, observations are facilitated, and calculations made by observing how the line or thread cuts them."

By the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM.—A gold brooch, set with sapphires and carbuncles, and inscribed with the following characters, of which no satisfactory explanation has hitherto been given, + I-M—IC—VI. This pretty ornament was found in Dorsetshire, in the summer of 1858, among the pebbles of a little stream in the parish of Sydling, near Dorchester. One of the gems is wanting; the red and violet coloured stones appear to have been placed alternately. The collets in which they were set are raised to a considerable height above the hoop of the brooch, as here shown in the profile view. (See woodcuts, of the same size as the original.) The brooch weighs fifty seven grains. Several examples of other ornaments of this class have been noticed and figured in this Journal. See vol. iii. pp. 77, 78. None, however, has been hitherto given precisely resembling in fashion that here noticed. The most remarkable jeweled ornament of this kind is the Glenlyon brooch, figured in Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 220. An interesting gold brooch, in form of the letter A, set with five gems, and bearing the mysterious word *AGLA*, was exhibited by Mr. Herbert Williams at the Winchester Meeting of the Institute. *Archæol. Journal*, vol. iii. p. 359.



Gold Brooch, found in Dorsetshire.

Mr. FRANKS exhibited, by permission of the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, a gold ring-brooch found at Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire. It is a remarkably fine example; date, about the time of Edward I. It is inscribed with the following words of the Angelic Salutation *AVE MARIA GRA*. Mr. Franks brought also a drawing of a remarkable gold armlet, with dilated ends, on which appears curious ornament in stippled work (*punctatum*), probably intended for characters, which have not been explained. It was found in a tomb at Kertch, and is now preserved in the British Museum. An object of somewhat similar nature, with stippled characters, apparently Roman, was found in Dumfriesshire, and is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 41.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A massive Papal ring, of the same class as those exhibited on several former occasions. It was lately obtained at Venice. It is of base metal, originally gilt, and set with a piece of blue glass. It bears the inscription *PAVLVS P P SECVNDVS*, the arms of France on one side, and on the other those of the Barbo family, a lion rampant debruised with a bend, on a chief a Papal tiara. The

Evangelistic symbols are also introduced upon this ring. Paul Barbo, of a Venetian family, was elected Pope, as Paul II., in 1464; he died in 1471.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—A triangular jeweled ornament, set with pearls and gems, probably intended to be affixed to a morse, or fastening of the cope. It was found some years ago in Hereford Cathedral.—Several finger-rings, chiefly Italian; a bronze talismanic ring with Cufic inscriptions; and a cinquecento crystal cross of Italian workmanship.—An illuminated Service Book, brought from South America; probably of French art about the close of the thirteenth century.

By the Rev. J. BATHURST DEANE.—Drawings, full face and profile, of a singular sepulchral effigy of a lady, placed in one of the windows of Horwood or Harwood Church, near Barnstable, Devon. It is described as of white marble, possibly English alabaster, and it measures in length 4 feet 4 inches. The costume is that of the earlier part of the fifteenth century; the lady has a mitred head-dress; her gown fitting close to the body, with a long full skirt in many folds, and a mantle, within which are seen two diminutive figures of children at her right side, and one at her left. This mode of commemorating children by miniature effigies, almost concealed amidst the ample draperies of the mother's dress, is very unusual. Her feet are not seen. An escutcheon is placed upon the long drapery at the feet of the figure: no arms are now to be seen upon it. This curious effigy is not mentioned by Lysons.

By Mr. C. FAULKNER.—Drawings of a sepulchral brass in Adderbury Church, Oxfordshire, the memorial of Jane Smyth, deceased in 1508. The inscription inadvertently gives February xxx. as the day of her death.—Drawing of a sepulchral effigy placed in a mural arch under a window in the south aisle of Deddington Church, Oxfordshire.—Tracing of a mural painting in the same church, at the west end of the north aisle. It represents figures in armour, with mail of the peculiar fashion termed banded.

By Mr. E. ROHDE HAWKINS.—A beautiful casket of damascened metal, recently obtained in Italy.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A collection of specimens of ancient iron-work, locks, hinges, a knocker and door-handle, with examples of the finely wrought foliated ornaments of that description produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

By Mr. G. BISH WEBB.—A small silver perfume-box found at Silchester. In form it resembles the pepper-caster of the earlier part of the last century, which is probably the date of its workmanship. It is ornamented with engraved work. This pretty little object is in the possession of Mr. C. Havell, by whom it was sent for exhibition.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A heaume or tilting-helmet, of the fashion of the fifteenth century, but probably a reproduction of a much later period, intended for suspension over a monument, as part of a funeral achievement.—A cup-hilted rapier, with the original covering of plaited horsehair on the gripe: the pommel is formed so as to unscrew, and the blade may thus be detached from the hilt. On one side of the blade is inscribed D'I ALE., and on the other DE TOMAS.—A portion of an elbow-gauntlet of steel, bearing inscriptions in eastern characters.—Stirrups of brass, of various periods and forms.

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By Mr. C. FAULKNER. Brass

matrix of a personal seal, of the fourteenth century; the form is circular; the impress being an escutcheon charged with a chevron between three trefoils, s' IOH'IS BLAKET. Among seven coats of Blacket given by Edmondson no such bearing occurs.

January 7, 1859.

JAMES YATES, Esq., F.R.S., in the Chair.

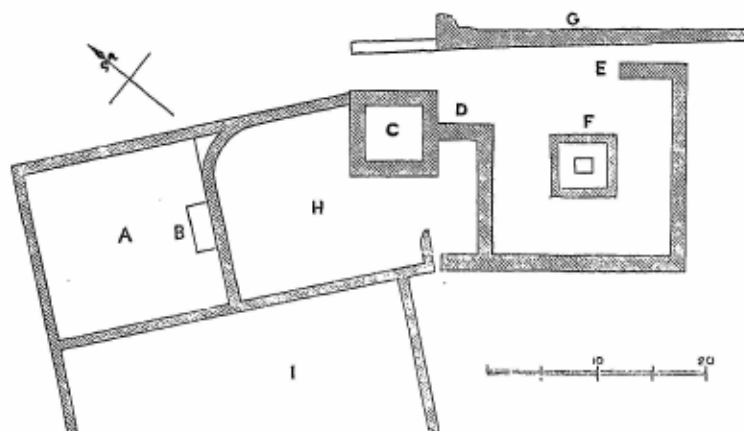
The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM communicated the following notices of Roman remains recently discovered at Dorchester Castle, as related by Mr. Lawrence, Governor of the County Prison, who had shown most praiseworthy care in the preservation of these ancient vestiges. A plan of the building thus brought to light, drawings of pottery, personal ornaments, remains of fresco-painting and of mosaics, were produced by Mr. Bingham in illustration of this account.

"In preparing a grave in the burial ground for James Seal, executed for murder, August 10, 1858, a small portion of Roman tessellated pavement was discovered at a depth of 4 feet. The digging was suspended, but the earth was removed so long as any tessellæ were to be found. The result was the discovery of a pavement, twenty feet square, one corner of which, however, had been destroyed by former interments. The beautiful centre was fortunately undamaged and entire, as well as the other remaining portion of the pavement, together with the threshold.

"The pavement itself, now measuring 10 ft. 5½ in., by 6 ft. 2 in. has been transferred to the chapel of the castle and placed within the rails near the communion table, where it presents a beautiful appearance; it has been transferred piece by piece, under my own superintendence (the total number of tessellæ being 16,864), by David Pearce, a clever and intelligent workman in the employ of Mr. Gregory of Dorchester; the whole design is now perfectly seen. No foreign substance has been employed to make good any portion of it. It may interest some persons to learn the expense of removal, which amounted only to £9 12s.; and the time occupied by Pearce, assisted by a labourer, was thirty days. The gross weight of the pavement, including the tiles and cement used in its setting, is 11½ cwt. The outer border, composed of larger and rougher stones, together with the threshold, has been undisturbed, and a stone marks their site in the castle field. Immediately under the centre of the flooring an oyster-shell was found. Portions of the stone roofing of the house, and a small brass coin of Constantine the Great were among the rubbish on the pavement; the former have been sent to the Dorset County Museum; the latter was affixed to an inscription which has been placed above the pavement in the chapel. After the removal of the pavement, being desirous to ascertain on what foundation it had been placed, we bored, and found layers of flints, three in number; upon each layer was placed lime concrete to the depth of 6 inches, making altogether a solid bed more than 2 feet in thickness, quite impervious to damp. At the bottom, the boring-rod reached the chalk, which exhibited signs of containing much moisture. In this apartment (A), at a distance of 18 feet from the threshold (B), as shown in the accompanying ground-plan, a pit formed of rough stones (C), 9 feet deep, was found 4 feet below the present surface. Among the earth, with which it had been filled up, charcoal, bones of animals, pieces of Roman pottery, including many fragments



of a peculiar kind of ware, were dug up. A wall (D), 5 feet in length, 4 feet in



Ground Plan of Roman Remains discovered at Dorchester Castle, 1858.

breadth, but only 2 in depth, abutted upon one side of this pit; this wall met another, 10 feet long, running in a south-westerly direction, and intersected by one, 22 feet in length, running south-east, which was met by another wall of 18 feet turning north-east, where it joined another of only 4 feet in length, terminating abruptly at E. At this point were discovered several large stones carefully sawn and dressed, two of which were curiously carved. A portion of the cement with which the walls of the rooms were covered had been painted pale green, with a border of maroon colour, and two shades of red. These colours were perfectly fresh when brought to light; but as the cement became dry, they began to fade, and I found it expedient to have them sized and varnished in order to preserve them.

"In the centre of the space within the walls which have been described, another pit (F), 5 feet in depth, constructed of rough stone, was found, which also contained charcoal, portions of Roman pottery, and animal bones. Relics of this description were generally turned up with the earth throughout the excavations near the walls. Several bone pins were found, of forms usually occurring with Roman remains, their heads being rounded, flat, or conical, and one of them cut in polygonal fashion; the length of these pins varied from 2 to 4 inches; also the bottom of a small, flat glass vessel, a boar's tusk, and a quantity of other bones, and teeth of the ox. The stopper, as it was supposed, of an amphora, with a circular bronze plate and ring on the top, as also a piece of the neck of the amphora itself, was brought to light. The sculptured stones which have been mentioned appeared to be of Norman design. Hutchins, in his history of Dorset, observes, that the Priory of Dorchester was built out of the ruins of the castle, and these relics may have formed part of some of the monastic buildings. The foundations I have described were bounded on the north side, at a distance of 3 feet, by another wall (G), 7 feet from the surface, 20 in length, varying in breadth from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 feet; its depth on one side was 7 feet, but on the other only 2, the wall being built upon the solid chalk. It appeared that the earth had been removed, in front, in the form of a

square, for some purpose, but the cavity was afterwards filled up, which would account for its greater height on this side. The portion of wall, at the north-west end, appeared to terminate suddenly; but subsequent excavations clearly proved that it had originally been carried further, but had been removed; the exact width being seen, but no portions of the masonry were to be found. In the square place were discovered the vases of Roman ware, of which drawings are sent for exhibition. Having concluded our digging as far as we could proceed, I could not satisfy myself that the doorway of a chamber, decorated with such a beautiful pavement, should only open upon these remains apparently of out-buildings; I therefore determined to open the earth from this spot (B), when again, at the depth of 4 feet from the surface (in the chamber H), we found some portions of pavement, designed in medallions encircled by a border of the same pattern as that brought to light in 1854, but different in colour; the tessellæ had been much disturbed so that the pattern could not be distinctly made out, with the exception of the border, which was entire, and will be transferred to the chapel in the same manner as the pavement. The site of this apartment was upon made ground, over which chalk had been spread, one foot in depth; the whole being covered by a solid mass of flints and cement grouted together, 3 feet in thickness, upon which the pavement was laid. Continuing our excavations, we traced the wall of this room 2 feet in thickness, one corner curved, as shown in the plan; the size of this apartment was 18 feet; the doorstep of the room (A), which contained the pavement originally discovered, communicated with this on the same level. Many fragments of the painted walls, in good preservation, were here found, the colours being red, bordered with black; and white, with a border of black and red. I venture to remark, that the fact of the square pit having been formed in the centre of this room, appears to prove the foundations previously described to be of more recent date, and possibly not Roman; for it is scarcely to be imagined that, in constructing what appeared to be an ash-pit, it should have been formed in the centre of a room, or, that so fine a pavement should be destroyed for that purpose, as was the case in this instance.

“The boundary wall, however (G), already mentioned, on the north side, bears evidence of being Roman. The foundations of a wall, in a south-westerly direction, 36 feet in length, formed the side of the two rooms which have been described. Part of another wall, and some remains of tessellated pavement, with a border similar to that presented to the County Museum, proved the existence of another apartment (I); but the mosaics were so disarranged, that it was not practicable to ascertain what the design had been. The centre of this room, however, was composed only of stone-coloured tessellæ of a larger size than those used in the other floors, and arranged in a circle. The border of the pavement, the only decorated portion of the design remaining, was presented to the County Museum. This is the fourth apartment enriched with mosaic pavement in this suite of rooms. I intend, when the weather is favourable for the operation, to cut a trench through the field where these remains were brought to light.”

The drawings sent by Mr. Lawrance represented, with the ground-plan of the buildings, vessels of Roman ware, resembling those produced at the potteries in the New Forest. The large stone roofing-tiles, mostly of hexagonal form, and perforated at the upper angle so as to be attached to the joists by nails, have been frequently noticed among the remains of

Roman buildings in England. Those found at Dorchester measure about 17 in. by 11. (See woodcut.) Specimens of more regular form, found at Bisley, Gloucestershire, are figured in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 45; they measured 14 in. by 9½. Several such tiles, of the sandstone of the district, were found by Mr. Akerman in a chamber in the villa excavated at Caerwent, in 1855. Similar stone tiles were found, as Mr. Gunner observed, at Blackdown, near Winchester, with bronze nails by which they had been affixed. See also Lysons' Woodchester, pl. 28. The sculptured stones noticed by Mr. Lawrance appear by his drawings to have been voussoirs, forming part of the recessed arch, probably of a doorway of the



Norman period, with zigzag and foliated ornaments, hollow mouldings, beaded, &c. Some notice of the villa lately found had been previously given by Mr. Lawrance. (See page 82 in this volume.)

Mr. BINGHAM brought also, by the obliging permission of Richard B. Sheridan, Esq., M. P., a copy of the publication by S. Lysons, in 1808, a work of uncommon occurrence, illustrative of the mosaic floors discovered at Frampton, Dorset, in the Nunnery Meadow,<sup>1</sup> in the parish of Maiden-Newton, in 1794 and 1796. The locality is situated on Mr. Sheridan's estates, and is on the south bank of the river Frome, five miles from Dorchester, and near the great Roman road to Exeter. One of the pavements, measuring 20 ft. by 30, displayed figures of Jupiter, Mars *Pacifer*, wearing the Phrygian bonnet and gathering an olive branch, Neptune spearing a sea monster, Apollo killing the Python, and Bacchus; in the angles the head of Mercury is four times repeated. His Majesty, George III., being at Weymouth at the time of Lysons' visit, in Sept. 1796, took interest in the discovery, and ordered that a detachment of a regiment then in the neighbourhood, should be placed at Mr. Lysons' disposal to pursue the excavations. With their aid two other chambers with mosaic floors were brought to light. One of these, a square of 20 ft., had a semicircular projection on one side. The design of the pavements in these parts of the building, is very remarkable. In the centre of the square a mounted figure appeared combating a lioness; the surrounding compartments were imperfect; one of them represented Venus and Paris. A border of dolphins surrounded the whole, and in this, on the south side, was introduced a colossal head of Neptune, crowned apparently with seaweed and lobsters' claws, as seen in other examples. On the east side was a figure of Cupid, with part of an inscription. The head of Neptune is accompanied by the following lines:

NEPTYNI VERTEX REGMEN SORTITI MOBILE VENTIS  
SCULTUM CVI CERVLEA EST DELPHINIS CINCTA DVOBUS.

Two dolphins issue from his lips, like large mustachios mingled with his beard; and after *cervleæ* the word *barba* seems to be understood, *scultum* expressing the mosaic work. Just below this head, and within the bow projecting from the square chamber, appears the Christian monogram,

<sup>1</sup> No trace of any nunnery at this place exists: it is probable that parts of the Roman building being formerly found,

they were ignorantly supposed to be ruins of some religious house.

formed of the Greek letters Chi and Rho, within a circle. Lysons considered it possible that this portion might be of a later age, and rather inferior workmanship to that of the principal chamber; this, however, seems very improbable; his plate, moreover, indicates no material inferiority in design. The adjacent floor, in a chamber on the east side of the last, displays a leopard in the centre, accompanied by a combat with a leopard, and the chase of the stag. Two other pavements were subsequently discovered; in one of them the head of Neptune formed the central compartment, and around were heads of Nereids with shells, dolphins, &c. A long passage, 42 feet in length, and 5 feet only in width, floored with tessellated work, led from this building to that before described, in which the Christian monogram is found so remarkably associated with subjects of pagan mythology.<sup>2</sup> Their Majesties, with the Princesses, visited the site on the completion of the excavations. Lysons regarded these remarkable buildings as parts of a temple, erected possibly, as he supposed, in the times of Carausius, the period to which he attributed the work. The design in one pavement is disposed in the same manner as the mosaic work on the ceiling of the church of St. Constantia at Rome: the combination of hexagons, octagons, and cruciform compartments being almost precisely similar. That building is supposed to have been the mausoleum of Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great. The floors, it should be observed, did not appear to be placed on a *suspensura*, as frequently the case with mosaics in villas; one which was examined by Lysons rested on a stratum of terras, mixed with pebbles and broken brick, under which was a thicker layer of large flints, with mortar, earth, and burnt wood, with a substratum of two feet of yellow sand, in which were fragments of brick, and immediately underneath this was the natural soil of clay. The tesserae were of five colours, red, blue, white, yellow, and dark brown: the prevailing designs are guilloches, mæanders, riband-work, and chequers; coins of the Lower Empire, and portions of fresco painting were found among the remains, which lay one foot only beneath the surface. The plan and proportions of the buildings appear to present greater resemblance to those adapted for domestic purposes in Roman times, than for worship, as Lysons had been led to imagine; and he remarks that they appeared to have been originally of much greater extent, forming in all probability the country seat of some wealthy inhabitant of *Durnovaria*, at the period of the earliest introduction of the Christian faith among the pagan colonists of Roman Britain. The publication above referred to is in large folio size, ranging with Lysons' *Britannia Romana*. It is entitled "Figures of Mosaic Pavement discovered near Frampton," White, Cadell and Co. 1808; seven coloured plates, with descriptive text. The copy produced contains the original drawing, formerly belonging to Mr. F. J. Browne, as stated by Lysons, who used it in supplying parts of the floor first discovered, and imperfect at the time of his researches. This appears to have been the identical drawing by Mr. J. Engleheart, which was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London, Feb. 26, 1795.

It is remarkable that in several localities mosaic floors have been discovered, in the design of which the head of Neptune, figures of dolphins,

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. T. Wright's remarks on this discovery, and on the doubtful traces of any early introduction of Christianity

into Britain. The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, p. 299.

with other devices, allusive apparently to the *cultus* of that deity, are conspicuous. The head of the sea-god, surrounded by fish and marine devices, is strikingly shown in the fine mosaic floor discovered at Orbe (*Urbigenum*), Canton de Vaud, in Switzerland; the sea-monsters occur in curious variety on that found about 1751 at Avenches, in the same country, and published by Schmidt, as also in a curious pavement recently brought to light at Bath.

Mr. CHARLES ROACH SMITH communicated some particulars regarding the threatened destruction of the Roman walls of Dax, in France (*Aquæ Farbellicæ*) Dep. Landes, to which considerable attention has been drawn through the praiseworthy exertion of Mr. Roach Smith. A full account of Dax, and of the circumstances which attracted the notice of antiquaries to its ancient walls, had appeared in the *Bulletin Monumental* about three years ago. M. Les Drouyn, of Bordeaux, being casually on a visit at that town, had noticed the Roman character of the walls, and found them in remarkable preservation. He ascertained that the Town Council, in opposition to the better feeling of a large portion of the inhabitants, had obtained leave to pull them down, and had commenced the work of destruction. He addressed a memorial to the *Préfet* of the Department, as did also M. de Caumont to the *Ministre de l'Intérieur*, and the matter was referred to the *Comité des Arts et Monumens*. M. de Caumont has printed a singular apology for non-interference, by M. Mérimée. To counteract these exertions the Town Council sent in a Report by their architect, stating that the walls were chiefly Mediæval reparations. It was accordingly decided by the Minister that the demolition should proceed; and, in October, 1858, when Mr. Roach Smith visited Dax, about a sixth part of the walls had fallen, the work of Vandalism being in continued progress. That energetic antiquary without loss of time addressed an appeal to the Duke of Malakoff, soliciting his intervention. He took means also to bring the subject through an influential channel under the immediate notice of the Emperor, who has shown considerable interest in the conservation of national monuments, and has directed the preparation of a Survey and Ichnography of all the vestiges of Roman dominion and occupation in Gaul; an important charge, which has been entrusted to one of the most able of French archæologists, M. de Saulcy. A more detailed account of Dax, and of this remarkable municipal determination to destroy a monument of a most rare and interesting kind, has been given by Mr. Roach Smith, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1858, p. 514.

In the discussion which ensued the feeling of the meeting was strongly expressed, and it was resolved to transmit a remonstrance to M. Mérimée, in the hope that the destruction of remains of so much value and interest to archæologists might effectually be arrested.

Mr. ALBERT WAY then read the following notice of an inscription in Scandinavian Runes at Venice:—

“During my visit to Venice in May, 1858, my attention was called to the remarkable fact of the existence of a production of ancient Greek Art, upon which are to be discerned, although now in a very imperfect condition, certain inscriptions in Scandinavian Runes. This monument, alike remarkable for its previous history, its present position surrounded by majestic memorials of the Mediæval greatness of Venice, and as presenting examples of that peculiar mode of cryptic writing, of which so few vestiges exist in our own country, is to be seen at the external gateway of the

Arsenal, a structure of the close of the seventeenth century with which the sculptures of Grecian Art appear little in harmony.

"On visiting the Arsenal with the hope of obtaining a copy or rubbing of the Runes, I found that such is the decayed condition of the white marble of which the colossal lion upon which they are traced is formed, long exposed to the action of the air from the sea and the violence of storms, that it proved impracticable to obtain a facsimile by any of the processes well known to our members as employed advantageously in copying engraved monuments and inscriptions. Having failed in securing any representation of the Runes in this manner, for transmission to the Institute, I had recourse to the incomparable photographs produced at Venice by Signor Pontet, who supplied me with three representations of the remarkable colossal figure, and of the other antique lions which are placed near it. It is, however, with difficulty that the course of the serpentine bands twining over the flanks and shoulders of the lion can be traced in these admirable portraiture. These bands, according to the peculiar fashion of Denmark and other Scandinavian countries, as shown by numerous Runic monuments figured in the works of Wormius, the Norwegian antiquities published by Sjöborg, and examples given in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of the North, wind about in a most capricious manner, which can only be compared to the involutions of a serpent. That animal probably originated the type of Scandinavian ornamentation, to which the name lacertine or serpentine has sometimes been assigned. On these winding bands the Runes are engraved. The font at Bridekirk presents one of the nearest approaches to this winding riband bearing a Runic inscription, in Great Britain. Usually, as on the Ruthwell cross, the Bewcastle cross, and other Runic monuments familiar to us, the characters run in horizontal lines like ordinary writing; sometimes within rectangular tablets, or upon the margin surrounding sculptured compartments on crosses and other monuments. Whilst engaged in the endeavour to obtain, for transmission to our Society, some memorial of the inscriptions at Venice, I made the acquaintance of a very intelligent antiquary, Signor Lazari, conservator of the Correr Collection, an interesting museum of Ancient and Mediaeval Art. On making inquiry whether the Runes had been deciphered either by the learned Cicogna, who has specially undertaken the elucidation of inscriptions at Venice, or by any other Italian archaeologist, he placed in my hands a brief communication, recently received from the great authority on Runes, Rafn, who had visited Venice in order to examine the inscribed lion. After much patient examination, he had succeeded in deciphering the inscription, and ascertaining the historical event which it records. The results of his investigation have been published by the Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen.

"The colossal lions sejant which guard the portal of the Venetian Arsenal, were placed there, as is well known, in January, 1693. They had been brought from Athens a few years previously, namely, in 1687, by Francesco Morosini, General of the galleys of the Republic, one of the greatest captains of his age, who distinguished himself on many signal occasions during the conflict with the Turkish power in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean. His exploits on the coasts of the Morea, his defence of Candia, and, lastly, the conquest of the Peloponnesus, achieved in 1687, had exalted his reputation to the highest pitch, and he was chosen Doge in the following year. When the Venetian army had

thus become dominant at Athens, Morosini proposed to transport to Venice, as a trophy, the admirable quadriga, which at that period decorated the western pediment of the Parthenon. In taking down that magnificent relic of ancient art, the sculpture was so severely fractured as to prove unfit for removal. The Venetian Generalissimo then determined to carry away the marble lion which guarded the harbour of the Piræus, from a period of remote antiquity. The port had thence received the name of Porto Leone, by which it was constantly known in mediæval times; and it is still designated by that appellation or by the name *Drako*, which originally meant only a serpent, but now signifies a monster of any kind, and was hence applied to the marble lion. The colossal figure lay upon the beach in the port, and was noticed by the early travellers Spon and Sir George Wheeler, when they visited Athens in 1675—76. The precise period to which the lion may be attributed is uncertain. Some writers have spoken of it as a production of inferior workmanship in barbarous times. It has, however, been regarded by persons of competent authority as of a date certainly not later than the fifth century before the Christian era. It is sculptured in Pentelic marble, which, as has been affirmed, was not employed before the time of Pericles. The inscribed lion is placed on the left hand, on entering the gateway of the Arsenal. It measures about ten feet and a half in height, exclusive of the pedestal upon which it has been placed. Three other marble lions, of smaller dimensions, have been placed on the other side of the entry; and of these, two were brought from Greece at the same time as that bearing the inscriptions. It does not appear that the Runes on the flanks of this remarkable colossus had been noticed before the close of the eighteenth century. A Swedish traveller, Akerblad, who visited Venice at that time, seems to have been the first to discern the existence of any such characters, and to recognise that they were Scandinavian Runes. He made a copy of them; but he admits that circumstances did not permit minute examination, and that he was unable to obtain a drawing of sufficient accuracy. His drawings were reproduced on a reduced scale in 1800, and again in Paris in 1804; the representation was repeated by Bossi of Milan in the following year, and they re-appeared in 1821, in Grimm's work on Germanic Runes. A German artist copied the characters more precisely in 1830, and the result was published in Germany, and subsequently by Finn Magnussen in his great treatise on Runes, in 1841. Several persons versed in Scandinavian antiquities subsequently visited Venice and examined afresh the lion of the Piræus; but they declared the inscriptions to be so hopelessly effaced as to preclude the possibility of their being deciphered and interpreted.

"I have stated these particulars in regard to the attention which this monument had so deservedly excited, since they may enable us to appreciate the value of the result obtained through the indefatigable exertions of Herr Rafn. Rafn obtained in the first instance careful casts in plaster, and, having by their aid diligently studied the enigma, and corrected his conjectural readings by the aid of a learned Dane resident at Venice, he made a journey to Italy for the special purpose of verifying the conclusions at which he had arrived. Undaunted by difficulties which his predecessors had pronounced to be insurmountable, he examined the monument under the varied effects of light and shade, at all hours of the day, and with the advantages occasionally experienced in an inspection at early dawn, or at the beginning of twilight.

"The inscription engraved on the left side of the statue commences at the upper part of the flank of the animal, it passes down the left front leg, proceeds upwards with a curve, and then runs over the thigh of the hind leg on the same side. Rafn observes that the characters appeared in many parts as if they had been intentionally damaged, possibly by firing bullets at the inscription. Under all these difficulties the following interpretation has been offered, and I am assured that it may be received with confidence as substantially correct. There are characters which are in some degree uncertain, but careful comparison with other Runic monuments has facilitated the solution of difficulties otherwise insurmountable.

"Hakon, in conjunction with Ulf, Asmund, and Örn, conquered this Port. These men, and Harald the Great (*i. e.*, of great stature), imposed (namely, on the inhabitants) large fines, or contributions, on account of the insurrection of the Greek people. Dalk remained captive (or detained) in distant countries. Egil had gone on an expedition with Ragnar into Rumania and Armenia.

"This inscription is in the ancient Danish or Nordic idiom, formerly in use in all Scandinavian and other countries, and still retained in Iceland. The orthography resembles that usually found in Scandinavian inscriptions. The import of the memorial, as Rafn observes, appears to be this: Four Varangians, Hakon, Ulf, Asmund, and Örn, had conquered the port of the Piræus, and with Harald the Tall, probably their chief, imposed a penalty on the Greeks for an insurrection. The engraver proceeded to make mention of three of their companions in arms, who had been unable to take part in this exploit.

"Harald here mentioned, considered by Rafn to have been the leader of the Scandinavian warriors who are enumerated, may have been, as he is disposed to conclude, Harald, son of Sigurd, brother-in-law of St. Olaf, king of Denmark. After the sanguinary conflict in which Olaf perished, August 31, 1030, Harald effected his escape, and fled to Constantinople, where he arrived in 1033, being then 18 years of age. He engaged in the service of the Emperor Romanus III., and became chief of the Varangian Guard, signalising himself in many exploits of which record is found in the Sagas and the chronicles of Snorro. He appears to have continued in the service of the Eastern emperors until 1043. He returned ultimately to his own country, and shared the authority with Magnus the Good, becoming sole sovereign of Norway after his death in 1047.

"The careful inquiries of Rafn regarding the services of the Scandinavian stipendiaries, engaged at this period by the Greek emperors, have enabled him to point out, with a great degree of probability, the occurrences to which it may be concluded that this inscription referred, and the insurrection quelled by the Varangians, companions in arms of Harald the Tall. Without entering into minute details, it will suffice to state that the heavy impositions inflicted on the population of Greece during the feeble reign of the Emperor Michael the Paphlagonian had excited general discontent. The insurrection commenced in Bulgaria, in 1040, rapidly spread to Epirus and Achaia, and the statements of the Byzantine historians leave little doubt that the disaffection threw Athens, with the province of Nicopolis of which it then formed part, into open rebellion. The Varangians, who had been engaged in Asia and other places, were recalled to meet the emergency, and were employed in reducing the rebel cities of the Greek portion of the Empire. It is to this insurrection, in 1040, and the penalties



imposed on Athens when conquered by the Varangian soldiery, that the remarkable Runes on the Lion of the Piræus must doubtless be referred.

"I will only add that the names recorded as the chiefs of the Varangians engaged in this exploit are not unknown in the Sagas and historical memorials of the period. Ulf is doubtless the Icelandic warrior, of whose history, as companion in arms of the exiled Harald in Greece and Sicily, many particulars are recorded. He returned to Norway, and held a post of distinction at Harald's court. Ragnar, whose name has been deciphered, was leader of a Scandinavian troop in the East at the period to which the memorial has been attributed. To the English antiquary, however, the name of Ulf has a more special interest, on account of the part which he is recorded to have taken in the councils of Harald, in 1066, when his prudent advice turned the king aside from the enterprise which he had resolved to undertake against Britain, where, as Ulf asserted, the Norwegian warriors would have to cope with a force of valour so irresistible, that hope of victory to the invader might prove most uncertain.

"The second inscription, upon the other flank of the lion, remains to be noticed. It has been deciphered through the indefatigable skill of Rafn, and may be thus interpreted: Asmund engraved these Runes, with Asgeir, Thorleif, Thord, and Ivar, at the request of Harald the Great, although the Greeks had endeavoured to prevent it; in Rafn's own words,—"*quoique les Grecs en y réfléchissant, l'interdisent.*" According to the usage, of which frequent instances might be cited in Scandinavia, the name of the carver of the Runes is found, either immediately after the principal inscription, or apart on the other side of the stone. Thus here, the workman has graven his name on the right flank of the colossus, with those of some of his companions who had aided him in tracing the memorial upon the other flank, at the direction of their chief. The vanquished Greeks, according to the singular expression here found, had reflected, or their attention had been excited, and they had sought to prevent the ancient monument being defaced by mysterious symbols, of which the precise import might possibly be unknown to them. Some portion at the close is wholly defaced; the Greeks may have purposely attempted to destroy such a record of the outrage of the barbarians, which had naturally been most repugnant to their feelings, thus imprinted on this colossal relic of the ancient greatness of their race, in the earlier days of Greek independence. I must refer to the highly valuable treatise, entitled '*Inscription Runique du Pirée, interprétée par C. C. Rafn,*' and published at Copenhagen by the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of the North, for a full account of this interesting monument, of which representations will there be found. I acknowledge with pleasure how much I have been indebted to the labours of that able archæologist on the present occasion."

Mr. WESTWOOD communicated the sequel of his archæological tour in the north of Europe, accompanied by an account of the architectural features of Roeskilde Cathedral, printed in this volume, p. 135.

Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A., gave the following notice of a silver ring in his collection, ornamented with niello, a work of the fourteenth century, supposed to have been the wedding ring of Cola di Rienzi, tribune of Rome, and of Catarina di Raselli.

"The ring, which I have the pleasure of placing upon the table to-day for exhibition, possesses no slight historical interest. It was purchased for me in Rome, for a trifling sum, at one of the periodical clearing sales of the

Monte di Pietà; and I had it for several months before I discovered certain facts which many archæologists consider to be corroborative of my supposition, that this ring was the nuptial ring of Cola di Rienzi. Its style, when compared with that of other objects of the period, enables us to ascribe its date to the first half of the fourteenth century. The bezel is an irregular octagon; in the centre there is cut, signet-wise, a device—two stars divided *per pale*. Around this there are inscribed two names—CATARINA · NICOLA, the interstices being filled up with niello. These names are written from left to right, and not reversed. The ring is an elegant specimen of Italian workmanship, and I consider it to have been produced by a Florentine artist.

“The reasons for believing that this may have been the fiancial ring of Rienzi and his wife are the following: 1. The two names—NICOLA (di Rienzi) and CATARINA (di Raselli). 2. The date of the ring, which we may assign to 1320—1340, the time when Rienzi lived. 3. Neither Rienzi nor his wife had any armorial bearing; and having great faith in his destiny, he is said to have selected a star for his device. The two stars divided *per pale* were interpreted by an eminent Roman archæologist to be significant of the star of Rienzi and that of his wife.

“We may now consider the objections made against my supposition. The Romans at that period, it is alleged, did not work in niellure, and could not have produced such a piece of workmanship as the ring under consideration. The form of the *N* in the inscription has also been considered as of a later date than the period of the Tribune.

“In reply to the first objection I would state, that I believe the ring to have been the work of a Florentine artist. We know from Theophilus the monk, that Tuscany was celebrated in his day for works in niello. Again, in those times the coiners of money, the die-sinkers, and engravers were likewise jewellers. Papencordt, in his life of Rienzi, quotes a letter of the Tribune’s, procured at Florence, in which he writes to the Florentines to send him an expert moneyer, an engraver, and an assayer. On examining the coins of Rienzi (he struck two) we find precisely the same form of *N* as on the ring.

“I conclude, therefore, that these two objections are satisfactorily answered. I do not, however, propose to assert that this ring was actually given by Rienzi to his wife on the day of the marriage; it may have been presented at some later time. Two other rings, exhibited by me on this occasion, are of interest in connection with this relic attributed to the tribune. One of them bears the arms of the Orsini family; the other is one of the massive Papal rings, and bears the arms of the Colonna family—Martin V. having been of that princely house.

“I regret that I am unable to prepare a detailed account of several other most interesting examples, among the rings which I have the pleasure to place before the meeting. I would, however, wish to draw attention to the following: 1. An Etruscan ring, considered by Roman archæologists to be unique. It represents, on the hoop, Hercules and Juno; Hercules holds in his right hand the *nodus* or knot, and Juno holds the zone or girdle. In the space between the heads is introduced a scarabæus. Padre Garrucci, the eminent Jesuit, pronounces it to be an Etruscan betrothal or nuptial ring. It was found in the Maremma. 2. This is an interesting example, being set with an intaglio of Augustus cut to the shape of the head. I have seen two intaglii of this descrip-

tion, but neither of them was set. It was found in the Campagna near Rome, in 1857. 3. This ring represents Jupiter Serapis in relief. Pliny states that in his time the Romans wore representations of Harpocrates and other Egyptian gods upon their rings. 4 and 5. Two gold rings recently found at Rome. One is set with two uncut diamonds, and is of very rare character; an example of this description is preserved in the British Museum, and a third is in the Hertz collection, shortly to be sold. The second ring exhibited is of peculiar shape, and it is set with a sapphire *en cabochon*. Unfortunately, the finder caused the stone to be unset, in order to ascertain the weight, but it has been carefully replaced. These are specimens of late Roman work. 6. A ring set with a denarius of Constantine Pogonatus, A. D. 654—685. On the hoop are the following letters in niello,—BARINOTA, which I read as BARI NOTARIUS. Bari may have been the name of an imperial notary. 7. A fine gold ring, ornamented with niello, and inscribed with the name ALHSTAN. It was found at Llys faen, in Caernarvonshire, and was supposed by Mr. Pegge to have belonged to Alhstan, bishop of Sherburne, A.D. 817—867. The last letter of the name is the Rune equivalent to N. See *Archæologia*, vol. iv., p. 47, where this remarkable relic is figured. 8. A Scandinavian ring, found in the Thames at Chelsea in 1857. 9. A gold signet-ring, apparently of Saxon workmanship, and bearing a head with the name AVFRET. May this be for ALFRET? It was found near Rome some years ago, with a considerable number of coins of Alfred the Great. 10. A silver signet-ring, bearing the initial I crowned, with a sprig, supposed to have been intended for the *planta-genista*, on each side of the letter. This ring had been long preserved in possession of the ancient family of Darell, with the tradition that it had been presented by King John. 11. The Darnley ring, found at Fotheringay, described and figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiv., p. 297. 12. Memento ring of Gustavus Adolphus. 13. A ring which belonged to Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, the setting being a turquoise engraved with the royal cipher F.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—Two remarkable stone celts, one of them of dark green porphyry, found on the Battle Field, Clontarf, length  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches; one extremity is very acutely pointed; the other, of rather smaller size, and described as of greenstone passing into flint, was found in the north of Ireland.—Also a gold tore-ring, of a size suited to the finger, lately found in Hayling Island, Hants. Several rings of this class have been noticed in this *Journal*, vol. iii. p. 269; vol. vi. p. 58; and vol. viii. p. 100. An example found at Ringmer, in Sussex, as described in the *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. ix., has been figured in this *Journal*, vol. xv. p. 96. See also the Catalogue of the Museum, Edinburgh Meeting of the Institute, p. 126.

By WILLIAM McEWEN, Esq., M.D., of Chester.—A bronze armlet, found in a turbarry near Plunton Castle, co. Kirkcudbright, in 1826. About four miles to the east of the spot are remains of an extensive encampment, supposed to be of the Roman period, called the Doon of Enrick, near the locality known as Gatehouse of Fleet. This curious relic is formed of thin bronze plate, with ribs and ornaments hammered up, and minute punctures, of which the intention is uncertain: it consists of two pieces, which are hinged together, so that the armlet might readily be opened, and



5  
Bronze Armlet, found near Plunton Castle, co. Kirkcudbright, in 1893



adjusted to the arm. The ornamentation, as will be seen by the accompanying woodcut (original size) is of the peculiar type, of which a bronze scabbard found near the Pentland Hills, and an unique bronze collar found in Roxburghshire, are good examples. Both these objects are in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland, and they have been figured in Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, pp. 441, 451. Various objects which appear to belong to the same period and class of ancient remains, have also been found in England; their origin has been ascribed to the Celtic races, and most probably to the tribes inhabiting Britain. Their peculiar character will be exemplified in the "*Horæ Ferales*," announced for publication by the late Mr. Kemble, and which Mr. Franks has undertaken to edit. See some remarks on these relics in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iv. p. 144.

By Mr. J. G. WALLER.—A rubbing from a fine incised slab in the church of St. Heeren, Elderen, in Belgium, commemorating a person of the same family as the memorial exhibited at a previous meeting. (See p. 174.) It is in good preservation; the lines forming the canopy are filled in with red pigment. The heraldic charge on the shield is partly expressed by inlaid pieces of white marble. Brass escutcheons were formerly affixed at the angles of the slab, but they are lost. The inscription round the margin of the slab is as follows: A · DN'I · M · CCCLIII · IN · OCTAVIS · BEATI · LAMBERTI · MARTYRIS · OBIT · DN'S · EGIDIUS · DE · HAMALE · MILES · ET · DN'S · DE · ELDERIS · CV' · ANIMA · REQUIESCAT · IN · PACE · AMEN. The figure of Sir Giles de Hamale presents, as Mr. Waller remarked, many curious points of costume. Longitudinal pieces are affixed over the armour of interlaced mail, upon the limbs, peculiar in their adjustment and differing from examples of the same period in England. It may be doubtful whether these additional protections are intended to represent metal plate. On the fore-arm they appear under the sleeve of mail, and the close-fitting jupon which is seen through the surcoat, being tucked up in front, seems to be of the same character. The calf of the leg as well as the shin is protected by longitudinal pieces of this material, whatever it may be, whilst it is worthy of attention that there are no elbow-plates, or sollerets for the feet, which are usually found in England, in early examples of the use of plate-armour. Mr. Waller pointed out that the conventional character in the drawing of the features resembles that to be noticed in the earlier brasses in England, especially that of Sir Robert de Septvans, at Chartham in Kent. The hand of Providence in benediction is seen above the figure, as in the memorial from the same church previously exhibited by Mr. Waller. These highly interesting sepulchral portraitures will be given in the work now in preparation by Mr. W. H. Weale, of Bruges, in which it is proposed to offer a series of the Monumental Brasses and incised slabs of Northern Europe.<sup>3</sup>

By Mr. FRANKS.—A salver of Venetian glass, exquisitely ornamented with arabesques on a gold ground. In the centre is introduced an escutcheon with the following coat, Azure, a tree proper.—Also a diminutive watch in the form of the flower of the fritillary, with the maker's name engraved upon the works within—*Edward Bysse fecit.* (Bernal Coll. No. 3852.)

<sup>3</sup> This interesting publication will be produced in ten parts; the first of which is in the press. Subscribers' names are

received by the author, 15, Denmark Grove, Barnsbury, London.

**MEDIEVAL SEALS.**—By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A singular matrix of hone-stone, recently purchased from a silversmith in Knightsbridge. It is of semi-globular form; but the engraved face is hexagonal, the edges of the circle having been ground away so as to bring the impress to that figure. It has been supposed to have been the seal of Lady Jane Grey, hastily made during the short period from her succession being proclaimed, July 10, 1553, until she abandoned the title of Queen, on July 20 following. Under an arched crown between G · D, the initials of her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, appear two escutcheons, one being of the royal arms, England and France (*sic*) quarterly; the other charged with two animals grappling a ragged staff, possibly the cognisance of the Dudleys. Below is inscribed IOANNA REG. The existence of such a seal was first noticed by Mr. M. A. Lower, in 1850, in the *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. iv. p. 313; but it was not stated where the matrix was to be found. A cast from an impression found by Mr. Albert Way in the Hastings Museum was subsequently produced in the Museum of the Institute at the Chichester Meeting, as noticed in the Catalogue, p. 108, where the impress is figured.

February 4, 1859.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., V.P.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A communication was received from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, announcing the successful issue of their efforts in regard to Treasure Trove in Scotland. The subject having been brought before that Society by Mr. A. H. Rhind, in a memoir printed during the previous year,<sup>4</sup> a Committee was nominated, and a statement was addressed to the Conveners of all the counties, accompanied by Mr. Rhind's paper setting forth the existing position of the law and its practical results. The subject having been favourably received, a memorial was submitted to the Treasury by the Commissioners of Supply in the different counties, and by the Society of Antiquaries, as already stated in this Journal (see vol. xv. p. 297). Mr. Stuart, the Secretary of the Society, stated that the result of this combined movement had been to obtain the Treasury authority, by which the finders of all ancient relics in Scotland will henceforth be entitled to their actual value on delivering them up to the Crown Officers in the various counties, as set forth in the following official announcement:

**TREASURE TROVE, &c., APPERTAINING TO THE CROWN.**

The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury having been pleased to authorise the payment, to finders of ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity in Scotland, of the actual value of the articles, on the same being delivered up for behoof of the Crown, I now give notice to all persons who shall hereafter make discoveries of any such articles, that on their delivering them up, on behalf of the Crown, to the sheriffs of the respective counties in which the discoveries may take place, they will receive through this Department, rewards equal in amount to the full intrinsic value of the articles.

JOHN HENDERSON, Q. and L. T. R.

*Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, Edinburgh,  
January 20, 1859.*

<sup>4</sup> The Law of Treasure-Trove: how can it best be adapted to accomplish useful results? By A. Henry Rhind, Esq., F.S.A.

Mr. HAWKINS observed that for some time past the Treasury had evinced the disposition to act with liberality, and had shown their readiness to give the finders of coins or other Treasure Trove rendered up to them on behalf of the Crown, the full value of such valuable objects. It was very desirable that this should be made known as extensively as possible throughout England, so as to encourage persons to bring to the Treasury the precious relics of antiquity. Such relics had hitherto been too frequently sacrificed through apprehension of the law being enforced. A vote of congratulation was cordially passed to those who had participated in realising the important result made known by Mr. Stuart, and more especially to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on the gratifying issue of their well-combined exertions.

Mr. W. S. VAUX, F.S.A., President of the Numismatic Society, then read a short account of certain silver coins, brought for examination by the Hon. and Rev. J. Lascelles, Rector of Goldsborough, Yorkshire. They had been found a short time previously, as Mr. Lascelles stated, in digging a drain near the church at that place, and at a depth of about three feet. With the coins were found deposited a considerable number of fragments of silver ornaments, brooches, armlets, &c., and portions of small ingots or rudely shaped objects of silver, the whole having been placed in a small leaden chest. These ornaments and silver ingots, which were exhibited to the meeting, precisely resembled the objects discovered in 1840, in Cuerdale near Preston, as described by Mr. Hawkins in this Journal, vol. iv. pp. 111, 189. Of the coins found at Goldsborough the following notices were given by Mr. Vaux:

"The collection of coins exhibited by Mr. Lascelles consists of the following specimens. Saxon coins; one of Ælfred, and one of Eadward the Elder. Cufic coins, of the Samanian Dynasty;—of Nasr ben Ahmed, the first Prince, one struck at Samarcand, A.D. 889; of Ismâil ben Ahmed, the second Prince, four struck at Al Shâsh in the years A.D. 893, 898, 899, 903, and three struck at Samarcand in the years A.D. 895, 897, 899: also several other coins whereon the place of mintage and the date are not completely legible, but which undoubtedly belong to this ruler. Of Ahmed ben Ismâil, the third Prince, two coins struck in A.D. 910; the name of the place of mintage effaced. Of Nasr ben Ahmed, the fourth Prince, one coin, date and place of mintage effaced, but certainly to be attributed to this Prince and not to the first Nasr ben Ahmed, because the Khalifah's name Al Moktader Billah is quite legible on it.

"The occurrence of the names and dates determines the period of the collection found deposited at Goldsborough, within certain limits. Thus the reigns of Ælfred and Eadward comprehend the period between A.D. 872 and 925, or 54 years. Again, the earliest date of the Cufic money is A.D. 892, and the latest possible date, to the end of the rule of the Khalifah Al Moktader, is A.D. 932. Hence we may be sure that none of the coins are earlier than A.D. 872, the commencement of the reign of Ælfred, or later than the last year of Al Moktader, or A.D. 932. The period accordingly comprehends exactly 60 years.

"With regard to the occurrence of the Oriental coins among Saxon coins and ornaments, it is well known that a vast quantity of such money has been found on a line extending along the Baltic Coast to England. The greatest deposit was discovered at Fardhem in the Island of Gothland, and an excellent account of these discoveries has been published by a Swedish



numismatist, M. Tornberg. It is probable that these Oriental coins came in the course of trade; a conclusion strengthened by the fact that they belong invariably to the first three centuries and the beginning of the fourth century of the Hejira, after which time they wholly cease. The latest coin which has been discovered is dated A.D. 1010. During these centuries the trade between the East and West, by means of caravans, was continuous from Samarcand through Mavar al Nahr, the defiles of the Caucasus, into Little Russia, thence along the Wolga into Livonia and the Baltic provinces. No coins of the western or southern dynasties, such as those of Cordova or Egypt, have been as yet discovered."

Mr. HAWKINS remarked that discoveries such as that which Mr. Lascelles had kindly brought before the Institute, are of great interest, and it is most desirable that record should be made of these remarkable deposits. On the shores and on the islands of the Baltic they had frequently occurred, and gradually decreased in approaching the British Islands. Such deposits had rarely been found inland.<sup>5</sup> They had occurred in great abundance at Rugen; of the coins of the dynasty to which the pieces brought by Mr. Lascelles belonged, about 10,000 had been discovered on the coasts of the Baltic: the Oriental coins of all descriptions found there amounted to about 30,000. Within the last thirty or forty years not less than 134 deposits had been brought to light. The ornaments appeared to have been crushed and mutilated for convenience of package, or like the ingots and bars, cut into pieces to facilitate the adjustment in the scales of a required weight. It is probable that the collection of coins and silver bullion had been connected with the ordinary transactions of commerce, the precious metal being used by weight and as an article of barter. A very large hoard of coins and broken silver ornaments of the same class as those brought by Mr. Lascelles, had recently been found in the Orkneys, including a brooch of unusually large size. The weight of the Cufic coins had been estimated at nearly 16lbs.

Mr. COSMO INNES, F.S.A. Scot., communicated a short notice of St. Govan's Cave, near Stackpole Head, on the precipitous coast of Pembrokeshire. In one of the little bays there is a small chapel of rude masonry, half way down the cliff, known as St. Govan's Chapel; it is approached by a long flight of steps, and according to popular story it is not possible to count their number correctly. A few yards lower in the ravine is a well, covered by a roof of rude construction; it was doubtless originally used for baptism, and thence regarded as sacred, and it is still resorted to for the cure of diseases. The most singular part of the saint's dwelling is his so-called bed, possibly a place of mortification, or rather his coffin, being a vertical opening in the rock, in which a person of ordinary size may with difficulty stand, and the rock has become polished by the number of visitors who squeeze themselves into this interstice in the sides of the cavern. Mr. Innes called attention to the existence of similar places of penance in Ireland, associated with the legends of ancient asceticism; and he pointed out a remarkable circumstance, the popular mixing up of mythical personages or characters in ancient romance, with the holy hermits of early Christianity. There can be no doubt as to the character of the place in South Wales. The cave, the place of penance, the well still sacred in popular estimation, are all in accordance with other vestiges of primitive missionaries in North Britain and in Ireland. The name, however, here

<sup>5</sup> See M. Worsnæ's observations on this subject, Arch. Journ. vol. iv. p. 200.

attached not only to the cave, but to the bold headland adjoining, resembles that of a famous hero of romance, who, strangely enough, has robbed the humble hermit of his identity. Sir Gawain, the renowned knight of the Round Table, was slain by Sir Launcelot, and many places claimed the honor of preserving his remains: Langtoft says that he was buried at Wybre in Wales; Caxton and Leland place his interment at Dover; whilst, according to the Brut, he was conveyed to his native country of Scotland. The occurrence of a name so similar as that of Govan, associated with a remarkable site, was sufficient, it would appear, to justify a claim on behalf of Pembrokeshire. The assertion, singular as it may be, is not modern, since William of Malmesbury<sup>6</sup> relates the discovery on the coast of the province of Ross in Wales, in the times of the Conqueror, of the tomb of Gawain, 14 feet in length; and also that the wounded knight was wrecked on the coast, and slain by the natives. Leland rejects the tale, but records the existence of a ruined castle near the shore, called by the name of Gawain; and Sir F. Madden observes that the tradition of the locality assigns St. Govan's Head as the burial place of King Arthur's nephew.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Innes observed, however, that the local historian, Fenton, does not advert to any such popular notion; and that during his recent visit to South Wales he had sought in vain for traces of this singular tradition.

Mr. R. G. P. MINTY communicated an account of numerous relics recently discovered in dredging for the purpose of deepening Portsmouth Harbour. He had been informed that several Roman urns had been found, and having gone to inspect them, the objects in question proved to be chiefly of mediæval and more recent periods. A considerable number of these were brought for examination, by the obliging permission of Mr. Wood, of Her Majesty's dockyard, by whom they had been collected during the removal of the accumulation known as "the Burrow Bank." Mr. Wood, as Mr. Minty observed, had recently given a discourse on Portsmouth harbour, the geological formation of the country, the results occasioned by tides, the formation of banks, &c. It may be regarded as purely a tidal harbour, not receiving the waters of any river of importance: the area is about 4400 acres; but at low water a great portion assumes the aspect of a large tract of mud, intersected by dirty channels, and the space for mooring ships is thus reduced to about 384 acres. When Portsmouth was first selected for a naval arsenal, and the dockyard established in 1509, it is probable that the harbour was amply sufficient for the navy of England; but the use of vessels of such great length and tonnage as are now built, has caused difficulties in providing for their accommodation. Numerous banks have gradually formed, which now impede navigation. Of these the most important are the Ballast Bank in mid-channel, and the Burrow Bank. The former has proved so inconvenient, that its removal by dredging has been undertaken. The second, situated opposite Burrow Island, is formed by the silt brought down by the ebb tide, and deposited at this particular spot through local causes, clearly explained by Mr. Wood in his lecture. This bank is in course of removal by dredging: it is composed of sand and the *débris* brought down from the harbour. Considerable changes have here

<sup>6</sup> Script. post Bedam, lib. ii. p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> Introduction to Sir Gawain, edited by Sir F. Madden. Fenton seems to

ignore the legend, which is not mentioned in his Hist. of Pembrokeshire, where Stackpole Head is noticed, p. 414.

occurred, and near Portchester Castle, as also in the adjacent localities, it is probable that no small portion of land has been lost even within recent times. It occurred to Mr. Wood that it would be desirable to ascertain the rate at which the banks and shoals in the harbour accumulated; and that the articles recovered in dredging might supply data to aid such an inquiry. It is obvious that such evidence could not be conclusive; objects, of which the date can be fixed, might have been deposited at a much later period; other casualties may also have occurred affecting the value of the information sought from the stratification of such deposits. Still the facts collected by Mr. Wood must be regarded as highly curious, as approximate indications of the rate at which these shoals have, for a long succession of years, accumulated. The pottery and other relics exhibited commenced with glass bottles of the times of George II., of very depressed form, usually called Dutch; they occurred in the silt about 12 inches from the surface, having probably been imbedded there about a century ago. A little lower, at about 2 feet, lay a broken "puzzle-bottle," such as were in vogue in the times of William III. and Queen Anne, date about 1680 to 1710. The data thus obtained would show an increase of about 14 inches in each 100 years. The other examples were found at various depths. At about 6 feet in depth were jugs of brown mottled stone-ware, known as "Grey-beards." Lastly, at 16 feet below the surface, were embedded a few vessels of Roman ware; and by comparing that depth with the supposed rate of silting up, it would follow that they had been in the shoal about 1370 years, or that the date of their deposit was about the year 480. Portchester having been a Roman station at the extreme end of the harbour, it is probable that the Romans had outworks, of which one may have occupied the commanding point of land, now known as Burrow Island. Under any circumstances, the presence of some Roman vestiges was to be expected in close proximity to a post of importance, such as Portchester. Among various relics produced, Mr. Minty pointed out two stone bullets, such as were used formerly as shot for cannon, thence designated *pierriers*. He called attention, also, to a jug of the fine mottled brown stone-ware of Cologne, one of a class of vessels such as occasionally occur mounted in silver gilt, with chased ornaments of good execution; the assay marks, according to Mr. Morgan, usually indicating the reign of Elizabeth as the date to which they may be assigned.

Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, sent a notice of some singular masses of iron, chiefly found in Switzerland, of which the intention and the date are unknown. Their



Mass of Iron.

form is irregularly pyramidal at either end, as shown by the accompanying woodcut, on a very reduced scale. Dr. Keller had examined twenty of these massive blocks of metal; and of these he gave the following description: "De ces vingt pièces il y a 16 qui ont un poids approximatif de 12 livres; il y en a une qui pèse 15 livres; la plus légère est de 10 livres. Elles ont toutes

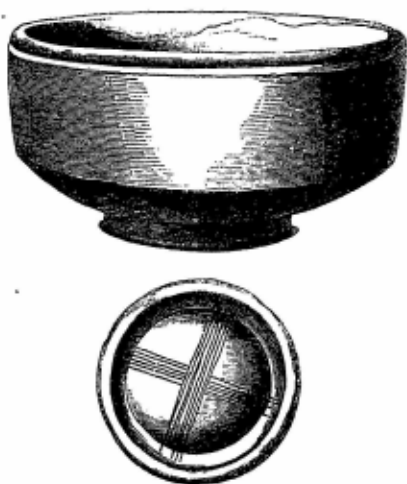
une surface raboteuse, enduite d'hydrate de fer, et sont rongées plus ou moins par cette rouille, quelques-unes même considérablement. Le métal dont ces masses sont composés n'est pas du fer brut comme on dirait au premier coup d'œil, mais un fer très-ductile, tenace, et par conséquent

malléable. Il doit être le produit du traitement du minéral de fer dans les petites forges appelées 'Rennfeuer' en Allemand, selon la méthode dite Catalane, qui est encore aujourd'hui en usage dans les Pyrénées et dans tous les pays où les procédés métallurgiques ont conservé leur simplicité primitive."

The localities where these curious blocks of iron have been found, are in the great valleys of the northern and western parts of Switzerland. Twenty-four specimens are known; one was discovered in the Canton of Vaud; thirteen were found deposited close together on a wooded hill near Nidau, Canton of Berne; some are from the canton of Argovie, six from that of Zürich, one from Thurgovie. A single specimen, found on the banks of the Rhine, is preserved in the Museum at Mayence. Although brought to light in those parts of Switzerland occupied from the earliest periods, it is remarkable that no example has occurred near any Roman settlement. They have invariably been found remote from towns and villages, and from the vestiges of Roman dominion in that country. Hence Dr. Keller is disposed to ascribe them to an anterior age, and to regard them as belonging to the Celtic period. They are obviously not suited for any mechanical uses, and he supposes them to be blocks of metal, of the peculiar form in which, at some remote period, iron was introduced into commerce. This conjecture has been confirmed by the opinion of dealers in metal; and the form of the blocks has been regarded as suited for facilities of transport, probably upon horses or mules. It is very difficult to determine from what country this iron may have been brought; Dr. Keller considers it certain that it was not produced in Switzerland, where the manufacture of iron was not known in Roman times, nor even in the earlier mediæval age. These highly curious objects must therefore have been, as he concludes, of foreign importation; and it is very desirable to make their existence more generally known, in order to draw forth notices of any similar relics of primitive metallurgy discovered in other countries.

Mrs. H. CLARENCE FIGOU sent an account of the recent discovery of an ancient interment in Dorset, accompanied by certain circumstances of an unusual nature. The Rev. H. C. Figou, rector of Wyke Regis, near Weymouth, having lately let out one of his glebe fields in allotments for the benefit of his poorer parishioners, an old man, who had begun to break up his plot of garden-ground for the first time, found several large, flat stones, placed edgewise, evidently with some purpose, forming, as it appeared, a rude sepulchral cist. Broken bones, very much decayed, were speedily brought to view, also part of a skull with the teeth in perfect preservation. Close to the skull had been placed a small vase of coarse black ware, the surface of which was somewhat lustrous, and on the under side of the foot are parallel lines slightly scored, crossing at right angles, as shown in the woodcut. (See next page.) This little urn, which seems to be of late Roman ware, measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter at the top, and the height is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. The cist measured about 4 ft. in length, and about two ft. in depth, so that the corpse, apparently of an adult, had been doubled up to fit the narrow limits of this diminutive grave; the top stone, by which it was closed, lay about a foot from the surface; it was a flat slab of a flaky material occurring in the neighbourhood. The body had been deposited with the head towards the east, the feet to the west; the spot is on elevated ground, about a mile from the sea. The position of the vase, as nearly as could be ascertained, had been over the shoulder of the corpse. Subsequently were

found near the same spot, remains of a second skeleton, accompanied by a vessel which was totally broken in pieces by the spade. According to the



Urn of Black Ware found at Wyke Regis.

popular tradition in the neighbourhood, persons passing by an old pathway which crossed the field adjoining to the place where this discovery occurred had often been terrified by shrieking of spirits, which is considered to be sufficiently accounted for by the interments now brought to light. This tale recalls the superstitious notions regarding certain sites of ancient interments, especially the Goblins' Hill, near Mold, in Flintshire, as related in this Journal, vol. vi., p. 259.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Lord BRAYBROOKE, V.P.—A bronze key of singular form, the handle being a transverse piece, terminating in a round knob at each extremity. It was found at Hempstead, near Braintree, Essex, and may be of Roman date.

By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—A portion of one of the "Coway Stakes," recently obtained at Alton Towers, on the dispersion of the collections of the late Earl of Shrewsbury, who possessed a relic thus described in the sale catalogue, No. 1054, "An oak stake, found in the Thames." This, which had been purchased by Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, who died in 1827, was enclosed in a glass case: it was sold for 11s. to Mr. Gent, of Alton, Staffordshire, a farmer, who possesses certain curiosities. It was stated that the fragment now in Mr Brackstone's possession, having been purchased with miscellaneous objects at the Alton sale, had been cut off from the stake above mentioned, in order to fit it to the case, or for some other cause. A thin section of this specimen of wood having been submitted to Professor Queckett, and the structure examined by the microscope, he had, with his accustomed kindness in aiding archæological investigations, communicated the following result.

"The wood is undoubtedly oak, and, as far as I can ascertain, of the species termed *sessiliflora*, which is also common in bogs and submarine forests in this country, and the roof of Westminster Hall is said to be constructed of the same wood. This species, now less common than the *Quercus robur*, occurs near London and also in Norfolk, and some other parts of England: it is sometimes called Durmast oak; the characteristic is that that the acorns have no stalks." The question of the Coway Stakes, it may seem almost needless to observe, has been the subject of frequent discussion. Many have adopted the opinion of Camden in regarding the spot where they have been found in the bed of the Thames, a little above Walton, as the "*ripa acutis sudibus præfixis munita*," mentioned by Cæsar, where Cassivelaunus formed such an obstacle to the progress of the Roman invaders, B.C. 54. It has further been sought to identify these relics with the *sudes*, described by Bede as to be seen in the seventh century, "*ad modum humani femoris grossæ et circumfusæ plumbo*."<sup>3</sup> It has been stated that numerous vestiges of a severe conflict have been found from time to time near the spot, and a considerable number of oaken stakes have been removed in recent years, in order to facilitate navigation. In Lord Braybrooke's museum, a bronze sword, of the tapering leaf-shaped form, is preserved, said to have been found in the bed of the river, in 1838, near Coway Stakes, as stated in this Journal, vol. vi., p. 198. In the British Museum one of these *sudes* may be seen in fair preservation. It is thus described, as we have been kindly informed by Mr. Franks:—"This stake was on Oct. 16, 1777, drawn out of the bottom of the river Thames, in which at least five-sixths parts of its length were imbedded; it stood with several others which (the water being uncommonly low) were then easily to be seen, about one-third of the river's breadth from its southern bank, at a place called Coway Stakes, a quarter of a mile above Walton Bridge, which Camden in his *Britannia* supposes to be the ford by which Julius Cæsar passed the Thames in his second expedition against the Britons."

Mr. Brackstone exhibited also a talismanic stone, or physical charm, obtained in Dublin, of a heavy material and reddish-brown colour: it was mounted in silver, with a small loop at each end, so as to be attached probably to the person, or worn as an amulet of medicinal virtue. It is in form like a large bean, and it has a kernel or loose stone within it, like the eagle stone or *artites* supposed to be found in the eyry of the eagle. A similar stone is preserved in the British Museum. The object exhibited by Mr. Brackstone was described by the person from whom he purchased it as of a class of relics sometimes preserved as heir-looms in old families in Ireland: they were considered as charms against sickness and disasters, and regarded as in some degree sacred, being used in tendering an oath, or on certain other solemn occasions.

By Mr. E. CLIBBORN, Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy.—Drawings of an oval engraved gem, described as found near Rathfarnham, co. Dublin. It bears an inscription in four lines, which has been thus interpreted by the Rev. E. Hincks, D.D.:—"Belonging to Abdallah, the son of Shibbath, the servant of Zanga. This seal (Mr. Clibborn observed) may

<sup>3</sup> See Camden's *Britannia*, under Surrey. Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. v.; Bede, Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 2. The question of the Coway Stakes has been discussed by

Samuel Gale, *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 188; by Daines Barrington, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 142. See also Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* p. 14.

have been conveyed to Ireland from Spain or Africa, as the letters on it are similar to those found in the Carthaginian inscriptions. Had it been brought to light during the Vallancey period of Irish antiquarianism, it would have been used as a stubborn fact in support of the Phœnician origin of Irish antiquities. Some Roman coins, it may deserve mention, are stated to have been found in the neighbourhood of Rathfarnham.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P.—An interesting, and probably very early cross and crucifix, found last year, at the east end of the south aisle of Llanaber Church, Merionethshire; and a thurible apparently of the thirteenth century, found also in the last year, by a laborer while working near the Church of Corwen, in the same county. Mr. Wynne offered the following observations: "Llanaber is unquestionably the most interesting church in North Wales; in magnificence it certainly does not vie with the large, though very late churches of Mold, Gresford, and Wrexham, but, independently of its great beauty, it has some very peculiar features, as has been suggested by Mr. Freeman, either native Welsh, or imported from Ireland. These were described in a very interesting account of the church by that gentleman in one of the recent volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, but the representation of the roof as there given is incorrect. It is not the good Early English roof of the nave, but that of the chancel, of probably much later date, and of a type, though good, very common in the North Wales churches. I will not dwell upon the generally admirable restorations of Llanaber Church, but proceed to give an account of the finding of this crucifix. At the east end of the south aisle was a rude mass of rubble masonry, which evidently had been the support of an altar-slab and frontal. This it was intended to preserve, but the workmen, when not watched, removed it. The cross was first found in the débris of this altar, and immediately afterwards the image. It seems doubtful, however, whether they belong to each other. The cross measures  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. I should mention that the clerestory windows of Llanaber, early as they appear to be, are insertions subsequent to the erection of the church. The principals of the roof come down immediately over the windows, and the end of each principal is cut off horizontally. Upon removing the plaster underneath the windows, in a line immediately below each principal a square hole was discovered, edged with worked freestone; into these, evidently, had originally been inserted a hammer beam or corbel, supporting the roof above.

"In reference to the suggestion of Mr. Freeman, in his description of Llanaber to which I refer, that there are features essentially Welsh or essentially Irish in the architecture of the church; I may mention, that about the middle of the thirteenth century, or a little later<sup>9</sup> perhaps, a branch of the great Irish sept of the Geraldines, Osborn (or Osber) Fitz Gerald, more commonly called Wyddel—the Irishman—settled in this neighbourhood. In an original tax-roll preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, of about the latter end of the reign of Edward I., those assessed at the highest sums in the parish of Llanaber, are 'Decanus,' doubtless the Rural Dean of

<sup>9</sup> A relic of considerable interest is to be seen placed against the north wall of Llanaber church. It is the stone inscribed CALINTVS MONEDO REGI, stated to have been found at the Cerrig Duon (the

Black Stones) on the sea-shore, about half a mile distant from the church. Mr. Westwood has taken a careful facsimile of this inscription.



Bronze Cross and Early Crucifix Figure, found, in 1868, among the remains of an altar in Llanaber Church, Merionethshire.

(Two-thirds of the original size.)



Ardudwy, and 'Osborn.' Is it not probable that the latter person was founder of the church? If so, Irish features might reasonably be expected in its style. With regard to the Church of Corwen, near which the thurible was found, it has hardly an interesting feature. It is a rather large cruciform church, and probably its walls may be of Early English date, but the windows are of late Perpendicular style, almost debased, with the exception of an Early English triplet over the altar, now walled up. Corwen was the parish of the 'wild Glyndwr,' as he was sometimes styled."



Bronze Censer found in Corwen Church, Merionethshire.

(Half size of the original.)

The bronze thurible found at Corwen is here figured; it measures about 5 inches in height; diameter  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It stands upon three short feet. A portion of bronze chain of very skilful workmanship was found with it; having doubtless served, when entire, for swinging the thurible and raising the pierced cover. These relics have been assigned to the thirteenth, or the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The Very Rev. Dr. Roek remarked that the cross is an example of the description termed the Lorraine Cross, which it is customary to carry in certain services of the church according to the Paris rite. The curious little long-vested crucifix figure does not appear, as he considered, to have originally belonged to the cross.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A., Rector of Greenhithe.—A beautiful devotional folding-tablet, painted by Hans Memling, probably for the private chapel of the Princess Jeanne, daughter of Charles VIII., King of France, and the wife of John II., Duke of Bourbon, about 1450. She died in 1482. The Princess appears on one of the leaves of this exquisite painting, kneeling at a faldstool covered by a cloth or carpet embroidered with the arms of Bourbon, being those of France with a bend *gules*, impaling

the royal arms of France. Above, the Supreme Being is seen among clouds, and the Virgin standing on a crescent. In front of the faldstool is an angel holding an escutcheon of the same impaled arms; and behind the princess appears St. John the Baptist. On the other leaf is represented the Crucifixion; among the numerous figures surrounding the cross, one has been conjectured to be a portrait of Louis XI. Longinus is seen holding the spear to pierce the Saviour's side; he is on horseback, and represented as blind; another mounted soldier directs the point of the weapon, whilst Longinus touches his eye with the fingers of his left hand. Mr. G. Scharf, F.S.A., observed that this remarkable production of early art had been exhibited, by Mr. Fuller Russell's kindness, in the Manchester Exhibition, of which it formed one of the principal ornaments in the series of rare examples to which it belongs. Hans Memling, as he is called by Waagen, sometimes known by the name Hemelinck, was the second great painter after Van Eyck who adopted the new process of art. His masterpiece is the celebrated altar-piece at Bruges. According to the legend of Longinus, by whom our Lord's side was pierced, he was blind, and his sight was restored by the holy blood mingled with water which fell upon his eyes, as here delineated.

By Mr. J. H. LE KEUX.—Drawings of large initial letters and alphabets of letters of smaller size, the whole taken from a Choral Book in the Church of St. Mark at Florence, attributed to Fra Angelico. Date, fourteenth century.

By Mr. WEBB.—A plaque painted in enamel, probably by Nardon or Bernard Pénicaud, of Limoges, early in the sixteenth century. (See De Laborde, *Notice des Emaux au Louvre*, p. 132.) The subject is the Nativity; the Virgin and Joseph are seen kneeling in adoration; on one side are angels with musical instruments, on the other the shepherds, one of whom plays on the bagpipes. Beneath is the inscription O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI, and on the building seen in the background is the Angelical Salutation. The painting is enriched with round ornaments à *paillons*, resembling jewels; the reverse of the plate is mottled with dingy purple and green colour. Dimensions, 10 in. by 8½ in.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A casket painted in enamel, a production of the school of Limoges in the sixteenth century. It belongs to William Jones, Esq., of Clytha, Monmouthshire, and has long been in the possession of his family. The subjects, ten in number, are painted in grisaille on a rich blue ground, and represent the culture of the vine, children picking grapes, carrying the fruit to the vat, and treading it therein. In one compartment a child appears wielding a club to smash a snail, probably as being noxious to the vine; in another four children are represented, as it were, acting in pantomime the drunkenness of Noah. On the cover, ridged like a roof, are introduced busts of a young man and a damsel, surrounded by garlands. A casket of similar character was to be seen in the Debruge Collection.

By Mr. EDWARD KITE, of Devizes.—Several specimens of the illustrations prepared for his forthcoming series, "The Brasses of Wiltshire," to be published by subscription. (See p. 91 of this volume.) Among those produced was the remarkable memorial of Robert Wyvil, Bishop of Salisbury, representing that prelate standing within a castellated structure, at the gate of which appears his champion, with buckler and the singular weapon, the *uncinus* used in judicial conflict. Also a copy of the brass of

Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, in Constance Cathedral, from Mr. Waller's engraving published in the *Archæologia*; and a singular brass in Broughton Gifford Church, Wilts, the memorial of Robert Longe, who died in 1620, "In pious memory of whome his mornfull wife erected this more loving then costly representation." Behind an inscribed altar-tomb are two figures, Death, armed with a long javelin, and a herald in a tabard of the royal arms; the latter bears in his right hand a mace with the head charged with the royal arms surmounted by a crown; and in his left a number of escutcheons; from among these Death draws one with the arms of Longe. The javelin and mace are held saltire-wise over the tomb, with an inscribed scroll flowing from them on either side. The intention of this quaint device is thus explained in the inscription:—

"The Life of Maen is a trewe Lottarie,  
Where venterouse Death draws forth lotts short & Longe,  
Yet free from fraude and partiall flatterie,  
Hee shu't'd Sheilds of seuerall size amonge,  
Drewe Longe: and soe drewe longer his short daies,  
Th'auncient of daies beyonde all time to praise."

March 4, 1859.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, ESQ., M.P., V.P.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Announcements were made regarding the Annual Meeting to be held in the present year in Cumberland; and the following friendly intimation was made by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, through their Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Collingwood Bruce.

"This Society learn with pleasure that the Archæological Institute are about again to visit the North of England,—Carlisle being selected as the place of their Country Meeting next summer—and desire to state to the Council of the Archæological Institute that they will be happy to co-operate in any way with them and the Carlisle Committee, so as to contribute to the success of the Meeting."

A requisition was also received from the Architectural and Archæological Society for the county of Buckingham, through the Rev. W. Hastings Kelke, Honorary Secretary, expressing in very kind terms the desire that the Institute should hold the Annual Meeting for 1860 at Aylesbury; pointing out the numerous objects of local attraction, and tendering every assurance of friendly co-operation.

Thanks were cordially voted in acknowledgment of these gratifying and friendly communications.

MR. ARTHUR TROLLOPE sent a short account of some interesting discoveries of Roman remains recently brought to light at Lincoln. In excavations for forming a cellar in Monson Street two fragments of an inscribed sepulchral slab had been discovered, of which Mr. Trollope promised to send a photograph for a future meeting. Two cinerary urns, a jug of fictile Roman ware, and four glass ampullæ, of the class of objects usually described as lachrymatories, were also found at the same spot. Evidence of a strong fire having been made there was clearly perceived; large quantities of charred wood, ashes, &c., were found, with stones

showing, by their red colour, that they had been exposed to great heat ; there appeared also the foundations of some building, possibly of a tomb. Mr. Trollope observed that all the Roman sepulchral slabs found in this locality had been broken in pieces, evidently on purpose ; and he possesses several fragments found there some years since, among which he hoped to discover the missing portion of the memorial lately brought to light, but hitherto his search had proved fruitless. A second sepulchral inscription has subsequently been found at Lincoln ; both of these will be figured hereafter in this Journal.—Mr. Trollope sent also a drawing of an elegantly fashioned bronze fibula found, in December last, at Greetwell near Lincoln. (See wood-cut original size.) It is enriched with enamel, white and blue, of two shades. The annular ornament is also filled in with blue enamel. All the relics of this class, Mr. Trollope remarked, which had fallen under his observation at Lincoln, had been found with Roman objects, and in proximity to Roman masonry, &c. These enamels appear to be comparatively of rare occurrence in Italy, but such examples of the art of enameling in Roman times have frequently been found in this country and in France.



Mr. ALBERT WAY gave the following notice of a remarkable discovery of torc-armlets in North Britain, and exhibited a pair of those ornaments, which bear some resemblance to one figured in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 53, and another, figured in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, p. 35. The torcs exhibited differed from these chiefly in being of smaller dimensions, and the spirals are more closely twisted.

In the spring of 1857 a hoard of gold armlets was turned up by the plough on a farm in the parish of Urquhart, co. Elgin, and many were destroyed or lost before their value became known. One, presented by the Rev. H. Walker of Urquhart to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, was found by a farmer at his stable-door, having been thrown aside by one of the herd-boys. On seeing it, Mr. Walker made inquiries regarding the remainder, but the value of the relics having become known, suspicion arose that some claim might be made for recovery of this Treasure-trove, and it was asserted that they had all been lost or given away. It was ascertained that "a good large gowpinnell" (a handfull) had been found, amounting to more than three dozen armlets, all, as far as could be ascertained, similar in style and pattern to those exhibited ; with the exception that some had simple hooks at the extremities, serving to clasp the armlet on the arm, whilst in a few instances these hooks terminated in little knobs. The farm where the discovery occurred is called "The Law," from a conspicuous tumulus, encircled at the base by a path-way, which may have measured formerly four or five feet in width, but the plough has encroached upon it. The Law measures about 15 feet in height, and 150 feet in circumference ; the summit commands an extensive view. At about forty yards from the base of this tumulus the gold torcs were found. A small cairn had formerly covered the place of their deposit, but it had been removed when the land was brought into cultivation a few years since. There is a local tradition that a golden cradle lies buried in

the Law. No other remains are known to have been found upon the farm, but on an adjacent farm about a quarter of a mile from the Law, a sepulchral cist was brought to light in trenching. It contained a skeleton entire, and placed in a sitting or crouching posture; a necklace of jet, similar to one figured in Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 294, lay with the remains, and some of the beads are preserved in the Elgin Museum. About half a mile south of the Law another tumulus exists, which was opened about twenty years since, and a skeleton was found deposited in a cist: the skull was perfect; it was broken with considerable difficulty by help of a hammer, and the parish Dominie pronounced the thick-skulled hero to have been a Dane. On a subsequent occasion an attempt was made to penetrate into the Law, but the operation was abandoned at the request of the tenant, some superstitious apprehensions having been aroused.

Mr J. GREEN WALLER communicated an account of a sepulchral brass in Belgium, of which a rubbing was exhibited.

"The interesting example of mediæval art is from St. Mary's Hospital, Ypres. It consists of an inscription only, but very elaborately designed. The fillet on which the memorial is inscribed is carried round in a waved line, and the intervening spaces contain a series of subjects illustrative of the Ages of Life. This subject, as you are aware, was a favourite one in church decoration, but the instances that now remain lie far apart from each other, and in England, I believe, we have only one instance, that in the clerestory of Canterbury Cathedral. I except, of course, manuscripts and old prints.

"Three compartments are devoted to Infancy. The first is a mother or nurse, sitting before a fire on which is a caldron; a naked child is before her; behind her is the cradle or cot. The next subject is the child learning to walk with a go-cart, the nurse looking on, her attitude seems as if anxious. The third shows two children pursuing a butterfly with their hoods.

"We now come to the succeeding stage. The child is with a pedagogue learning to read. The next compartment has two children playing together walking on stilts. The third, represents a child playing with a whipping top. Thus Youth is illustrated.

"Manhood next succeeds, or rather Young Manhood. The first shows two young men in close-fitting jerkins playing together with sword and buckler. In the next a youth appears walking with a lady, perhaps courting. In the last he is piping with pipe and tabor. The lover appears also in the two succeeding compartments. In the first he is playing at draughts or chess, or perhaps the game of *tables*. In the next he is tendering his proposals in a decided manner, by offering the lady a ring, and her attitude is expressive of astonishment and surprise, and a little comic.

"Mature Manhood next appears, shown in two subjects. The first appears to be a merchant with a broad-brimmed hat, long gown, and an anelace hanging in front. He is attended by a youth, with a long sword under his arm. Next, he is telling his beads at the entrance of an oratory.

"The last scenes of life are shown in three subjects. First, is a man bending with age, with pouch at his side, and leaning on a staff. Next, a man in bed, with priests in attendance, at whose hands he is receiving the offices of the church. Lastly, is a funereal hearse with two candles burning at its side.

"The ornamental portion of the inscription is very beautifully designed, and in a style purely Flemish, reminding us of old tapestry hangings. The inscription is in the vernacular dialect, and the date is 1489."

A short report was received from Dr. JOHNSON, of Shrewsbury, regarding the successful progress of the excavations at Wroxeter, undertaken through the spirited proposition originated by Mr. BOTFIELD. During the gradual development of the plan of the ancient buildings, Roman relics, ornaments, and coins had been collected in great variety, and sketches of the most remarkable of these were sent by Dr. Johnson; the whole of the objects discovered will be preserved in the Shrewsbury Museum. The investigation of this great Roman city has been taken up with spirit in Shropshire, and it deservedly claims the co-operation of archaeologists to supply sufficient funds for the complete examination of so extensive a site.

The Rev. W. H. GUNNER communicated a transcript of the Will of John Fromond, accompanied by observations on his benefactions to Winchester College. (Printed in this volume, p. 166.)

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM brought a curious inventory of the effects of Robert Bingham, of Melcumb Bingham, Dorset, dated 4th of Elizabeth, 1562. A ground-plan was given of his residence, which has undergone scarcely any changes, showing the various chambers enumerated in the description of the furniture and household appliances. This curious illustration of domestic manners in the sixteenth century will be given hereafter.

Mr. ALBERT WAY then read notices of some interesting portraits of the numerous members of the Honing family, settled at Carlton and Eye, in Suffolk. The following portraits were exhibited.—By Mr. Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A., a copy of the painting in possession of the Marquis of Donegal, representing William Honings of Carlton, Clerk of the Privy Council 37 Hen. VIII., his wife, fourteen sons and two daughters. This curious painting is minutely described in the *Collectanea Topographica*, vol. vii., p. 394.—By William Russell, Esq., Accountant-General, a portrait on panel of Edward Honing, one of the sons of the aforesaid William; he appears with the white bâton of a military commander in his right hand, and in one of the corners of the picture is introduced the siege of a seaport town, with the inscription *FATO LVBENTER CEDENS TAM MARE QVAM TERRA*. Dated 1585, ætatis suæ 26.—By William Campion, Esq., of Danny Park, Sussex, another portrait of the same person, similar in costume and all the accessories, date, &c.—By David Laing, Esq., Signet Library, Edinburgh, a small painting, portraits of a young gentleman and lady of the Honing family, identified, by the name accompanying each individual portrayed in Lord Donegal's picture, as Roger, thirteenth son of William Honing of Carlton, and Jane his sister, supposed to have died on her wedding-day. An escutcheon of many quarterings appears on each of these paintings, of which, and of the exploits of the persons commemorated, some more detailed account may be given hereafter.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—A stone celt or axe-head, stated to have been found about August, 1858, in digging for flints on the Haldon Hills, near Exeter. It was reported that fragments of an urn were found with the celt, which is of a dark material, resembling touch-stone or fine-grained

basalt.—A small metal vase of globular form, described as having been dug up, in a cottage garden at Watermoor near Cirencester, with some broken pottery and a few coins which had not been identified. The vase, formed by hammering up, seemed to be of copper, or metal with slight alloy, of Oriental appearance, and had been silvered or tinned.

By Mr. ALBERT WAX.—Two caltraps, and an iron bolt-head of great strength, length about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the four-sided point still shows the marks of the hammer and retains its sharpness. These relics are part of a large store of military appliances and armour found in course of excavations at the Castle of Gundisau, near Russikon, Canton of Zürich, which was burned about 1340, whilst the lord of the place and his retinue were at church. Recent explorations have brought to light swords, weapons, bolt and arrow-heads, hauberks, plate armour, &c., with a profusion of tools and various stores of a fortress in the fourteenth century. These relics, which possess considerable interest, on account of the circumstances by which their date is so nearly ascertained, are now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich. The massive bolt-heads discovered, had probably served for the missiles thrown by the powerful *springaus* and *balistæ*, mentioned in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 383, vol. xv., p. 355. Mr. Hewitt offered the following observations on this object.—“There can be no doubt that it is a *donndaine*. In the Inventory of the Bastide de Saint Anthoine, printed in the Treatise on Artillery by the Emperor of the French, we find ‘gros traits en façon de *donndaines* ferrées pour grosses arbalestres.’ And Caxton, in the *Fayttes of Chivalry*, mentions ‘quarelles called dondaynes or grete shot.’ The springald was no doubt the engine for which they were devised. The Dovor inventory (Arch. Journ. vol. xi., p. 383), has ‘cofres pleinz des quareles pour espringales.’ Guiart mentions them as ‘empennés d’airain,’ and the Bologna inventory, given by the Emperor, mentions ‘viritones a balistis grossis impennatos partim de ramo.’ The relic from Gundisau is, so far as I know, the only *donndaine* yet seen in England.”

Mr. Wax brought also several of the facsimile plates prepared for the proposed publication of a Roll of Arms preserved at Zürich, measuring nearly 13 feet in length. It comprises about 587 coats of sovereign princes and noble European families. The date of this valuable document is about 1350. The Society of Antiquaries of Zürich propose to publish an exact facsimile in colours. This roll will be of very great utility to antiquaries in identifying works of ancient art, monuments, &c. The impression will be limited to 125 copies, for subscribers only, whose names may be sent to the Secretaries of the Institute, or to Dr. Keller, at Zürich.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A collection of pewter vessels, &c., made at Nuremberg, of which he gave the following description:—“An oblong pewter cistern and tray, for washing and draining glasses, of Nuremberg work in the early part of the seventeenth century. The tray, 18 in. long by 12 wide, is ornamented with engraved scroll-work and foliage, and has in the centre a medallion with an engraved portrait of Gustavus Adolphus. The cistern, 12 in. long by 6 high and 6 wide, is ornamented with similar engraved work, and has on one side a portrait of Count Pappenheim, and on the other that of another general in the army of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years’ War.—A small tankard formed of wooden staves, and bottom like a pail, held together by bands of pewter at top and bottom, and having the sides inlaid with pewter scroll-work: within it is

pitched. These tankards are called by the Germans 'Pech krüge,' or pitch tankards, the pitch having been thought to give an agreeable flavour to the beverage.—Eight small ornamented pewter plates, two of them with scalloped edges, 8 in. in diameter, having in relief on the brim escutcheons of the arms of the Swiss cantons, surrounded by ornamental scroll-work, among which are small shields, bearing the marks of the matrix. One plate has in the middle in relief a medallion containing three shields; the upper one surmounted by a crown bears the imperial eagle; the other two, the arms of the canton of Berne, a bear. On the other is a medallion with the three heroes of the Swiss Union, in 1308. They were probably made at Berne early in the seventeenth century. One of these is figured in the 'Moyen age et la Renaissance.'—Two imperial plates, or 'Kaiser teller,'  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, having round the brim medallions of the six electors on horseback, with shields of their electoral arms. The spaces between are ornamented with masks and scroll-work. In the centre of one, which bears date 1622, is a medallion of the Emperor Ferdinand II. on horseback; and on the other, one of Ferdinand III., who succeeded him in 1637.—Two Apostle plates, one  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, having oval medallions of the twelve apostles round the brim, and a central medallion of the Resurrection. The other, 6 in. in diameter, with circular medallions of the apostles on the brim, and in the centre, one with the figure of the Saviour, holding in one hand the imperial orb, and having the other raised in the act of blessing.—A plate, 7 in. in diameter, having on the brim medallions of the four seasons, the intervening spaces are filled with masks, scroll-work, and foliage. In the centre, a medallion with the creation of Eve from the side of Adam.—Another plate, 7 in. in diameter; the brim ornamented with a rich, broad band of flowers and foliage in relief. The designs of all are elegant and the work very good. They all bear the mark of Nuremberg, where I purchased them twenty years ago."

The Rev. R. B. CATON communicated through Mr. C. S. Greaves a notice and representation of a rudely carved human head, found in February, 1855, in a cavity on the Black Lead, Creswick Creek, Melbourne. It lay at a depth of 60 feet 6 inches from the surface, at the bottom of a drift which formed a superstratum to the black clay. In this and adjacent cavities large portions of wood and "honeysuckle-cones" were found at various times, at depths from 50 to 80 feet. The carving is of wood, supposed to be the root of one of the Eucalyptus tribe; its substance has been so changed by heat, by pressure, or other causes, that it has been converted into graphite. A solemn declaration by the finders, made before three justices at Creswick, accompanied the engraving of this singular relic, with affirmatory letters from Mr. Burr, District Surveyor, and another gentleman, who had carefully inquired into the alleged facts. A large quantity of wood had been found, as they stated, changed in like manner in appearance and substance, so as to be converted apparently into graphite. This wood belongs to genera and species identical with those now growing in that part of New Holland, namely, Eucalyptus, Casuarinæ, and Banksia; the cones of the latter are found in profusion. A specimen, in fine preservation, was sent with this notice of the discovery: this cone, however, presented no appearance of any such change as has been described. The head is rather smaller than life-size: the hair and beard appear trimmed close, the moustaches are large and regular. Graphite, or Black Lead, is a peculiar form of carbon, combined with iron, silica, and alumina.



# Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

## ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1858.

### RECEIPTS.

Balance at Coutts' Bank, December 31, 1857	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears	50	7	5
Receipts for Sale of Works published by the Institute	446	19	0
Entrance Fees	39	6	0
Lido Competitions	18	18	0
Net Balance, Bath Meeting, including Donations in aid of Local expenses	52	10	0
Amount advanced by the Secretary for Petty Cash to the end of the Year 1858	62	4	0
Sundries	14	9	6
	1	6	0
	£685	10	11

### EXPENDITURE.

House Expenses:	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Rent	160	0	0			
Secretary's Salary	212	10	0			
Purchase of Books for the Library	15	15	6			
Stationery	9	10	4			
				291	15	10
Publication Account:						
Printing Archaeological Journal	170	0	0			
Drawing and Engraving	49	0	0			
Lithography	81	3	6			
Purchase of Salisbury and Bristol volumes, &c., kept on sale for convenience of members	18	9	6			
				268	13	0
Petty Cash Disbursements:						
Housekeeper's wages and disbursements	22	0	8½			
Attendant's ditto	19	10	0			
Postage of Journal	14	7	6			
Delivery of ditto in Town, and messages	7	9	10			
Coal, Gas, &c.	4	14	5½			
Insurance of Rooms, Library, &c.	3	0	0			
Sundries, including carriage of objects exhibited at Meetings, postage of Letters, &c.	18	7	0			
				89	9	6
Balance at Coutts' Bank, December 31, 1858	36	1	7			
	£685	19	11			

Audited, and found correct, May 27, 1859.

(Signed)

J. E. NIGHTINGALE.

F. L. BARNWELL.

} Auditors.

## Archæological Intelligence.

THE interest aroused by the recent explorations at Wroxeter has led to the nomination of a very influential Metropolitan Committee for promoting the excavations on the site of this, one of the largest of the Roman towns in this island. The researches have hitherto been carried on by the zeal and activity of a few individuals, stimulated by the liberality and praiseworthy exertions of Mr. Botfield, M.P. They have been supported chiefly by local contributions, through the energetic proceedings of Dr. Henry Johnson, the Secretary of the Excavations Committee, and the able direction given to the operations by Mr. Thomas Wright, whose discourses on these remarkable vestiges of Roman occupation in his native county have been justly received with no small measure of local interest. The time has, however, arrived when the historical importance of these explorations of Uriconium can no longer be doubtful, and it becomes necessary to seek the means of giving a more extended character to researches, the interest of which has been in the first instance cautiously tested. The Metropolitan Committee would, accordingly, make an appeal to the public, and more especially to antiquaries throughout England: and they invite all who take an interest in National History and Antiquities, to give timely assistance in promoting an undertaking which has already been attended with very interesting results. Contributions are received by the Bankers of the Committee, Messrs. Masterman and Co., London, the Hon. Secretary, Frederick Hindmarsh, Esq., 17 Bucklersbury, City, or by Henry Johnson, Esq., M.D., Shrewsbury.

We have much gratification in advertising to the recent completion of the "Illustrations of Roman London," by Mr. Charles Roach Smith. This valuable contribution to the memorials of National Antiquities, which the author has so earnestly labored for many years to rescue from contempt and oblivion, will take its place among the most instructive accessions to Archæological literature, in company with the "Inventorium Sepulchrale" and the "Collectanea," which have justly won for Mr. Roach Smith a foremost rank amongst European archæologists. The volume, illustrated by the skilful hand of Mr. Fairholt, has been printed exclusively for the subscribers; it comprises forty-one plates, with numerous engravings on wood, presenting a very attractive combination of the innumerable vestiges of Roman occupation in the metropolis. It may, however, claim far higher consideration as destined to exemplify, in a striking point of view, the characteristic details of Roman manners, arts, and usages,—the evidences for an unwritten chapter in the history of progressive civilisation in Britain.

The Abbé Cochet, whose reputation as a sagacious and indefatigable antiquary has been so well established by his works on the Sepulchral Antiquities of the earlier periods in the North of France, has produced his promised publication—"Le Tombeau de Childéric I. Roi des Francs." He has combined the extended results of those scientific investigations, in which he has for some years taken so prominent a position, and has thrown a fresh and important light upon one of the most interesting illustrations of the Merovingian period. This volume, in 8vo, with not

less than 487 illustrations in the text, has been published by M. Delevoeye, at Dieppe, and may be obtained through Messrs. Parker, 377, Strand, Messrs. Williams and Norgate, or other booksellers.

It is proposed to publish, by subscription (price not to exceed ten shillings), *The Domesday Book of Cornwall*, in a readable and popular form, with notices illustrative of the Topography, Family History, Heraldry, and Architecture of the County generally. The volume will be edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, whose name is well known in connection with Historical Literature, and who has recently produced the work by Capgrave, "*Liber de Illustribus Henricis*," in the Historical Series under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Subscribers' names are received by Heard and Sons, Truro.

The antiquary who takes interest in examples of Sphragistic Art will learn with satisfaction that a work has been announced by M. Hermand and M. L. Deschamps de Pas, two able French archaeologists, entitled, "*Sigillographie de la Ville de St. Omer*." The perfection in design and art displayed in the seals of the north of France and Flanders is well known to collectors, and the rich municipal archives of St. Omer, with the Charters of the Great Monastery of St. Bertin, will doubtless render the proposed volume a very valuable exemplification of seals in every class. The series will be published by subscription, forming a quarto volume, with forty plates; price 30 francs. Subscribers' names are received by M. Didron, at Paris, or by the author at St. Omer, Rue St. Bertin, 46.

The value and extreme rarity of the enlarged edition of Hutchins' History of Dorset, namely, that edited by Gough, in four volumes folio, is well known to all who are conversant with Topographical Literature. Messrs. Shipp and Hodson, of Blandford, announce for immediate publication, by subscription, a reprint of that valuable work, with a continuation to the present time, and upwards of 500 engravings. The work will be issued in twelve parts, price one guinea each, to the subscribers only.

We have pleasure in inviting the notice of our readers to the publication of the first volume of the "*Archæologia Cantiana*, being Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society." Among the contributors are the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Dr. Stanley, Mr. Wykeham Martin, Mr. Foss, Mr. Hussey, Mr. Blencowe, Mr. C. Roach Smith, the Rev. Beale Poste, Mr. Willement, and the indefatigable antiquary the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, to whose exertions the establishment of this important provincial Society is mainly due. We hope to advert hereafter more at length to the contents of this attractive volume.

We would invite the notice of the Members of the Institute to the recent publication, by Messrs. Constable, of the Catalogue of the Museum formed at Edinburgh, during the Meeting of the Institute, under the patronage of the Prince Consort, in 1856. It is copiously illustrated, and presents an attractive record of a very remarkable collection. The provincial Museums of Scotland, it may be remembered, contributed largely from their stores of ancient relics and works of art, with objects of historical interest sent with great liberality by public institutions and the representatives of many of the most ancient families in Scotland. The number of copies printed is not large, and those who neglected to give encouragement to Messrs. Constable's undertaking by becoming subscribers to the work, may soon find difficulty in obtaining this memorial of the Meeting of the Institute in North Britain.

# The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1859.

## ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN HODGSON HINDE, ESQ.,

Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

IN the sketch, which I offer to the members of the Archæological Institute, of the early history of Cumberland, it is not my intention to dwell at any length upon the Ante-Roman and Roman periods. Of the former we know almost nothing, and although the memorials of the latter are both numerous and interesting, they belong rather to the antiquarian than the historical section of our inquiries.

There can be little doubt that Cumberland formed a portion of the territory of the Brigantes, the largest and most powerful of the native states of Britain, for although seven at least out of the nine cities or towns assigned to them by Ptolemy lay on the east of the chain of hills which intersects this district of the island, we are expressly told by the same authority, that the possessions of the Brigantes extended from sea to sea. Of the two remaining towns, one has been allocated in Lancashire, the other in Westmoreland; in both cases indeed on very imperfect evidence, but no case whatever can be made out for placing either of them within the limits of this county.

Under the Romans the most important military stations in Cumberland were those on the line of the great mural barrier,—at Burdoswald, Walton, Stanwix, Burgh-upon-Sands, Drumburgh, and Bowness; but of these the ancient name of the first only, Amboglanna, has been ascertained

<sup>1</sup> This memoir was communicated to the Historical Section, at the meeting of the Institute in Carlisle, July, 1859.

with certainty ; the testimony of inscribed stones, which has enabled our antiquarians to identify all the mural stations in Northumberland, entirely failing us after our first step on Cumbrian ground.

On the sea-coast we find the stations of Ellenborough and Moresby, the former amongst the noblest monuments of the imperial sway in Britain, and inferior to few in its treasures of inscribed and sculptured stones ; but nothing has yet been found to lead to the absolute identification of either with any of the names in the *Notitia Imperii*. The same remark applies to the numerous stations of which traces are yet to be seen in the interior of the county. The remains of several Roman roads, more or less perfect, exist in Cumberland ; but of these one only occurs in the Itinerary of Antoninus, forming the Western route from York and the South of Britain to the extremity of the Province. The stations indicated in the Itinerary were not necessarily military posts, and it is very doubtful whether Carlisle, which lies in this route, and is described as *Luguvallium*, was one. It certainly had no garrison when the *Notitia* was compiled, towards the close of the imperial government, but relied for its defence on the Wall to the north and the adjacent station at Stanwix. The vestiges of Roman occupation undoubtedly bespeak a town of considerable magnitude and importance, occupying as it did the same position on the great western thoroughfare which Corbridge did on the eastern. The remains at Corbridge, as they are described to us previous to their disturbance by King John, in a vain search for hidden treasure, were at least as extensive as at Carlisle ; but Corbridge was not a *Notitia* station, nor, as far as we know, a fortified post. Its shape was irregular, more nearly circular than rectangular, lying like Carlisle within the Wall, but somewhat more distant and less directly connected with a mural station. Both places, although unoccupied by a stationary military force, were doubtless the regular halting-places of the Legions on the occasion of an expedition against the Caledonians. At each, it is probable, commissariat magazines were established for storing the produce of the fertile country around ; and thus we may account for the existence of a large population at both places, although neither of them seems to have been a British town, and neither is described as a Roman garrison.

For the gradual enlargement of their territories in Britain, the Romans were indebted not less to diplomacy than to arms. On the invasion of the island in the reign of Claudius, the powerful tribe of the Iceni was deluded into a false security by a treaty of amity, until the neighbouring states were subdued ; and when at last they were roused to resistance by the encroachments of the invaders, they found themselves isolated from their compatriots, and unable alone to offer an effectual opposition to the imperial legions.

A similar compact was entered into by the Brigantes, with the same ultimate result, although their subjugation was much longer deferred. Seven years after the invasion, Ostorius Scapula, the successor of Aulus Plautius, the first governor, was recalled from an expedition against the Cangi, whose territories extended towards the shores of the Irish Channel, by intelligence of disturbances amongst the Brigantes, which he hastened to put down. The terms of the alliance, which must have been arranged previous to this date (A. D. 50), seem to have been submission on one side and protection on the other, and the consequences which followed are exactly paralleled by those which we have so often seen under the treaties of the British Government of our own day and the native princes of the protected states of India.

Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, having by her disreputable and vicious conduct alienated the affections of her subjects, was driven from her throne, and claimed the aid of the Romans which was due by treaty, and which she had further earned by the betrayal of Caractacus, King of the Silures, the heroic defender of his country, who after his defeat had sought an asylum at her court. The Silures made common cause with the Brigantes under Venusius, the repudiated husband of Cartismandua ; the struggle was long and obstinate. "At first," says Tacitus, "the result was doubtful, but the termination was satisfactory." It is doubtful whether Cartismandua lived to reap the benefit of the success of her allies, for the war with the Brigantes extended almost, if not quite, to the government of Agricola, which commenced A. D. 78. Two years later that illustrious general marched through the Brigantian territory to gather fresh laurels in his campaigns against the Caledonians. Whether he took the eastern or western route can only be matter for

conjecture, but it is not improbable that both lines of communication were now for the first time made available, and the basis of operations extended over Cumberland as well as Northumberland.

As late as the reign of Antoninus Pius the Brigantes still enjoyed the semblance of a domestic government, but half of their territory was taken from them by that emperor, as a punishment for their temerity in invading the country of the Gadeni, a tribe who like themselves were placed under the protection of the Roman government, and paid it tribute. The Gadeni, or, as they are called by Pausanias, to whom we are indebted for the above information, Genuini, lay to the north of the Brigantes, beyond the Wall of Hadrian, but within the barrier erected by Lollius Urbicus, the lieutenant of Antoninus, between the Forth and the Clyde. It was therefore in all probability in the latter reign that they first became tributary. The territory thus annexed seems to have included the city of York, which in the reign of Severus became the seat of the imperial court, as it was afterwards under Constantius and his son Constantine. How long the northern section, which necessarily included Cumberland, continued under the administration of its own princes is uncertain, but all real power must have been in the hands of the Romans at all events from the time of Hadrian, whose Wall and stations gave him the complete command of the adjacent country. Of the presence of his troops, as well as of those of Severus and his successors, we have abundant memorials in the inscriptions which have been discovered throughout the district. That the garrisons on the Wall were maintained to the latest period of the Roman dominion is clear from the *Notitia*, nor is it quite certain that they were even then withdrawn. We know, indeed, that the Legions were recalled, but these garrisons, which were composed of auxiliary forces drawn from all quarters of the empire, as well in Europe as in Africa, had for a long series of years been stationary in the same locality, often in the same fort, and it is not improbable that they ultimately remained amongst a people with whom they must already have become to a great extent amalgamated. The effect on the population of the intermarriage of these foreign troops has been the subject of much discussion, and its influence on the national character perhaps a little exaggerated ; but whatever

its extent, there can be no doubt, from the number of garrisons in this district, that it operated here in as great a degree as in any part of the island.

The earliest Saxon settlement in Britain is generally assigned to the year 449, about 40 years after the departure of the last Roman Legion, and this date I am disposed to consider historical, notwithstanding the confident opinions to the contrary which have been put forward of late years. Towards the close of the fifth century a settlement was effected on the shores of the Frith of Forth, and about the middle of the sixth Ida laid the foundation of a kingdom, which ultimately included the vast district which extends from the Humber and the Mersey on the south, to the Forth and Clyde on the north. Until the reign of his grandson, Ethelfrith, the Saxon conquests in this quarter appear to have been confined to the east coast; but under this monarch operations were conducted, as we learn from Beda, on a much larger scale. "He conquered," we are told, "more territory from the Britons than any other king or tribune; of this he colonised a portion with his followers, the remainder he left in the hands of its native possessors, on payment of tribute." The tributary states appear to have extended over the whole of the western portion of the kingdom of Northumberland, from the Clyde to the Mersey, for within this district we find traces of British nationality at a much later period. To the north, the Britons of Strathclyde frequently occur in history, sometimes in rebellion against their conquerors, at others, engaged in wars under their own kings against the neighbouring states. To the south, we have evidence of a kindred population in Lancashire, in a charter of Ecgfrid, King of Northumberland, to the church of Lindisfarne, in which he grants to St. Cuthbert, Cartmel, in that county, "*with all its Britons.*"

These northern Britons are called by historians "*Cumbri*," a designation we first meet with in the chronicle of Ethelwerd, who applies it to the Britons of Strathclyde, in describing their sufferings from the invasion of the Danish Halfdene, A.D. 875. Joceline, of Furness, in his life of Kentigern, speaks of Strathclyde as *Regnum Cambrense*, *Regnum Cambrinum*, and *Cambria*, but he is unsupported by the authority of any earlier or more authentic writer. *Cumbria* was never applied as a territorial distinction to any portion of the land



of the Cumbri, until a more extended kingdom was formed under this name, by the union of Strathclyde with Galloway and modern Cumberland, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer. Egfrid, who reigned over Northumberland from 670 to 685, seems to have destroyed the last semblance of a domestic government in all the petty states of the Cumbri, with the exception of Strathclyde. Besides the grant of Cartmel already referred to, he bestowed on St. Cuthbert Carlisle and the surrounding district, whilst Galloway was after his time erected into a distinct see, and is described by Beda as an integral portion of Bernicia.

Cuthbert turned the munificence of his sovereign to good account by founding a nunnery and a school at Carlisle, the former of which was presided over by the sister of Queen Eormenburga, who was herself an inmate within its walls at the time of her husband's fatal expedition against the Picts. A monastery also existed here, but whether it was of St. Cuthbert's foundation is uncertain. At the time of the Danish invasion in 875, in which so many of the northern monasteries were destroyed, Eadred was abbot of Carlisle. This holy man, who was surnamed Lulisc, from Luel the ancient name of his city, was consulted by Eardulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, as to the best course to be pursued under the circumstances of peril in which the monastery of the latter was placed. The result of their consultations was a resolution that the monks should seek safety in flight, carrying with them the body of their patron saint, and other relics belonging to their house. The wanderings of these pious enthusiasts during a period of seven years have furnished employment for the pen of more than one historian. During the whole time Eadred Lulisc shared their toils and dangers, and afterwards took a prominent part in the establishment of Guthred, a Christian king, on the throne of Northumberland, and the transfer of the bishopric, which had twice suffered from the sacrilegious violence of the Danes, from Lindisfarne to a less exposed site at Chester-le-Street.

No effort was made to restore the religious and educational establishments at Carlisle, which were suffered to remain in ruins till a period long subsequent to the Norman conquest. Guthred's dominions were confined to the district south of the Tyne, which had been divided among the followers of Halfdene, and contained a numerous Danish population ;

whilst to the north of that river a petty Saxon state continued to exist under the government of its native princes, at first dignified with the title of kings, but afterwards described as dukes, whose capital was at Bamburgh. Carlisle, with the adjacent district, was not included in either of these governments, although it had formed part of Northumberland previous to its dismemberment. When next heard of, it was incorporated with Galloway and Strathclyde, under the name of Cumbria. This new kingdom was from the first intimately connected with Scotland, and although it is frequently mentioned by our own historians, the only circumstantial account of its origin is found in the Scottish Chronicle of Fordun. At the time of the Danish ravages, which were not confined to the eastern district of Northumberland and the vicinity of Carlisle, but extended to Galloway and Strathclyde, the throne of Scotland was occupied by Gregory, a man of great vigour and enterprise, who not only maintained his authority within his own dominions, but had considerably extended their limits, whilst his powerful contemporary the English Alfred had been compelled to make large concessions of territory to the invaders. To this monarch it is not unnatural that the Cumbrian members of the kingdom of Northumberland should turn for support, when they found their late superiors not only unable to maintain their sway, but to protect either themselves or their dependents. That such was actually the case we learn from Fordun, who informs us that "the indigenous inhabitants of certain provinces voluntarily submitted themselves to Gregory, with their lands and possessions, offering to him an oath of fealty and homage, thinking it preferable to be subject to the Scots, who, although enemies, were Christians, than to infidel pagans." Some authorities represent Gregory not as King of Scotland, but merely as the guardian of Eocha, the son of Kun, King of Strathclyde; and nephew and heir of Constantine II., King of Scotland, but whether he held the sceptre in his own right, or exercised a vicarial sway, there is no reason to doubt that he was the virtual ruler of his country, and had distinguished himself for his martial exploits. We have indeed some exaggerated accounts of his conquests, one chronicler asserting that he subdued all Ireland and great part of England; but these very exaggerations, although incredible to their full extent, would

hardly have been propagated of any one, who had not really distinguished himself by his warlike exploits.

On the death or expulsion of Gregory in 893, he was succeeded on the Scottish throne by Donal IV., contemporary with whom was another Donal, King of Strathclyde. Donal of Scotland died in 904, and was succeeded by Constantine III., who again, on the death of Donal, King of Strathclyde, procured the election of his own brother Donal to the vacant throne. This Donal, as well as his predecessor, is described as "King of the Britons," but never specifically as King of Cumberland. Eugenius, however, the son and successor of the second Donal, is invariably so designated, as well by Fordun as by the English historians. This prince appears somewhat prominently in the transactions of this period, in conjunction with his uncle, Constantine. When Guthred, son of Sitric the Danish King of Northumberland, was expelled by Athelstan, he took refuge at the Scottish court, and Eugenius, as well as Constantine, seems to have been implicated in his escape. Both were summoned by Athelstan to surrender the fugitive, and hostilities were threatened in case of refusal. Unprepared for resistance against such an antagonist, they promised compliance, and hastened to meet their imperious neighbour, who had already entered Cumberland, at Dacre. In the meantime, however, Guthred again escaped, but Constantine and his nephew succeeded in making their own peace. The Scottish king was again in arms against the Anglo-Saxon monarch in 933—34, but compelled to yield to the superior power of his antagonist. Three years later a grand confederacy was formed between the Danes, as well of Northumberland as of Ireland, and Constantine; and great preparations were made both by sea and land to humble the power of Athelstan. Eugenius was a party to this league, which resulted in the total defeat of the confederates at the battle of Brunanburgh, in which they are said to have lost five kings and six earls with countless multitudes of their followers. Eugenius was probably amongst the slain, as his name does not afterwards occur. In 945, Dunmail, who then occupied the throne of Cumberland, had by some means incurred the displeasure of Edmund, the successor of Athelstan, who, in the words of the Saxon chronicle, "wasted all Cumberland and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots, on the condition that he should be

his ally by land and sea." To this statement Wendover adds, that, having by the aid of Leoline, King of South Wales, plundered that province of its wealth, he deprived the two sons of Dunmail of sight. The decisive combat between the forces of Edmund and the Cumbrians is said by tradition to have taken place near a well-known site, which still preserves the name of Dunmail Raise; and it is further added that Dunmail fell on this occasion, in confirmation of which a cairn is pointed out which is said to have been erected to his memory. The tradition receives no confirmation from Wendover, and on other grounds it is probable that Dunmail escaped. Thirty years afterwards a notice occurs in the Cambrian Annals of a British Prince, called Dunwallen, who having gone on a pilgrimage died at Rome. He is there described as Prince of Strathclyde, the term still applied in these annals to Cumberland after the annexation of Galloway and Carlisle. Now Donal, Dunmail, and Dunwallen are all different forms of the same name, and it is difficult to find a place for this Dunwallen in the Cumbrian dynasty, unless we identify him with Dunmail, whose kingdom was seized and his sons mutilated in 945.

In giving Cumberland to Malcolm, Edmund merely restored to Scotland a dependency which had belonged to it in the reign of Gregory, Edward the Elder, indeed, and afterwards Athelstan, had compelled the Cumbrian prince to acknowledge the supremacy of the English crown, but this was only what, by the right of the stronger, they had insisted on from Scotland also. As a component part of Northumberland, whose king, Eánred, admitted the superiority of Egbert, Cumbria might owe a nominal subjection, but no Anglo-Saxon king had ever exercised any substantial act of authority within its limits.

From this period Cumberland continued in the possession of the royal line of Scotland, sometimes retained by the king himself, at others by a member of his family; usually, if we may credit the national historians, by the proximate heir. The only circumstance which is recorded of it for many years is its total devastation by Ethelred, King of England, A.D. 1000, at which time it is represented as the chief rendezvous of the Danes in Britain. This is the only mention of a Danish colonisation of Cumberland by any historian, but their occupation has not passed away without leaving traces

behind, both in the language of the people, and in the nomenclature of the district. This, however, is a subject on which it is unnecessary to enlarge, as it has already received the attention of a native of the county, well qualified both by his intelligence and application to illustrate a theme of so much local and general interest. Fordun gives a different account of Ethelred's expedition, which he represents as directed not against the Danes but the native Cumbrians, as a punishment for their refusal to contribute to a fund raised for the inglorious purpose of purchasing the forbearance of the common enemy. Such a fund is indeed said to have been raised about this time, under the name of Danegeld; and if it was really applied to buying off the enemy instead of providing means to repel them, resistance to such an impost would have been highly honourable to the Cumbrians; but unfortunately the whole story, unsupported as it is by any other testimony, rests on very questionable authority.

Fifty years before the time of which we are speaking, the kingdom of Northumberland had ceased to exist, and the government of the province was committed by the kings of England to a succession of earls, of whom perhaps the most distinguished was Siward, the hero of many a romantic legend, and immortalised by Shakespeare in the tragedy of *Macbeth*. Siward was appointed to the earldom in 1041, and was sent by Edward the Confessor on his memorable expedition into Scotland in 1054. Malcolm, the son of the murdered Duncan, the predecessor of *Macbeth*, was at that time King of Cumberland, and Siward, having defeated and slain *Macbeth*, placed either Malcolm himself or a son of the same name, for historians differ on this point, upon the throne of Scotland. This was the celebrated Malcolm Caenmore, who during his long reign retained Cumberland as well as Scotland in his own hands. Under his government, however, the district of Carlisle, which contained all the Cumbrian territory south of the Solway, was severed from the rest of the kingdom, and formed into an earldom dependent on the crown of England. An authentic document is in existence which sets forth the exact limits of the kingdom of Cumberland previous to the dismemberment. When Edward I. put forth his claim to a paramount superiority over the realm of Scotland, he directed the various religious houses throughout the kingdom to furnish him with

all the information, historical or documentary, bearing upon the ancient relations between England and Scotland, which they had in their possession. Amongst the returns from the monastery of Carlisle is the following important statement as to the boundaries of Cumberland at the period in question:—"That district was called Cumbria, which is now included in the bishoprics of Carlisle, Glasgow, and Whitherne, together with the country lying between the bishopric of Carlisle and the river Duddon." At an earlier period it is probable that the southern limit included Furness and Amounderness, nearly the whole of which is recorded in Domesday to have been in the possession of Tosti, Earl of Northumberland, and which were probably acquired by his predecessor, Earl Eadulf, whose rapacity and cruelty towards the British population formed the principal feature of his government.

Nothing can be more discordant than the statements of historians as to the condition of the southern portion of Cumberland during the reign of William the Conqueror, or more uncertain than the date of its transference from Scotland to England. The last notice of the Scottish king's supremacy over the entire province occurs in the chronicle attributed to Symeon of Durham, which, however, so far as it is not a mere copy of Florence of Worcester, is of very doubtful authority.

In the year 1070, we are told, "a countless multitude of Scots, under King Malcolm, marched through Cumberland, and turning eastward, ravaged Teesdale and the neighbouring country . . . . Whilst the Scots were engaged in these devastations, Earl Gospatric, having collected a considerable force, made a furious incursion into Cumberland, spreading slaughter and conflagration on all sides. . . . Cumberland at this time was under the dominion of Malcolm, not as a rightful possession, but subjugated by force."

Twenty-two years later, A.D. 1092, in the reign of William Rufus, we read in the Saxon Chronicle, that "the King went northward with a large army, to Carlisle, when he repaired the city and built the castle. He drove out Dolphin, who had previously governed the country, and having placed a garrison in the castle, he returned south, and sent a great number of English husbandmen thither, with horses and cattle, that they might settle there and

cultivate the land." To this Florence of Worcester adds, "This city, like most others in that quarter, had been laid in ruins by the northern Danes, two hundred years before, and had been uninhabited up to this time." This account is adopted by all our historians, and amongst others by Matthew of Westminster; and yet that writer has admitted into his chronicle the following paragraph under the date A.D. 1072, twenty years earlier, which is utterly irreconcilable with it:

"King William, returning from Scotland through Cumberland, beholding so royal a town, took it from Earl Ranulph, and gave him instead of it the earldom of Chester. The King also ordered Carlisle to be fortified with the strongest towers and ramparts."

Besides the inconsistency between this paragraph and those quoted above from the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, it contains other anachronisms which will be pointed out hereafter; but we must at present recur to the proceedings of William Rufus in 1092. There is no reason to doubt the literal correctness of the particulars recorded, but it is by no means clear that the lordship of Carlisle passed for the first time into the hands of the English at this date, although the statement is conclusive that the city was not rebuilt at an earlier period. Dolphin, it appears, was at this time the Governor, and although several persons of this name occur in the north of England during this and the preceding reigns, it is probable that the individual in question was the son of Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, mentioned above, whose descendants were connected with Cumberland by large territorial possessions. Gospatric held his earldom under the English crown, and, if we are to credit the authority cited above, was engaged in bitter hostilities with the Scottish king in 1070; but two years later he was expelled from Northumberland and a refugee at Malcolm's court, who, forgetting all former animosities, conferred on him large possessions in Lothian, which were long held by his descendants, the Earls of Dunbar. The question arises whether Dolphin had been appointed governor of a portion of the district which his father overran, by the English monarch in 1070, or whether he had received it from Malcolm after Gospatric's exile in 1072. The incidents recorded by Matthew of West-

minster, under the latter date, may be passed over as inconsistent with either supposition, but we look in vain for any more reliable authority to help us to a solution of the difficulty.

The statement of Matthew of Westminster, that the lordship of Carlisle was given to Ranulph de Miceis by William the Conqueror, is adopted by the writer of a brief chronicle formerly preserved in the monastery of Wetheral, and printed by Dugdale in the *Monasticon*, under the title of *Chronicon Cumbriae*. The latter does not indeed adopt the monstrous assertion that Ranulph was promoted to the earldom of Chester in 1072, in the face of the notorious fact that he did not attain to that dignity until the death by shipwreck of the previous earl, his cousin, in 1118; but other particulars not less startling are recorded,—as, for instance, that this same Earl Ranulph, who survived till 1129, had been an efficient auxiliary of the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings.

The information which we have from the *Saxon Chronicle*, that the county of Cumberland was in the immediate possession of the Crown in 1092, and not yet bestowed as a territorial grant on a subject, is confirmed by a charter of William Rufus, by which he founds the monastery of Armathwaite, and endows it with various possessions within the county. The earliest period from which the grant to Miceis can date is the latter part of this reign, but it is nearly certain that it was not earlier than the commencement of that of Henry I. In the foundation charter of Wetherel Priory, Ranulph expresses that the endowment is for the welfare, in addition to the members of his own family, of the soul of King Henry; but not a word is said of William, who would scarcely have been omitted, if the grantor had owed his own ample possessions to the latter.

We have some materials for a pedigree of the Miceis family in the *Liber Vitae* of the church of Durham, in which we find his own name, "Ranulphus de Mesch," with those of his father Ranulphus, his mother Mahald, his elder brother Richard, and his wife Lucia. The elder Ranulph is styled by Ordericus Vitalis "De Brichsard," and was a viscount or sheriff of Bayeux. A viscount of Bayeux of the same christian name is mentioned by William of Poitiers amongst the Norman nobles who conspired against William the



Conqueror on his accession to the duchy. Lucia had previously been the wife of Roger de Romara, and seems to have been the daughter of Yvo Tailboise, though the Peterborough Annals and the compilation ascribed to Ingulf represent him as her first husband. We know from the Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I., that she had livery of certain estates in Lincolnshire, which are described as her husband's lands. To these lands her son William de Romara was heir, and the latter appears from the Testa de Nevil to have been in possession of various manors, which were formerly enjoyed by Yvo Tailboise, but which are described in Domesday as having been before his time in the hands of separate proprietors. If all were held by Lucia in right of her father, that father could only have been Yvo. A more glaring misstatement makes her the daughter of Algar, Earl of Mercia, and the sister of the Earls Edwine and Morcar, whose vast estates she is said to have inherited. Now we know from Ordericus that Algar had but one daughter, who was called, not Lucia, but Aldith, and that she was successively the wife of Griffin, Prince of Wales, and of Earl Harold; and further, it is matter of notoriety that the estates of Edwine and Morcar did not pass to any individual, but were divided amongst a large number of grantees. I dismiss the subject of these misstatements thus briefly, but fuller details will be found in the preface to the Cumberland Pipe Rolls, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

Ranulph is referred to in a valuable return of the time of King John, which is preserved in the Testa de Nevil, as formerly Lord of Cumberland, but his proper title was Lord or Earl of Carlisle, which was till late in the reign of Henry II. the name by which the surrounding territory, as well as the city, was distinguished. It is not till the 23rd year of that king that Cumberland appears in the Pipe Rolls as the title of the county instead of Carleolium. The earldom of Carlisle, however, was not confined to the present county of Cumberland, but comprised, besides, the barony of Appleby, which now forms part of the county of Westmoreland. Its precise limits are ascertained by a reference to the boundaries of the adjacent districts in Domesday Book, for the two great earldoms of Northumberland and Cumberland, in the revenues of which the Crown had no interest, are not included in that survey. A small portion also of the present

county of Cumberland, including the lordship of Millum, appears to have been excepted from the grant to Ranulph; although it lies to the north of the Duddon, and is included in the kingdom of Cumbria, as set forth in the return of the monastery of Carlisle to Edward I.

In the year 1118, Richard, Earl of Chester, perished by shipwreck, in company with William, the only legitimate son of King Henry, and several of the principal nobility of the realm. His earldom was bestowed on Ranulph de Micenis, not, as has been alleged, in virtue of his hereditary right through his mother Matilda, daughter of Richard and sister of Hugh, successively Earls of Chester, and aunt of the late earl, but in exchange for other possessions of which the lordship of Carlisle was the chief. He gave up, besides, his wife's estates, to the detriment of her son and heir William de Romara, who resented the injury so keenly that two years afterwards he took up arms against his sovereign; nor, as we are informed by Ordericus Vitalis, did he return to his allegiance until the king gave him competent satisfaction, and yielded him a large part of his claim. Besides the lands given in exchange, Ranulph was charged with a very heavy fine in respect of this transaction, of which 1000*l.* remained due at his death, and is debited against his son and successor in the Pipe Roll of 31st of Henry I. as "for the land of Earl Hugh." Yvo Tailboise was in possession of the barony of Kendal, which is included with that of Appleby in the present county of Westmoreland, as appears from a grant of the churches within it to the Abbey of St. Mary at York, under Stephen its first abbot, between 1088 and 1112. His title must have been derived from a grant subsequent to the compilation of Domesday, in which this barony is described as a part of Amounderness, the whole of which was then in the hands of the Crown. No doubt he owed this valuable possession to the favour of William Rufus, whose cause he espoused in opposition to his elder brother Robert, as we gather from the fact that when Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, who was a partizan of the Duke of Normandy, was for a time deprived of his bishopric, Yvo was one of the custodians of the temporalities. Whether Kendal descended to Lucia, and was in Ranulf's possession at the time of the exchange, is uncertain; but, if so, it was never restored to William de Romara, but

remained with Cumberland and the other barony of Westmoreland in the hands of the Crown during the remainder of this reign.

The isolated Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I. includes, with the sheriff's accounts of other counties, those of Cumberland and Westmoreland; but Cumberland and apparently Westmoreland were given up by Stephen to David, King of Scotland, as the price of his acquiescence in Stephen's usurpation of the crown of England. Westmoreland, at all events, is included with Cumberland and Northumberland in the claims made by succeeding kings of Scotland for the restoration of the provinces enjoyed by David and his family.

In the 3rd of Henry II., Cumberland, as well as Northumberland, was finally annexed to the crown of England, though not without many efforts on the part of the Scotch, both by arms and diplomacy, to recover so valuable a possession. At length, the claims of Scotland were compromised under the mediation of Cardinal Otho, the Papal Legate, A.D. 1242. For some years the Scottish kings had held the lordship of Tyndale, in Northumberland, and they now had awarded to them in addition the manors of Penrith, Sowerby, Longwathby, Salkeld, Carlatten, and Scotby, being all the crown demesnes in Cumberland, with the exception of the city of Carlisle.

The portion of ancient Cumberland which lies to the north of the Solway, including Strathclyde and Galloway, had continued to be held as a dependency of the Scottish crown, being at this time under the king's immediate government. David I., however, had held it before he ascended the throne, with the title of earl, and a very remarkable document of that period is extant, the "*Inquisitio Davidis*," being a return of the ancient possessions of the see of Glasgow within this principality, which is described as "*Regio Cumbrensis*." These are spread over all parts of the district between the Clyde and the Solway, but none occur to the south of the latter river. Mr. Chalmers, whose general accuracy is as remarkable as his laborious research, has hence been led into the error of assuming not only that the Solway was the limit of David's principality, which was undoubtedly the case, but that it had always been the boundary of the *Regio Cumbrensis*. Hence he infers that from an early period two

separate states had existed, the Regio Cumbrensis including the country between the Clyde and the Solway, and the kingdom of Cumbria comprising the present county of Cumberland. Further than this, he would identify the Regnum Cambrense of Joceline with the Regio Cumbrensis, making it include Galloway as well as Strathclyde.

Now, there can be no doubt that the Regio Cumbrensis and the kingdom of Cumbria were identical, and that they included the Cumbrian territory on both sides of the Solway, and this is evident from a passage of this very Inquisitio, which has escaped the notice of the author of the Caledonia, in which it is expressly said that "David at that time did not rule over the whole of the Cumbrian region," referring unquestionably to the dismemberment of the earldom of Carlisle. Whilst the Regio Cumbrensis extended on both sides of the Solway, there was of course no space for the separate existence of a kingdom of Cumbria to the south, the identity of the two being indisputable. But ever after the severance of the earldom of Carlisle, we have shown that that district was never by itself called Cumberland till a late period of the reign of Henry II., and long after the death of David.

Lastly, the so-called Regnum Cambrense was not identical with the Regio Cumbrensis. As the latter was not limited to the country north of the Solway, the former did not extend to that river, and so include Galloway as well as Strathclyde, and this is demonstrable from Joceline himself, who, in coining a new name for the latter kingdom, had no intention to mislead. He tells us that Kentigern's bishopric was co-extensive with the Regnum Cambrense; and again, in describing the missionary labours of the Saint in Galloway, he expressly states that that province was not within the boundaries of his diocese.

The high reputation of Chalmers has rendered this digression necessary; and I may be allowed, in a few words, to recapitulate what I believe to be a correct statement of the facts which he has misapprehended.

I. The kingdom of Strathclyde existed as a separate state from the sixth century, when it is described as *Regnum Cambrense*, till near the close of the ninth.

II. In the ninth century the kingdom of Cumbria was formed by the union of Strathclyde, Galloway, and Carliol.

III. Towards the end of the eleventh century the lordship of Carlisle was severed from Cumbria, then or shortly afterwards known as the *Regio Cumbrensis*.

IV. The county of Cumberland, being a portion of the lordship of Carlisle, first occurs under its present name in the 23rd of Henry II.

I have had occasion more than once to point out the inaccuracy, not to use a harsher term, of the authorities which have hitherto been relied on, in tracing the general history of Cumberland. It is foreign to the design of this essay to enter into local details, or I should have to expose errors and misstatements at every step; but it may not be out of place to give a few instances, by way of showing how much caution is necessary in sifting the received statements of our Cumbrian topographers.

The narrative of the foundation of the Priory of Lanercost is familiar to us all, repeated as it has been by one writer after another, and yet the whole story is a fiction. We are told that that religious house had its origin in the remorse of Robert de Vaux for the treacherous murder of Gils Beuth, the former owner of Gilsland, of which his father, Hubert de Vaux, had obtained a grant from Ranulf de Miceis. Now it happens that an enrolment of the charter, by which Hubert became possessed of Gilsland, is preserved amongst the *Cartæ Antiquæ* in the Tower, from which it plainly appears that Gils Beuth was already dead before Hubert had any connection with Gilsland; and we further learn as well from this charter, as from the *Testa de Nevil*, that the title of the latter was derived from Henry II., and not from Ranulf, whose interest in Cumberland ceased before the close of the reign of Henry I.

A fundamental error of the *Chronicon Cumbriæ* is the deduction of the titles of all the estates in Cumberland from Ranulf de Miceis, whereas this is the case with two only. The bulk of the remainder were granted directly by the Crown in the reign of Henry I., Gilsland, as we have seen, and two or three others, by Henry II., and the remainder to one individual by Richard I.

Another mistake is the identification of Hugh de Morville, lord of the barony of Burgh, with his more notorious namesake, the murderer of Thomas à Becket. Hugh was a common name in the Morville family, as appears by various

documents in which we meet with the name of Hugh de Morville, at dates and under circumstances which show that it could be neither of the above. Hugh de Morville, of Burgh, was the grandson of Simon de Morville, who was probably the brother, and certainly the contemporary, of Becket's assassin. The former survived to the reign of John; whereas the latter is stated by all the biographers of the saint to have died at Jerusalem, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage in expiation of his offence, and to have been buried in front of the Temple, within three years of the murder. He was lord of Westmoreland, and of Knaresburgh in Yorkshire, at the same time that Burgh was possessed by Simon, the grandfather of his namesake.

It would be easy to multiply instances of misstatements, if it were necessary. Many of them originate with the *Chronicon Cumbriæ*, but these are amplified and augmented by succeeding compilers, especially by two persons of the name of Denton, whose manuscript collections have been the main source from whence the modern historians of the county have derived their information as to the early descent of property, and the genealogy of its possessors.

The contents of these storehouses of error must be discarded by the future topographer, or used only to compare with more authentic documents. The foundation of his labours must rest on an Inquisition of the reign of King John, preserved in the *Testa de Nevil*, aided by the early Pipe Rolls, and illustrated by such contemporary charters as are preserved among the *Cartæ Antiquæ* and elsewhere. Such, however, as occur in the *Monasticon*, valuable as many of them are, must be used with extreme caution, and tested not less by their own internal evidence than by comparison with the records in our national repositories.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES OF A TOUR IN DENMARK,  
PRUSSIA, AND HOLLAND.<sup>1</sup>

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THE Baltic being only twenty miles broad at Copenhagen, and constant communication by steam-vessels taking place with Malmoe on the opposite coast of Sweden, I took the opportunity of visiting Lund, about ten miles inland, to the east of Malmoe, with the purpose of renewing acquaintance with several of the professors of Natural History in that university. The cathedral of Lund, the mother church of the south of Sweden, had also claims on my attention, having, like that of Roeskilde, been founded by Englishmen in the early part of the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> and being one of the most remarkable structures in the north of Europe.

The cathedral is a noble, regular-built structure, consisting of nave, aisles, transepts, a choir with a rounded apse, and a crypt. The west front presents, in the central portion, a fine deeply-recessed door, and a large three-light window, and is flanked by two large quadrangular towers, with small octagonal turrets. These towers, as well as all the other parts of the church, are supported by gigantic plain buttresses. The southern tower is very plain, but the northern is ornamented, above the height of the clerestory windows, with an arcade of rounded arches, each arch inclosing three smaller arches. The southern transept is in course of being rebuilt. The

<sup>1</sup> Continued from page 145.

<sup>2</sup> "Konung Sven Tveskugg satte omkring år 1000 Godebald från England till lärare i Skane, hvilken äfven predikade i Sverige och Norrige." Adamus Brem. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 29. "Knut den Store medtog nagra år derefter Bernard från samma land och förordnade honom till Biskop i Lund." Ib. lib. ii. cap. 38. "Saxo Säger, att denne sednare fatt sitt hvilorum i Lunds kraftskyrka. Ehuru man icke kunnat med vissnet bestämma

när Godebald och Bernard kommit till Skane och ehuru de väl omnämnas i Lunds minnesbok sasom Biskopar med det tillägg att Henrik varit var Kyrkas förste Biskop;" Necrolog. Lundense, xii. Kal. Sept. "Ha dock flere äldre och nyare författare trott sig veta, mahan- da af detta Saxos yttrande, att Lunds Kathedral blifvit anlaggd 1011 eller 1012." Brunius Nordens Äldsta Metro- politan Kyrka, p. 27.

eastern extremity of the choir is ornamented externally with three rows of rounded arches, the upper row consisting of arches of smaller size, the wall behind them being recessed, and its summit above them ornamented with small triangular elevations, with a gargoyle between each, symbolising, as it is said, the crown of thorns. The crypt is of remarkable size, extending under the transepts as well as the choir, and supported by very numerous short, thick, columns, occasionally ornamented with spiral or zigzag carving, and with plain cushion capitals, supporting rounded arches; at the eastern extremity is an old stone altar, with a cross at each angle of the upper slab, the central cross completing the symbolical allusion to the five wounds of our Lord having been defaced. Within this crypt is a well of the purest water, highly prized; it is surrounded by a tall stone coping, with carved busts on two of the sides, whilst on the third is the representation of a lamb preyed upon by a gigantic louse, chained, symbolising, as we were informed, Christianity attacked by Paganism. Two of the columns in this crypt are sculptured, one with a large figure of a man standing, clasping the column with his arms; the other with a woman, crouching down and holding an infant at her breast; cords appear round the shaft. These figures are said to represent a pagan, who, with his wife and child, attempted to shake down the edifice, like Samson among the Philistines, and who became petrified on the spot! Here are two interesting monuments, the oldest being a deeply-incised coffin-lid, with the effigy of Bishop Hermann, who died in the eleventh century; the other is an altar-tomb, the memorial of the last Roman Catholic Bishop, Berger, whose effigy lies on the top of the tomb.

The high altar, owing to the height of the crypt, is considerably elevated, and it is placed at some distance from the extremity of the apse, having as a reredos a wooden triptych consisting of thirty-two small Gothic niches with saints, and two larger niches in the centre, making thirty-six in all.

Two large bronze columns, each supporting an angel, the bases resting on bronze lions, are placed at the entrance of the choir. During the repairs, the north transept temporarily contained a number of curiously carved stalls with rich canopies, exhibiting a remarkable mixture of Gothic and Lombardic work, with representations of scenes from



Scripture history. In the middle of the east side of the north transept is a very curious double arch with elaborate Lombardic ornaments over a deep recess, in which is placed a gigantic brass candlestick, with seven lights in a row, and with the emblems of the four evangelists beneath. On the west side of this transept, also, facing this arch, there is a smaller one, the side columns of which rest upon animals. The capitals of many of the columns are very elaborately carved with Lombardic ornaments. Near the western entrance is to be seen a singular, tall, wooden box on a pedestal, much ornamented with Gothic carving and coloured, nearly nine feet high. This appears to have been a receptacle for relics. There is a very large incised effigy of a bishop, near the south-west entrance, and in the south aisle are many tombstones deeply carved in relief, but much worn. The base of one of the columns on the north side of the western door is carved, and bears a Runic inscription, and also one in Roman letters. The whole interior of the church has been painted, but, with the exception of a few outlines, showing the designs of some of the pictures, the colouring is now effaced. Near the eastern extremity of the north aisle is a very fine doorway, seven times recessed, and ornamented with the usual Norman patterns.

The thriving town of Malmoe has a fine square, with several most remarkable houses, apparently of the sixteenth century; the tall gables facing the streets are profusely ornamented, and cut into numerous steps, reaching to the summit. The church appears to be of the same age; the floor is covered with a great number of deeply incised sepulchral slabs with full-length figures; one, more remarkable than the rest, is a good counterpart of the figure of the Burgher in the Dance of Death, the defunct being attended by a full-length skeleton.

In its Archæological Museums, Berlin has recently undergone the same important changes as Copenhagen. Thus, the Kunst Kammer and the Historical Museum were, until lately, kept in the Royal Schloss; the Egyptian Museum in the Montbijou Palace; the paintings and classical sculptures in the new Museum. All these collections have now been brought together, a large building having been added at the rear of the new Museum. Berlin, therefore, can now boast

of having her fine-art treasures properly arranged in relation to each other in such a manner as it were greatly to be hoped may also be effected in respect to our own scattered collections. Although completely arranged, the Kunst Kammer, with its rich collection of carvings in wood, ivory, and amber, specimens of majolica, Limoges enamels, architectural models, fine armour, and numerous other treasures, is not yet open to the public. We were, however, indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Waagen for an opportunity of inspecting it, as well as for an introduction to Herr Hotho, the talented keeper of the engravings and drawings.<sup>3</sup>

At the Kunst Kammer, rich as it is in original works of art, casts are not excluded, and two or three of the rooms at the entrance to the new portion of the building are occupied with copies of important works of art, similar to those in our Crystal Palace, and at the South Kensington Museum. The amount of instruction to be obtained from such a collection, placed in juxta-position with originals of a similar character, cannot be too highly appreciated. Among the ivory carvings I was pleased to see the originals of many interesting pieces, of which I had previously received casts through the kindness of Herr Dielitz; many of these have been incorporated in the collections supplied by the Arundel Society. The museum possesses many other pieces apparently inedited, including a valuable Byzantine ivory, inscribed with uncial letters, and a perfect consular diptych, each of the two leaves having the bust of the consul in a circle in the centre, with scrolls and foliage above and below; above the upper foliage are three small medallions, the middle one having a bust of Christ, and the side medallions crowned heads, representing Rome and Byzantium. As nearly as I could decipher the inscriptions, they are as follows:—

FL MARPITR THEODOR VALENT—  
RUST RORAI DCERITI IUST  
VS NIC DOM FI CONS ORD.

By the kindness of Dr. Pertz, the chief librarian of the

<sup>3</sup> I carefully examined the Berlin copy of the great work on illuminated MSS. by Count Bastard, and was surprised to find that it contained a number of plates of miniatures from Carolingian MSS., which are wanting in the copies in the

British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Duke of Hamilton's library. Their place in those copies is supplied by a series of plates of palæography, which are not found in the Berlin copy.

Royal Library, and his son, I was enabled to examine some of the most precious manuscripts contained in that rich collection. From the information afforded by these gentlemen, it does not appear that the library possesses any MSS. in the Anglo-Saxon or Irish languages. There is, however, a beautifully written copy of the Pauline Epistles in old Anglo-Saxon characters, similar to those traditionally said to have been written by Bede himself, and a small copy of the Latin Gospels in a later Anglo-Saxon hand. Neither of these possesses any ornamental details. The Codex Wittechindeus, a manuscript of the ninth century, traditionally recorded as having been given by Charlemagne to the Saxon chief Wittikind on his conversion to Christianity, is a fine Carolingian MS. of large quarto size, with large and rather coarse paintings of the Evangelists, and initial title pages, having the centre of each painted purple, in the style of the second class of Charles the Bald's MSS. of the gospels. The cover of this volume is, however, more interesting, as there are inserted in the front of it four perforated ivory carvings, executed by the remarkable artist whose peculiar treatment is seen in the piece representing the raising of the dead youth by the Saviour, in the Maskell Collection now in the British Museum; and that of the woman taken in adultery, in the Pulszky collection. These four carvings represent Christ with St. Peter and St. Paul; the raising of Lazarus; the feeding of the five thousand; and Christ seated in the Temple, with the inscription, "Fili quid fecisti no(bis)."

A liber sacramentorum of Pope Gregory, of the tenth century, has also interesting ivories affixed to its binding, representing St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome, in a Lombardic style of art. Of these I had previously received casts from Darmstadt. A copy of the gospels, of the tenth century, has ivory carvings on the cover, representing scenes of the life of Christ. Another volume, of a narrow, oblong form, containing the life of S. Ludgerus, written in the eleventh century and adorned with paintings, brought from the Paulinisch Library of Munster, is enclosed within a fine consular diptych, each side displaying a full-length figure of the consul seated with attendants; one leaf inscribed RVFIVS PROBIANVS VC, the other VICARIVS VRBIS ROMÆ, and also PROBIANE FLOREAS. As two consuls of the name of Probianus are recorded, in the years 377 and 416, it is not

certain which of the two is commemorated.<sup>4</sup> A volume of the Psalms with Prayers, of small quarto size, is remarkable for the two ornamented title-pages, and a multitude of initial letters, partaking of an interlaced Anglo-Saxon character, but presenting a very different general effect, having much gold in the decorations. Its interest is increased by an inscription forming part of the title-page, written syllabically as follows:—HLV DO WI CO RE GI VI TA SA LVS FE LI CI TAS PERPES (Hludowico Regi vita, salus, felicitas perpes), proving that it is coëval with Louis, son of Charlemagne, who was crowned by Pope Adrian at Rome King of Aquitaine, in 781, and became Emperor in 814.<sup>5</sup>

The formation of a small, but very interesting Museum has been commenced by Dr. Piper, attached to the University of Berlin, and intended as an illustration of Ecclesiastical history and Christian art. Here have been brought together a number of very valuable casts of early sculptures from the Catacombs, sculptured ivories, metal carvings, and drawings, not only of Christian subjects, but also of such Pagan works as bear any analogous relation to them, and also drawings and models of early Christian Churches, &c. That this museum has been formed within a few years by the exertions of one man is sufficient praise, both of himself and the system by which he has been enabled to carry out so excellent a project—one worthy of adoption in our own universities.

Of Potsdam it will only be necessary to mention a new church recently completed by direction of the King of Prussia, and dedicated to the God of Peace. It is at the entrance to the Sans Souci Gardens, and is built in the form of an ancient basilica; the apse is ornamented with an original Mosaic brought from the Venetian island St. Cipriano, near Murano, representing the Saviour in the centre, with the Virgin and St. John Baptist, attended by St. Peter, St. Cyprian, and the Archangels Michael and Raphael. St. Cyprian is represented as a bishop, with a low mitre, chasuble, and pallium. The background is gold. Adjoining the church is a high square campanile, and a cloister, uniting the church with the Sans Souci Gardens, has its walls decorated with several

<sup>4</sup> Salig. De. dipt. vet. p. 6, 7. Schwarz de vetust. dipt. p. 7, 8. A Latin missal of the tenth century, with ivory carvings of the Saviour and St. Gregory, and an evangelistarium of the tenth century, with a Byzantine ivory carving of Christ,

the Virgin, and St. John, with two archangels above, must also be mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Full descriptions of these interesting MSS. will be found in Wilken's Geschichte der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. 8vo. Berlin, 1828.

curious Byzantine bas-reliefs, chiefly of peacocks or doves, in pairs, drinking from vases.

Our stay at Magdeburg and Brunswick was too short to allow us to investigate the archaeological treasures of these cities. We however visited the cathedral of Magdeburg, portions of which were built by Otho I. (A.D. 912—974), whose tomb, with that of his wife, the Anglo-Saxon princess Editha,<sup>6</sup> granddaughter of Alfred the Great, with their full-length seated statues, is preserved in one of the small chapels. An excellent representation of both effigies, apparently of fourteenth century work, is given by Hefner.<sup>7</sup> Romanesque capitals, with arches exhibiting the dog-tooth pattern, occur in the older portions of this fine church.

The Royal Museum of Brunswick contains a fine collection of antiquities both classical and mediæval, with a number of ivory carvings, specimens of majolica and enamels, as well as a few fine MSS. Among the latter, a copy of the Gospels, a MS. of the eleventh century, is worthy of notice, and also other MSS. with rich gold and ivory covers. Among the ivories is a casket of considerable interest, being carved with the remarkable Irish ornaments so peculiar to our islands previous to the Norman Conquest.

The Cathedral, a structure in the Norman style of the twelfth century, contains many interesting relics. Here is buried Matilda, sister of Richard Cœur de Lion, with her husband, Henry the Lion; their effigies are to be seen in the central aisle. A candlestick, in the Byzantine style, made for King Henry, and various objects brought by him from Palestine and Constantinople, are here preserved, including a bronze Byzantine lion, as well as the ivory horn and the pipe of St. Blaize.

The fame of the Royal "Silber Kammer" of Hanover induced us to stop at that capital, in which the most remarkable mediæval street architecture is to be seen in close conjunction with handsome rows of modern buildings. The Rathhaus is a very remarkable and ancient brick building, with curious decorations composed of ornamental and variously coloured bricks. The house formerly occupied by Leibnitz is still shown, and it is one of the most striking and quaint in its gables and carvings. On the outside of one of the churches

<sup>6</sup> The inscription on this tomb was published by the Rev. Edward Kerrich,

F.S.A. Gent, Mag. vol. ci. p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> Trachtenbuch, pl. 78.

we noticed that many sculptured stones were built into the outside of the walls open to the street. We found the Royal Library in complete disorder, and could obtain no information in regard to any ancient or illuminated MSS. The Museum is in the newly built portion of the city near the railway station. It contains a small collection, illustrative of natural history, a few paintings, casts of sculpture, a small mediæval series, and another room devoted to the large collection of early antiquities formed and arranged by our lamented friend Kemble, whose loss is here deplored even more than among ourselves. Here I saw some of the casts of English and Irish objects, coloured by his own hand, and which he had exhibited and described at the meetings of the Institute.

By the courtesy of Herr Teichmann, Ober-Hof-Commissair of the King, I obtained admission to the "Reliquien Kabinet" attached to the Palace Chapel. Here has been collected together from the ancient churches and monasteries in Hanover an assemblage of relics and reliquaries of great interest. Of reliquaries in the shape of arms there are, for example, as many as thirteen; the chalices, monstrances, and other objects of that class, are equally numerous. One reliquary, in the shape of the temple at Jerusalem, with a circular dome and four equal-sized arms, is enriched all round with enamels and ivory statuettes. Another reliquary has an early ivory carving on its cover, with a representation of the miracle of water turned into wine, forming two compartments; the proportions of the figures are very slender, and the work is much undercut. Another cover of a MS. is enriched with two Byzantine ivories, one representing the Crucifixion, with St. John and the Virgin, and two angels, at the sides of the Cross; the other the Deposition from the Cross. A remarkable MS. of the Gospels, of octavo size, written at the beginning of the eleventh century by an English scribe, apparently of the school of St. Ethelwold, contains miniatures illuminated and ornamented in the style of the MS. of the Gospels, traditionally stated to have belonged to Canute (British Museum, Cott. MS. Caligula, A. 7). It has the following contemporary inscription at the end :—

PRO SCRIPTORE PRECEM NE TEMPNAS FUNDERE FRATER  
LIBRYM ISTVM MONACHYS SCRIPSIT RADVVIVS COGNOM=

ENTO BASAN. SIT ILLI LONGA SALVS. VALE

SERVVS D'I N' ET MEMOR ESTO MEI.

Among the relics are preserved numerous small pieces of embroidery and other decorated stuffs, of very ancient date, used originally for enveloping relics, &c. Some of these have been delineated in Bock's valuable work on ecclesiastical vestments.<sup>8</sup>

At Dusseldorf we were disappointed in not seeing the famous collection of drawings and paintings by the old masters, it being "ferien Zeit" at the time of our visit; but the "Museum Ramboux" claimed our especial attention. This is a collection of 248 most carefully executed copies of Christian paintings in Italy, from the earliest period to the middle of the sixteenth century, arranged in three saloons. It has been lately presented by the King of Prussia to the Academy of Dusseldorf. Here are carefully reduced copies of the famous Ravenna mosaics of Justinian and Theodora, with several others equally important, executed at the same time and place; also, a drawing of the ivory sculpture of St. John the Baptist and the four Evangelists, carved on the Archiepiscopal throne at Ravenna. All the larger paintings and mosaics are reduced in size, and the whole forms one of the most instructive series of illustrations of ancient art which can be found in any country.

On the outside of the great Church of St. Andrew is a very large and finely executed Calvary, beneath which is the following inscription:—

EFFIGIEM CHRISTI DUM TRANSIS SEMPER HONORA,  
NON TAMEN EFFIGIEM SED QUEM DESIGNAT ADORA.

In the Church of Xanten, near Cleves, are preserved three ancient ivory carvings. One of these contains a figure of Ulysses. I only became aware of their existence after my arrival in Holland, otherwise I should have been tempted to have gone out of the beaten track to inspect them. I have, however, the promise of casts from these curious examples. At Arnheim, in the Public Library, I am informed that there is an interesting religious diptych of ivory attached to a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century. At the Hague, also, there are two or three MSS. with ivory carvings affixed to their covers.

At Utrecht there is a museum of considerable extent in the Stadthouse. It is rich in small Roman relics, and my

<sup>8</sup> Geschichte der Liturgischen Gewande des Mittelalters. 8vo. Bonn.

fellow traveller, Professor Stark of Heidelberg, pointed out some interesting mythological details. There are also some Christian inscriptions and mutilated stone carvings. It was in the library that the great antiquarian treasure of Utrecht was found, consisting of a MS. of the Psalms, which ought to be preserved in the British Museum, as it belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and formed part of his library. How it reached Utrecht is not known. It is an excellently preserved vellum MS., containing the whole of the Psalms, with the Apocryphal Psalm, "Pusillus eram," the Canticles, and Credo, followed by a fragment of the Gospel of St. Matthew, of the same size. The Psalms are written throughout in triple columns on each page in Roman rustic capitals, very similar in size to those of the celebrated Virgil of the Vatican,<sup>9</sup> but with as much elegance in the letters as in the Paris Prudentius.<sup>1</sup> In this respect a date not more recent than the sixth or seventh century ought to be assigned to the MS., but the initial letter of the first Psalm is a large golden uncial B, ornamented in the genuine interlaced Saxon style. Moreover, each Psalm is illustrated with an elaborate pen-and-ink drawing, running entirely across the page, in which the subjects are treated exactly in the same manner as in the Harleian Psalter, No. 603, a MS. of the end of the tenth century; in the Cambridge Psalter of Eadwine, a work of the twelfth century; in another early copy of the Psalter, which I am informed is in Lord Ashburnham's Library; and in the Paris MS. Suppl. Latin. 1194, date *circa* A.D. 1250. I made careful copies of many of these drawings, and others have been sent to the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> I copied, for sake of comparison, the illustration of Psalm 54, of which I had published the corresponding subject from the Eadwine Psalter in my "Palæographia Sacra." These I found identical; so also that of Psalm 149, in which the figure of the organ agrees with that given by Strutt from the Eadwine

<sup>9</sup> *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii. p. 50, pl. 35, fig. iii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fig. viii.

<sup>2</sup> A description of one of these drawings may be given with the view of future reference to other early illustrated MSS. of the Psalms.—Illustration of the 1st Psalm, fol. 1, v. In the upper part of the page is a classical representation of the sun in a circle with the crescent, moon, and stars. Beneath the sun is David seated, writing in front of a circu-

lar temple with a rather flattened dome; he is prompted by an angel. Under the moon the Psalmist is represented as a king seated between two pillars, holding a sword in his right hand. Below, on the left hand, is a flowing river with a tree on its bank covered with fruit, and a man seated on the ground near its trunk; a winged head in the centre is blowing towards the right hand, where winged devils hook a number of figures into the mouth of hell.



Psalter.<sup>3</sup> Others also equally agreed with those in the Harleian Psalter. At the same time there are many entire drawings which are either wanting in the Harleian MS., or only very rudely indicated, and from some of these I have copied various details, which are so beautiful in their execution, and so classical in their style and subject, that one is tempted to believe that this must have been the original from which not only the Harleian, but also the later Eadwine, Psalters were copied. One peculiarity I observed with respect to these drawings which is worthy of note. Spaces were left by the scribe across the whole page, cutting through the triple columns of text, for the insertion of the drawings by the artist, and in several instances the space was not sufficient, the drawings running close to, or even upon, the line of text below. From this fact I infer that the drawings even in this Utrecht Psalter were copied from some earlier MS., and that they were not composed expressly to fill up the spaces which had been left for them. A facsimile is here given of two lines of the text (see woodcut, fig. 1), and also of a few of the details. Here is a wonderfully effective little sketch of Atlas (fig. 2), followed by two very quaint representations of the Sun and Moon (fig. 3, 4), and an admirable classical figure of a river god (fig. 5). Another drawing represents a warrior in his Phrygian cap, holding his sword in its banded scabbard (fig. 6). I also copied a spirited sketch of a kind of circular tread-mill (fig. 7). Cahier and Martin mention a similar subject in the Paris MS. Suppl. Latin, 1194, where the four men push the machine round, "*comme feraient des écoliers qui se piquent au jeu, ou des forçats qui presse l'argousin*;" this is given in illustration of the Psalm x., v. 9, "*In circuitu impii ambulat.*" The representation of Hades (fig. 8) is quite infernal in its grand conception,<sup>4</sup> which our friend George Scharf ought to have seen before he published his excellent memoir in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxvi. p. 370), on representations of the Last Judgment.

What then is the date of this MS.? Supposing the drawings to be later additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist copying from an early classic series of drawings, we should have no difficulty in referring the text to the fifth or sixth

<sup>3</sup> Horda, pl. 33, fig. 12.

<sup>4</sup> A nearly identical drawing of this subject occurs in the Harleian MS., illus-

trating Psalm cii., v. 10, and has been given by Messrs. Cahier and Martin; *Mélanges Arch. i.* pl. 45, f. A.

# LAUDENINOMENELUSIN CHORO INIMPRANO

Fig. 1.



ATLAS

Fig. 2.



SOL

Fig. 3.



LVNA

Fig. 4.



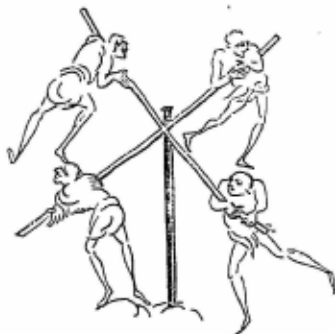
AWARRIOR

Fig. 6.



AQVARIVS

Fig. 5.



A ROVDABOVT

Fig. 7.



HADES

Fig. 8.

Fac-similes of Drawings in the Manuscript Psalter in the Library at Utrecht,  
formerly in Sir Robert Cotton's Library.



century. The initial of the first Psalm, however, precludes us from assigning it to so early a date, and would bring it to the seventh or eighth at the earliest, ranging it with the Psalter, so called, of St. Augustine, in the Cottonian Library. (Vespasian, A. 1.) In this case the drawings may have been added in the ninth or tenth century.<sup>5</sup>

At the end of the Psalter are, however, bound up a few leaves of a grand copy of the Gospels, the date of which is almost as difficult to fix as that of the Psalter, the text being written throughout in fine uncials, very similar to those of the Paris Prudentius,<sup>6</sup> whilst the first word, LIBER, is written in large square golden Roman capitals, on which I found traces of ornament just as upon the gold on some of the capitals of the Psalter of St. Augustine. The title-page also, and inscriptions, INCIP IN NOMINE DNI NI IHU XPI EUANGELIA—NUMERO IIII—SEC MATTHAEUM—SEC MARCUM—SEC LUCAN (*sic*)—SEC IOHANNEM—are written in eight lines, in uncials even larger than those of the Psalter of St. Germain des Pres, but enclosed within an ornamental circle with an interlaced pattern, in the interstices of which is inscribed +ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΟΗΘΗΠΟΤΩ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ.

Hence I think that we have now sufficient evidence that soon after the settlement of the followers of St. Augustine, there must have been established a *scriptorium*, where some of the most beautiful manuscripts were written in the purest uncial or rustic capitals, but decorated with initials in the Anglo-Saxon or Irish style. Of such MSS. we can now record—

1. The Purple Gospels at Stockholm, written in very large uncials, but with illuminated title-pages with pure Anglo-Saxon ornaments, and grand figures of the Evangelists in a mixed classical and Anglo-Saxon style.

2. The Utrecht Gospels, described above.

3. The Gospels in the Cathedral Library, Durham; Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, pl. 14, fig. B, p. 83.

4. The Utrecht Psalter.

5. The Psalter of St. Augustine, MSS. Cotton. Vespasian A. 1, Astle, pl. 9, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> A detailed account of the Utrecht Psalter has been published by Herr Kist, in the *Archeef voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. iv., Leyden, 1833, from which we learn that it bears the Cottonian press mark, Claud. A. 7. I understand from Herr Jansen, of Ley-

den, that a complete fac-simile copy of the whole MS., with its drawings, was made some years ago, and is in the possession of a gentleman at the Hague.

<sup>6</sup> *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii. p. 159, pl. 43, fig. 1.

6. The Bodleian MS. of the Rule of St. Benedict ; Lord Hatton's MSS., No. 93 ; Astle, pl. 9, fig. 1, p. 82.

Were it not for the initials and other illuminations in the genuine Anglo-Saxon style, not one of these MSS. would be supposed to have been executed in England. They are, nevertheless, among the finest specimens of early calligraphic art in existence.

Of early architectural remains at Utrecht, with the exception of what exists of the great church, we only found worthy of notice a crypt with rounded arches on the site of a church now destroyed, and a cloister on the south-east side of the cathedral, with some elegant but much injured Gothic tracery on the outer walls of the ambulatory. These are deserving of closer attention by architectural archaeologists than appears to have been given to them.

We did not visit the Hague, having time only remaining for the museums and library of the University of Leyden, long famous as one of the chief seats of learning. It is not surprising that it possesses many important materials for labour, and many pleasant reminiscences. The Botanic Garden and Collections are associated with the names of Boerhaave and Linnæus ; the latter having laboured here in his younger days. The Zoological Collections are among the most celebrated in Europe, and the remains of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art are of the first importance. The collection of papyri is especially valuable, and has been long in course of publication. Among the Roman sculptures there is a Christian sarcophagus of the earliest period, with scenes of the life of Christ, who is here represented young, beardless, and without a nimbus. A cast of this very important monument of ancient art ought to be obtained for the museum at South Kensington.

In the Public Library I was shown by Herr Jansen a classical MS. of the highest value. It is a copy of the Astronomical Work of Aratus, which has been rendered so interesting to us by Mr. Ottley's memoir in the *Archæologia*, containing descriptions of several illuminated copies existing in this country.<sup>7</sup> One of these he imagined to be of the third century, but from the style of the writing it must evidently be referred to the Carolingian period. The Leyden MS. is much earlier than any of these, being written

<sup>7</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 47.

throughout in elegant rustic Roman capitals, each of the constellations illustrated by a coloured figure painted on a stained back-ground, occupying the entire page; the whole in an excellent classical style of art with thick body-colours. I find by a note in Ottley's paper that he had seen this MS., but his text gives no indication of the existence of the very remarkable series of drawings with which it is illustrated. An account of the manuscript and a portion at least of the drawings were published long ago by Grotius. His engravings are, however, like all those of the period, far too highly finished, giving no idea of the peculiar treatment of each subject, and conveying scarcely more than a general notion of the various designs. I presume that the date of this MS. cannot be more recent than the fifth or sixth century.

Here, also, is preserved a volume of one of the earliest copies of the Bible; the other portion being in the Imperial Library at Paris. It is well known, and has been illustrated by a facsimile published by Silvestre.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT COPENHAGEN.

The following notices of a few remarkable MSS. preserved at Copenhagen may not be unacceptable to some of our readers.

The only fragment of Anglo-Saxon which I was enabled to discover is the following passage, occurring in a MS. *Apologus de Ordine Romano*; 8vo., written in small clear hand, apparently of the tenth century, on vellum. At the end of the chapter "*De Visione*" (p. 65, b.) are fourteen lines—"Verba Hieremie Profete." At the foot of the following page is the passage in question, a brief hortatory instruction, bearing considerable resemblance to some portions of the Homilies of Ælfric, in which possibly this, which hitherto has eluded our search, may be found. The scribe has, however, given some phrases, and especially the first two lines, very defectively. For the translation of the following text of the passage, in which the abbreviated words are given *in extenso*, and a few obvious errors have been corrected, we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. John Earle, late Anglo-Saxon Professor at Oxford.

Se þe þyses lydan nele andgyeniman ne truwie he cæt maran þæt he wille gyman swa swa he scolde his agense þearfe. Ac do swa ic lære, lufa God georne. and beseoh on þinre heortan gelome to his lasan. þonne þe swoþan and þe bet limpan for Gode and for worolde sceal, gelyf gif þu wille; Ælcman behofað gastlices fostres. Se þe bið of earde and feor of his cyððe. hu mæg he ham cuman gif he nele leornian hu se weg lioge þe lið to his cyððe; Hu mage we to hefenan rihtne weg ariedan. buton we gewunian. þæt we oft syrian and geornlice smeagan hu we magon ðyder cuman. Soþ ðæt is þæt ic secge. gelyfe se þe wille. se gefoerð gesællice þe godcunde lare oftost gehyrað and geornlicost gymeð. Am(en).

This short discourse may thus be rendered, the doubtful parts being here printed in *Italic*.

*"He that refuses to accept this instruction, let him not be confident . . . that he will attend as he ought to his own needs. But do thou as I teach: love God sincerely, and in thine heart regard often his teaching. Then shall it be better with thee both in the things of God and of the world: believe it if thou wilt. Every man needeth spiritual nurture. He that is out of his country and far from his kith, how can he come home, if he will not be informed how the way lieth that goes to his kith? How can we discover the way to heaven unless we make it a habit that we often devise and diligently consider how we may thither arrive. Truth it is that I say, believe it who will, he fareth happily who ofttest heareth and most earnestly heedeth divine instruction. Amen."*

There are a few relics of Irish Literature not undeserving of attention. The MS. No. 261, b., described as "*Legum Hibernicarum fragmentum membranaceum*," consists of twelve 4to. pages closely written. A portion, of which I made a transcript, having been submitted, through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Reeves, to the learned Irish scholar Dr. O'Donovan, has proved to be part of the *Septiads*, occurring in several MSS. of the *Brehon Laws*. To his courtesy we are indebted for the following literal version, from a more correct authority, the MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 16, being one of Edward Lloyd's collection, which Sir John Sebright at the recommendation of Burke bequeathed to the University. We have not thought it necessary to print the Irish original, corruptly written in the Copenhagen MS. The import is as follows:—

"There are seven charges [*i. e.*, things given in charge] with the *Feini* [the heroic name of the Irish] which are not entitled to restoration, though they be broken, though they be destroyed, though they be stolen. A charge upon the sea; a charge which is placed along with your own valuables, without cutting or concealing; a charge in a house that has been consumed by a fire from heaven; a charge which has been run away with from a [hostile] army; a charge to a man in battle; the charge of a horse to a messenger to ride upon for his [the owner's] benefit; the charge of a hound to a huntsman to take on a path."

Dr. O'Donovan is of opinion that this MS. portion of the *Brehon laws* which I found in the Copenhagen library, was sent there by Col. Vallancey through the Celto-Scandic antiquary Johnstone. The idea long prevailed that Denmark was rich in Irish MSS., and under that impression Vallancey despatched an accredited standard whereby to guide the Danes in case any MSS. might be brought to light.

This observation of Dr. O'Donovan in regard to the *Brehon Law Tract* is fully confirmed by the statement of Mr. O'Flanagan, in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*, of which he was the secretary. We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Reeves, the learned historian of St. Columba, for calling our attention to the following passage:—

"In short, Ireland is acknowledged by all the old historians worthy of credit, to have been the school of the west, and to have furnished England, France, and Germany, with able teachers, from the fifth to the close of the eighth century, when it was disturbed by the predatory and desolating incursions of the Northern rovers, who continued to harass and confuse this country for upwards of two centuries, a period of disturbances which nearly annihilated its civility. It is even confidently asserted, that many

of our valuable manuscripts had been taken, during the interval, to Denmark; nor is the disappointment of the liberal Dr. Warner a sufficient proof that none of our records do exist in the archives of Denmark to this day. Those who searched for them might have been too indolent, too careless, and, in all probability, utterly incapable of distinguishing an Irish from any other old manuscript. I was acquainted, some years ago, with Mr. Thorkelin, an Icelandic gentleman, professor of history and Icelandic antiquities to his Danish majesty, in the royal college of Copenhagen. He sojourned in Dublin for some time on literary research. I translated, for his use, some abstracts from our annals relative to the transactions of the Danes in Ireland. He confidently assured me, that he knew several families in his native country, who were in possession of old books of history and genealogy in Irish, and old Irish poems, over which they frequently spent their hours of amusement, and made Irish the language of their domestic conversation. His manner of accounting for the fact should be mentioned; he said that some Irish families must have retired to Iceland from internal commotions in their native country at a remote period, and still continue to cherish its memory. I was present when General Vallancey gave Mr. Thorkelin a *Caie* of old vellum, containing a law tract, to guide him in an intended search for Irish manuscripts in the archives of Denmark on his return, but no result has ensued."<sup>8</sup>

MS. No. 268, b.—A volume of Irish poetry. Small folio, 38 leaves, half on parchment, half on paper, the former bearing an old paging, 53 to 91. This part appears to be of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the portion on paper is probably of the seventeenth. Of the earlier time is the following laudatory poem (p. 10) on one of the Maguires, lords of Fermanagh, Cu-connaught, i.e., Hound of Connaught, for with the Irish Cu, or hound, as in the noble Veronese family della Scala were the names *Mastino* and *Gran Cane*, was an honourable title, and indication of heroic merit. It was a favourite name among the Maguires; the individual in question was probably Cu-connaught, son of Cu-connaught, Lord of Fermanagh, who died in 1589.

Suirgeach Manchaigh le mac righ:  
 Ní fero ris nad tar la tnuad:  
 Ar cuimhne bud cian aluad:  
 Ní buan suirghí riam fa run:  
 Brath ceili tealcha da thi  
 Ar crad o cleir cendchaid gnaoi;  
 Siol Eachaigh an agh is he,  
 Re lan nach deachaid fad laoi;  
 Cnu mullaigh to mogalríogh,  
 Ar Ulltaib do thogaib tnúid;  
 Tig sin do comarce cliar;  
 Giall or Coin-Condaichtne ar ceul;  
 Rioghan da gradh ar na ghuin,  
 Do clod nac dtiobra a tail?  
 Tig do bairí mna tarmuir,  
 Gur cuir la ana naibei air,  
 Mac Siobana, rélta riogh;  
 Slat fhiodfais an teagalán,  
 Do ben a fogaib abfár:  
 Triall folaigh ní head dob al.

<sup>8</sup> Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin, established for the investiga-

tion and revival of ancient Irish literature: 8vo. vol. i. p. 23. Dublin, 1808.



We are here again under obligation to Dr. O'Donovan's kind assistance in supplying the following translation.

"Flattering<sup>9</sup> are the Manchaigh<sup>1</sup> to the son of a king:  
 He is not a champion who is not envied:  
 Our memory it would be tedious to recount:  
 Flattery is not durable under a secret:  
 He who goes to look for a housewife,<sup>2</sup>  
 For cattle buys beauty from the poets;<sup>3</sup>  
 He is the race of Eochaidh the valiant,  
 A full moon which has not gone under a long mist;  
 He is the top nut of the royal cluster,  
 Who among the Ultonians<sup>4</sup> has raised envy;  
 He comes to protect the poets;  
 Our Cu-connacht is our hostage,<sup>5</sup> our defence;  
 A queen of<sup>6</sup> his love is smitten,  
 To her form will he not give assent?<sup>7</sup>  
 A brilliant woman has come over the sea,  
 Who one day put great joy upon him,  
 Son of Judith, star of kings;  
 A rod of the forest-wood is the sapling,  
 Who has taken their crookedness from darts:  
 To march hiddenly<sup>8</sup> is not his delight."

Of Scandinavian MSS. the following were pointed out by the obliging head librarian as the most important.

No. 1154. *Leges Norvagiæ Magni Regis Norvagiæ*.—An interesting Norwegian MS. in the Norse language: small folio, xiv. cent. pp. 117, with rudely illuminated capitals, and arabesques of birds, &c., at the foot of each principal page. On p. 2 is a large M, with a figure of king Magnus enthroned, young and beardless, wearing a crown; he is in the act of presenting the book of Laws to an attendant. The letter is in gold, the spaces between the down strokes are trefoiled like Gothic windows. The style resembles that of French art in the thirteenth century. On p. 4 there is a large F, with a representation above of our Lord enthroned on a rainbow; two swords issue from his mouth; below appear a king and a bishop kneeling. Among other subjects are knights tilting, a boat with soldiers armed with battle-axes, swords, short shields, chapels de fer, &c.; and the king occurs again presenting a charter.

A remarkable Icelandic MS. in two volumes, entitled the *Flateyer Book*. It is the largest known in that language. It has marginal capitals in blue and red scrolls, in the style of the fourteenth century, and occasionally a rather coarsely executed illumination is found at the foot of the page.

Our attention was also called to the Book of Gulathing's Law, otherwise entitled the *Codex of Hardenberg*, as an important Scandinavian MS. in this collection.

<sup>9</sup> i.e., coaxing.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., Fermanagh men.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., a wife for his house, not a concubine.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., he must buy poems in praise of his beauty.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., men of Ulster.

<sup>5</sup> i.e., pledge.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., by.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., will he not marry her?

<sup>8</sup> i.e., stealthily.

THE VOTIVE GOLD CROWNS RECENTLY FOUND NEAR TOLEDO,  
AND NOW PRESERVED AT THE HOTEL DE CLUNY, AT PARIS.

THE remarkable discovery of a most precious deposit of royal insignia of the seventh century, in the neighbourhood of Toledo, has been mentioned in some of the English Journals. I am not aware, however, that any detailed notice of that rich treasure has appeared in England, and I hope that the following particulars may prove interesting. I recently had the gratification of examining carefully the precious relics in question, and I am indebted to the courtesy of my friend Mons. Du Sommerard, the accomplished Administrator of the Musée des Thermes, established in the Hotel de Cluny at Paris, for the following authentic account of the discovery.

Early in the present year or at the close of 1858, in the course of excavations at *La Fuente de Guarrazar*, near Toledo, on the property of some private individual, this remarkable hoard of treasure was brought to light. No particulars deserving of record have been stated in regard to the position or the circumstances under which this deposit had been made; the light-brown earthy crust still adherent to the cavities of the gold might lead to the supposition that the treasure lay concealed in the soil, and had not been enclosed in any casket or depository of durable material. Of this, however, no details appear to have become known. The spot where the crowns were interred was uncultivated land, which the peasants by whom the discovery was made were breaking up. The treasure, consisting of eight crowns of gold richly jeweled, with the curious chains serving for their suspension, and four jeweled crosses appended within the crowns, was brought to Paris in the month of January, 1859, by the proprietor of the land where they were found. The crowns were immediately purchased by the Minister of Public Instruction for the National Collections at the Hotel de Cluny, which have been greatly augmented under the Empire. That highly interesting museum already possessed

the sumptuous votive altar of gold presented by the Emperor Henry II. to the Cathedral of Basle.<sup>1</sup> The price at which the negotiation was concluded, amounted to 100,000 francs, or 4000*l.* sterling; the intrinsic value of the gold being not less than 15,000 francs, or 600*l.*, whilst the value of the précieux stones, consisting of rubies, emeralds, pearls, and sapphires of large size, amounts to a very considerable sum.

The largest of the crowns bears the following inscription, in letters jeweled and appended by little chains to its lower margin:—

RECCESVINTHVS REX OFFERET.

The letters measure about two inches in length, each being suspended separately by a small gold chain, and to each letter is attached a pendant pearl and sapphire. These letters are of gold, incrustated with precious stones set in *cloisonnés* cavities, and resembling in their workmanship certain ornaments of the Merovingian period, or the fibulæ of the Anglo Saxon times in our own country.

We are enabled by this inscription to ascertain the age of these most costly relics. The Gothic King Reccesvinthus, governed Spain from 653 to 675. The seven crowns of minor dimensions and value may have been those of his Queen, and of the princes and princesses of his family; some of them, judging by their size, being suited for children of early age. The whole had no doubt been a solemn offering in some church in Spain, founded or enriched by the piety of the Gothic monarch and his family, on some memorable occasion of which no record has hitherto been found. M. Du Sommerard pointed out to me that they are not merely imitative crowns formed for a votive purpose only, to be suspended over the altar, or in some other conspicuous position, in like manner as similar ornaments are to be noticed in early mosaics and illuminations. These Gothic crowns appear to be the insignia which had actually been worn by Reccesvinthus and the personages of his family, since they are formed with hinges and fastenings to facilitate their being fitted to the wearers' heads.<sup>2</sup> The chains for suspension and ornament were no doubt added on the occasion of the offering.

<sup>1</sup> Figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated that Lewvigildus was the first king of the Visigoths who wore a

crown, or assumed any regal insignia. He reigned from 568 to 586, about sixty years before Reccesvinthus. *Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

I will proceed to describe the rich character of these remarkable ornaments, of the general appearance of which the accompanying woodcut may give an idea, inadequate as it may be to suggest the sumptuous magnificence of the originals. The crown of the king measures about 9 inches in diameter, or 27 inches in circumference. It is a hoop of gold, about 4 inches in breadth, and upwards of half an inch in thickness; not solid, but formed of massive golden plates soldered together. The margins of this hoop consist of two bands of *cloisonné* work, with incrustations of cornelian; and the hoop is enriched with thirty oriental sapphires of large size, *en cabochon*, and set in collets, giving to the gems a very prominent relief. Thirty very large oriental pearls are arranged alternately with the sapphires; the intervening spaces are pierced in open work and engraved, so as to represent foliage or flowers. To the lower margin of this hoop is appended the remarkable fringe composed of jeweled letters, already described, recording the offering of the crown by King Reccesvinthus. To the upper margin are attached four golden chains of beautiful design, serving for its suspension, and united together above in an elegant foliated ornament, which is enriched with numerous pendant pearls and sapphires, and surmounted by a capital or knop of rock crystal, elaborately carved and polished, and terminating in a globe of the same material. The massive cross before mentioned, of Latin form, is suspended within the crown by a long slender chain, so as to hang a little lower than the jeweled fringe of letters. This cross is set with six fine sapphires and eight pearls of remarkable dimensions, mounted in very high relief; jeweled pendants are also attached to the foot and limbs of the cross, and on its reverse is still to be seen the *acus* by which it might be attached when worn as a fibula on the royal robes. As nearly as I could ascertain the entire measurement of this remarkable combination of ornament, the length, from the gold hook for its suspension at the top to the lowest pendant sapphire attached to the cross below, is nearly 3 feet. The richness of the pure gold of which this massive ornament is formed, the brilliancy of the pale violet sapphires, uncut and irregular in their forms, the bold character of their mountings, the striking contrast of the alternating pearls, so unequal in dimension, combine with

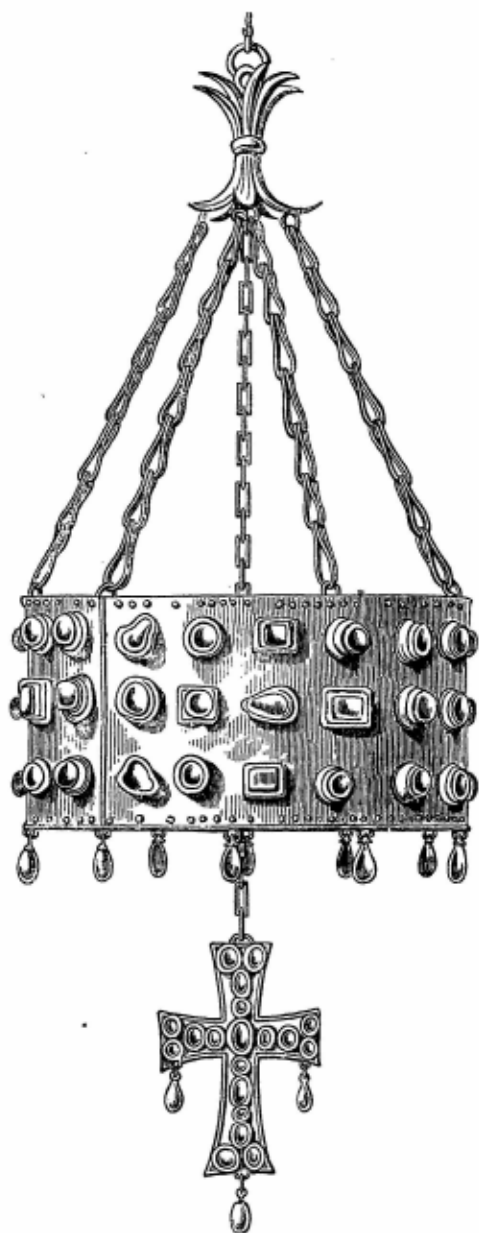
the beauty of the whole design and workmanship, to render this crown with its accessories one of the most gorgeous and remarkable relics of its age.

The crown and pendant cross, second in importance only to that above described, were probably worn by the Gothic queen, whose name is not known. The woodcut here given may suffice to show its fashion and proportions. In default of any more elaborate representation I have had recourse to that which accompanies M. Du Sommerard's notice in the *Monde Illustré*. The general arrangement is the same as in the crown of the king, but the enrichments are less sumptuous; in this costly ornament there is no inscription, nor any *cloisonné* work. The broad circlet is set with fifty-four rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and opals: eight pendant sapphires fringe its lower margin. It deserves observation that near both edges of this circlet, above and below, there are little loops which served doubtless to attach a lining or cap of some costly tissue within the golden hoop, protecting the brows of the royal wearer. The pendant cross is of less sumptuous character than that attached to the crown of the king: it is, however, richly set on both its sides with sapphires, oriental onyxes, pearls, and pieces of mother-of-pearl, and it has sapphires appended to the foot and limbs.

The six other crowns are of various sizes and fashions: they are regarded, with much probability, as having appertained to some children of the royal race. Three of these crowns are essentially different from those already described: instead of a broad hoop the circlet consists of an open frame-work of gold, formed with three horizontal hoops traversed by numerous uprights; and gems are set at the points of intersection. Each crown is enriched with not less than fifty-four precious stones and pearls, and has also the hanging fringe of sapphires and the pendant cross. On one of the crosses is engraved in large well formed characters the following dedication,—

+IN DEI NOMINE OFFERET SONNICA SANCTE MARIE IN SORBACES.

After the word *NOMINE* a leaf is introduced as a stop, as often seen in ancient Roman epigraphy. *Sonnica*, M. Du Sommerard informed me, has been considered to be a male



Gold Crown and Cross, supposed to be that of the Queen of Reccesvinthus,  
King of the Goths, A.D. 567.



appellative, the names of men among the Goths occurring not unfrequently with the terminal vowel :<sup>3</sup> the personage by whom this offering to the Virgin was made has not been identified ; and no satisfactory explanation, as far as I could ascertain, had been given by the antiquaries in France of the name *Sorbaces*, which doubtless indicated the locality where the church in which this precious relic had been suspended was situated. It appears, however, very probable that, as my friend Mr. Weston S. Walford has suggested, *Sorbaces* may be *Sorbas*, a small town in the province of Almeria, in Andalusia, about twenty-five miles distant from the shores of the Mediterranean. There exist at that place, as we learn from the valuable Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of Spain, by Pascual Madozi (Madrid, 1846, 16 vols. 8vo.), a church dedicated in honor of the *Purissima Concepcion*, and some ruins of a Moorish castle.

The remaining three crowns are of much smaller size, and have no pendant crosses ; they are hoops of considerable breadth, jeweled, and ornamented with *repoussé* work and mother-of-pearl : one of them presents an arcade of little open round-headed arches, with elaborate ornament engraved or hammered up, in which foliated patterns prevail. The smaller crowns, as before observed, are of comparatively diminutive proportions, such as would only fit the heads of children. It will be remembered that in certain representations of the Imperial family in the times of the Eastern Empire, not only the Byzantine Emperor and Empress, but each of the younger personages of their august race appears wearing a broad jeweled circlet, or a crown.

There is no trace of enamel upon any of these rich ornaments : the *cloisonné* work already mentioned as similar to that occurring on Merovingian ornaments, and especially to the enrichment of the relics found in the supposed tomb of Childeric near Tournay,<sup>4</sup> is remarkable ; the incrustations appear to be chiefly of cornelian, in place of which bright red glass, or as some suppose, garnet set over gold foil, is more commonly found in the enrichments of this class. A

<sup>3</sup> The names of several predecessors of Reccesvinthus, namely, Liuva, Suintila, Chintila, and Tulca, may be cited in support of this observation. Wamba and Egica also occur among his successors on the throne of the Visigoths.

<sup>4</sup> See Chifflet's *Anastasis Childerici*, and the recently published work by the Abbé Cochet, "*Le Tombeau de Childéric I., Roi des Francs, restitué à l'aide de l'Archéologie.*"



number of fictitious gems occur in the smaller ornaments, being, as M. Du Sommerard informed me, vitreous pastes of various colours; but the paste has suffered during long deposit in the earth, and the colours are scarcely apparent. A more remarkable fact, in regard to the ornamentation, is to be found in the profuse introduction of small plates of mother-of-pearl in place of real pearls. This substance is well preserved, and of considerable brilliancy. Our talented friend, Mr. William Burges, it may be remembered, invited our attention, in his valuable Memoir on the relics of Theodelinda at Monza,<sup>5</sup> to the use of mother-of-pearl, as recorded in the Treatise of Theophilus. I believe, however, that it is of very rare occurrence among the ornaments of the earlier periods which have been preserved to our times. The use of mother-of-pearl on works of such remarkable and sumptuous character as the Gothic crowns under consideration may be regarded as a proof of its rarity, and of the high estimation in which it was held in times when the comparative difficulty of communication with the distant East must have given a greater value to this beautiful material than it possesses at the present time.

There are few relics of the period now existing, deserving of comparison with the precious regalia which I have endeavoured to describe. The crown of the Lombard King Agilulfus, formerly in the Treasury at Monza and transported to Paris by Napoleon, unfortunately perished when the collections at the Imperial Library in Paris were plundered in 1804; we can now only form a notion of its similarity in character and workmanship to the crowns of the Gothic race, through the imperfect representation which has been preserved by Frisi, and has been frequently copied.<sup>6</sup> The celebrated circlet of jeweled work at Monza, within which the iron crown of Lombardy is inclosed, is of great beauty of execution, but it differs materially in character from those found at Toledo, and falls short of them in the barbaric magnificence of enrichment, and in the impressive

<sup>5</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 14. Numerous pieces of mother-of-pearl occur with precious gems on the circlet called the crown of Theodelinda, at Monza. Theophilus, lib. iii. cap. 95, distinctly speaks of the practice by goldsmiths of cutting out pieces of shells, and forming therewith "Margaritæ, in

auro satis utiles."

<sup>6</sup> *Memorie della Chiesa Monzese, &c.*, dal Canonico A. Frisi, Milan, 1775, tav. iv. p. 42. It is also figured in the notes on Paulus Diaconus, *Rerum Italicarum Script.* tom. i., p. 460. See also the *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, translated from M. Labarte, p. 206.

effect of so sumptuous a display of natural gems remarkable for their dimensions and lustrous brilliancy.<sup>7</sup>

Of the usage of suspending golden crowns as votive offerings in churches frequent notices are found in the lives of the Roman Pontiffs by Anastasius, and in ancient chronicles and documents. They are usually described as having been placed over the altar, and in many instances mention is made of jeweled crosses of gold appended within such crowns, an accessory ornament which is found to accompany four of the Gothic crowns now under consideration. Fontaninus, in a learned Dissertation on the Iron Crown of Lombardy, cites numerous examples, serving to illustrate his observations on the other crowns formerly preserved with it in the Treasury at Monza, namely, those of King Agilulfus and Theodelinda his Queen.<sup>8</sup> The former, which was richly jeweled and ornamented with figures of the Apostles, bore the following inscription—AGILVLF · GRAT · D'I · VIR · GLOR · REX · TOTIVS · ITAL · OFFERET · S'CO · IOHANNI · BAPTISTE · IN · EOCL · MODICIA. To each of these crowns was appended a jeweled cross, described as exceeding in weight, in both instances, that of the crown itself. It must be observed, however, that according to Muratori these precious objects had undergone certain restorations in the fourteenth century. The original fashion and adjustment were doubtless preserved, and also the inscription, in which the expression OFFERET is not without interest, as identical with that in the inscription before noticed, formed by the letters appended to the crown of Reccesvinthus, and that on one of the crosses, which bears the name of Sonnica.<sup>9</sup> The crowns suspended as offerings in churches suggested doubtless the sumptuous pensile luminaries frequently designated from a very early period as *coronæ*, and in which the form of the royal circlet was preserved, in much larger proportions, as exemplified

<sup>7</sup> The iron crown is figured in the Dissertation by Fontaninus, and in Du Sommerard's Album, 10th series, pl. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Justi Fontanini Dissertatio de Corona Ferrea; Romæ, 1719, pp. 91—97. See also the Hierolexicon by Dominic and Charles Macer, under the word *Corona*; Ducange's Glossary, under the words *Corona*, *Regnum*, *Spanochyatus*, &c.

<sup>9</sup> On the gold plates covering the Evangelary presented by Theodelinda to the church of Monza, the word OFFERET occurs Frisi, Memorie della Chiesa

Monzese, p. 43. The crown of Theodelinda, with the pendant cross, is figured in Frisi, p. 76. See also the Encyclopédie Théologique, Dictionnaire d'Orfèvrerie, v. Couronnes. Many instances of crowns offered in like manner by sovereign princes might be cited. Clovis, at the suggestion of St. Remi, sent to the church of St. Peter, at Rome, "*Coronam auream cum gemmis, quæ Regnum appellari solet.*" Hincmarus, in vita S. Remigii.

by the remarkable *corona* still to be seen suspended in the Cathedral at Aix la Chapelle over the crypt in which the body of Charlemagne was deposited. This *corona* was the offering of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, by whom the imperial tomb was opened in 1165.

The limits of this notice have not permitted me to advert to various points of interest to the student of ancient Christian Art, such as the forms and origin of crowns in early times, the distinction between imperial and royal crowns, and the signification of certain terms, *Corona*, *Regnum*, *Diadema*, &c., upon which much has been written by Ciampini, Ducange, and other authors.

I must lastly observe that not the least remarkable fact, connected with this precious assemblage of crowns to which I have sought to invite attention, is their perfect preservation: they seem to have suffered no injury, nor have any of the gems with which they are so richly set been displaced. The French archæologists appear to have left for future investigations to determine, on what occasion and in what locality so magnificent an offering was made by *Reccesvinthus*; and to what cause, in some time of invasion or predatory disorder, its concealment at the *Fuente de Guarrazar* may be attributed.

These votive crowns may have remained, as Mr. Weston S. Walford observed, when I first brought this subject under the notice of the Institute, scarcely more than half a century in the position for which they were destined by the Gothic king. In the *Chronicle of Roderic*, Archbishop of Toledo, which was finished by him in 1243, some notices occur of *Reccesvinthus*. At his instance three synods or councils were held at Toledo, and the chronicler remarks, "*altaria Christi ornamentis variis decorabat.*" Had the votive offering of the golden crowns been known to him, some allusion would doubtless have been made to so costly a gift. But they had probably disappeared long before. The invasion of Spain by the Saracens in the eventful reign of Roderic, last king of the Goths, took place about forty years after the death of *Reccesvinthus*. They plundered the towns but spared the peasantry. Whether these crowns were at *Sorbas* or elsewhere, it is probable that they were taken for security to Toledo. That city soon capitulated, after the fatal defeat of Roderic in 712. Some one may have taken flight with the

treasure, and, having buried the crowns for safety, may have lost his life before he could recover them or reveal the place of concealment.

It were much to be desired, that these precious relics should be permanently secured for the Musée des Thermes at Paris, where so admirable a series has been combined for public gratification, and where the archæologist always finds facilities and courtesy rarely afforded in other countries. I regret to state that the purchase of the treasure cannot yet be regarded as accomplished. The vendor, on whose lands the hoard lay concealed, accepted the terms of transfer agreed upon, but, in delivering over the acquisition to the French Government, he declined for the present to receive payment of the price. Before the transaction had become, by actual receipt of the purchase moneys, a *fait accompli*, the discovery of the treasure became known to the Spanish Government. Reclamation was forthwith made, on the ground that the crowns were National Regalia, inalienable heir-looms of the State, of which it were impossible under any circumstances that one nation should deprive another, with which it was allied in such close and intimate relations as subsist between the Empire and Spain. So complex and important a question of Treasure Trove has probably never before occurred. Meanwhile the vendor prudently declined to receive the price agreed upon, and he demanded restitution of the golden treasure, which, of course, the authorities by whom the affairs of the State Collections in France are administered, cannot render back. At the commencement of the late campaign in Lombardy, this intricate question awaited the Imperial decision. Amidst interests of more momentous import, the affair may possibly pass over, and the Gothic regalia may be permitted to remain for the gratification of the visitors of the collections increasing daily in interest and importance at the Musée des Thermes.

ALBERT WAY.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES FROM THE SPANISH WRITERS  
RELATING TO RECCESVINTHUS, AND THE LAST KINGS  
OF THE GOTHS IN SPAIN.<sup>1</sup>

To the foregoing account of a discovery of unusual interest, it may not be irrelevant to subjoin a few notices from the Spanish Chronicles, in regard to Reccesvinthus and the succession of the last sovereigns of the Gothic race. Considerable discrepancies are found in statements of some modern authors on this period of Spanish history. The fullest of the Chronicles appears to be that of Roderic, Archbishop of Toledo, to which allusion has already been made. He was living A.D. 1243. With this it may be well to compare the chronicle of Rodericus Santius, finished in 1469, that of Johannes Vasseus, who died in 1562, and the statements of Alphonsus a Carthagena, Michaelis Ritijs Neapolitanus, and Franciscus Tarapha. All appear to agree generally in the leading historical events, and in the genealogy of the later Gothic princes. It will be seen by the following extracts that Reccesvinthus, or, as the name appears in the Chronicle of the Archbishop of Toledo, Recensuindus, was son of Cindasvindus,<sup>2</sup> who in his later years shared the kingdom with his son, and died A.D. 657. Reccesvinthus succeeded as sole sovereign, and he was eminent for his piety, as the Archbishop relates in the following passages in his Chronicle :—

“Cindasvindus Recensuindum filium suum regno Gotthorum præponit, regnans per se annis sex, mensibus novem, et cum filio suo Recensuindo annis quatuor, diebus quindecim. . . . Obiit Toleti.

“Recensvindus post mortem patris successit in regno, æra Dxcv.,<sup>3</sup> et regnavit annis xviii. et mensibus xi., in universo xxiii. annis. . . . Hic fidem catholicam ex corde diligens a sciolis sanctæ scripturæ petebat dubia scripturarum et articulos fidei declarari, adeo quod eum divinæ Scripturæ semper collatio delectabat: altaria Christi ornamentis variis decorabat. . . . Obiit Kal. Septembris, ibique [Bamba in territorio Palantino] sepultus fuit æra Dccxiii.”

On the death of Reccesvinthus, A.D. 675, leaving a son of early age,

<sup>1</sup> These Chronicles may be consulted in the “*Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores*,” ex bibliotheca clarissimi viri Dn. Roberti Beli Angli.” Francof. 1579.

<sup>2</sup> This king's name is written Chindasvinto by Mariana (*Historia de España*), who states (lib. vi. c. 20) that he had by Riesberga, his queen, three sons, Reccesvinthus, Theodofredus, and Favila, and a daughter, whose name is not given, who married the Greek Ardebastus, and was mother of Ervigius, who became king

of the Goths as above stated. The supposed daughter is called by the Chroniclers the *consobrina* of Cindasvindus. It is highly probable that Theodofredus was a brother of Reccesvinthus.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. 657. The era of Spain commenced on Jan. 1, B.C. 38, that country having been conquered by Augustus, A.U.C. 715. To reduce the era year to the year A.D., 38 must be deducted from the former.

named Theodofredus, Bamba, a powerful chief, was chosen King; he retired into a monastery, A.D. 685. Of his successor, Ervigius, we read as follows:—

“Huic [Bambæ] succedit Ervigius, eo quod esset Recensuindi sobrinus, sed tyrannide non de jure. Reliquerat enim Recensuindus filium parvulum Theodofredum, cui regni successio debebatur. Cœpit autem regnare Ervigius æra Decxxiii., et regnavit annis vii. Hic Cisilonem filiam suam magno viro Egicæ, Bambæ principis consobrino, dedit uxorem, propter Recensuindi filium Theodofredum, ne regni ejus primordia impediret.”

Ervigius died about A.D. 692, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Egica, who reigned ten or thirteen years. Vitiza, son of Egica, was associated with him before his death, and succeeded him. Through the machinations of Egica, the youthful heir of Reccesvinthus had been exiled to Cordova, where he built a palace, and married a lady of royal race, Ricilone, by whom he had Roderic, who ultimately became king, known as “The last of the Goths.” Vitiza caused the eyes of Theodofredus to be put out, an act of cruelty which Roderic avenged in like manner upon the usurper himself.

“Cum enim Theodofredus filius Recensuindi, qui in ætate parvula a patre fuerat derelictus, et in juvenili ætate placidus, elegantis formæ, et indolis graciosæ, ab omnibus amaretur, timens Egica pater Vitizæ ne juvenis tanti generis et tantæ spei ad regni fastigium aspiraret, a propriis finibus Cordubam exilio relegavit. Cumque sibi mansio Cordubæ placuisset, ibi palatium miræ fortitudinis fabricavit, quod et filius ejus ætatis robore adolescens et dilatavit, et obfirmavit, qui aliquandiu ibi moratus duxit uxorem de regali genere nomine Ricilonem, ex qua suscepit filium Rodericum.<sup>4</sup> Cum autem Vitiza regni gubernacula post patrem suum Egicam suscepisset, æmulatione, qua pater, cœpit persequi Theodofredum, donec captum utroque lumine fecit orbem. . . . . Igitur Rodericus filius Theodofredi, quem Vitiza, ut patrem, privare oculis visus fuit, favore Romani Senatus qui eum ob Recensuindi (*sic*) gratiam diligebat, contra Vitizam decrevit publice rebellare. Qui viribus præeminens cepit eum, et quod patri suo fecerat, fecit ei, et regno expulsum, sibi regnum electione Gothorum et senatus auxilio vindicavit.”<sup>5</sup>

By the concurrent testimony of these early chronicles it thus appears that Roderic was the grandson of Reccesvinthus, whose regalia have been brought to light, as above related. Some later writers however represent him as the nephew. Mariana asserts, without stating any authority, that Reccesvinthus died without issue, and that Theodofredus, his brother, espoused Ricilona, and had issue Roderic. The date of Roderic's accession, and that of his death, have been variously stated. Some modern writers relate that he obtained the sovereignty and lost his life in the same year, A.D. 711, which is improbable. In the “*Art de Vérifier les Dates*,” he is said to have been chosen king in 710 or 711, and his fatal defeat by the Saracens is placed in 712. According to the Spanish Chronicles, however, that event appears to have occurred in A.D. 714.

<sup>4</sup> The Chronicle of Santius gives Retlene as the name of the mother of the last of the Goths, and states that Theodofredus had by her another son, Costa,

who reigned before Roderic, during five years.

<sup>5</sup> Ex Roderico Toletano de rebus Hispaniæ, *ut supra*, pp. 117, 178, 187, 190.

## THE RECENT DISCOVERIES AT WROXETER.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. HARRY M. SCARTH, M.A.

ON a former occasion I brought before the Institute some particulars regarding the city of Urioconium, and I then endeavoured to bring together the scattered notices of such discoveries as had been made from time to time, previously to the commencement of the excavations during the present year.<sup>2</sup> At the meeting of the Society at Shrewsbury I had the gratification of accompanying the members in their visit to Wroxeter, where I was enabled by knowledge of the localities to point out the extent of the walls, the sites where certain discoveries, noticed in my former memoir, had been made, and such other particulars as were then known. Recent investigations have amply fulfilled the expectation of the interesting results by which a well organised effort to examine the extensive area of the city would be repaid, and I feel assured that a report of what has been already brought to light during the excavations now in progress will not prove unacceptable, as a sequel to my former memoir.

In resuming, however, my notices of the vestiges of this great Roman city, so long neglected, a word of commendation is due to the meritorious exertions of those who have been foremost in promoting this highly interesting undertaking, and by whose liberality or zealous assistance the work of excavation has been carried forward. The names of Mr. Botfield, through whose generous proposition the project was originated, Mr. Wright, who first put the matter into a practical form, and Dr. Johnson, who has carefully and zealously superintended the exploration of Urioconium, must be held in special and honourable remembrance.

A detailed account of the late excavations has been given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and also in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; they have been more fully recorded in Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Meeting of the Institute at Carlisle, July 29, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> See page 52, in this volume.

Wright's Guide, recently published at Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> Many members of the Institute may doubtless be familiar with the chief particulars of the discoveries; my object, however, on the present occasion is to sum up the results of investigations so successfully commenced, my endeavour in my former memoir having been to bring together all that had been previously known.

Before commencing the description of the excavations, it may be desirable to call attention to the extent of *Urioconium*, as compared with other provincial cities of the Roman Empire. The area, for example, was considerably greater than that of Pompeii; the walls of *Urioconium* being three miles in circuit, whilst those of Pompeii are less than two miles; the former enclosing a surface of 223 acres, whereas the superficial extent of Pompeii was only 160 acres. The circuit of the walls of Silchester is only one mile and a half; the area is 102 acres. (See *Arch. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 330.) The area of Kenchester, according to Mr. Wright, is only between twenty and thirty acres.

The excavations commenced on the 3rd February last, by the examination of the foundations of the remains known as the "Old Wall," of which mention was made in my former memoir.<sup>4</sup> (A. A. in the plan.) The foundation was discovered at fourteen feet below the surface. A trench was dug to the northward of the Old Wall, and three walls running parallel to it were successively met with. The Old Wall was next traced toward the west, and was found to continue nearly to the hedge of the field in which it stands, and which separates the field from the Watling Street Road. Here it joined another wall, which diverged nearly at a right angle. A wall parallel to this was found at the opposite or eastern extremity of the Old Wall, running not quite at a right angle to that work. The three walls running parallel to the Old Wall were traced the whole length of the building. Thus the plan of the building was found to be a parallel-

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. v. 3rd series, p. 207, where the report by Mr. Wright and Dr. H. Johnson is given, with a ground-plan of the foundations of buildings discovered; see also *Gent. Mag.* 1859, p. 447, and the "Guide to the Ruins of the Roman City of *Urioconium*," by Thomas Wright, M.A., Shrewsbury, J. O. Sandford, 1859, 12mo. The volume last noticed contains numerous illustra-

tions. A second and enlarged edition has recently appeared.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 57, 60, in this volume. An interesting view of the "Old Wall," as it appeared in 1721, was sent to the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. Mr. Carte, and is preserved in their collection of drawings. The best recent representation of the Wall is the etching given in Mr. Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 132.



ogram (B), composed of a central area and two side aisles, resembling the foundation of a church of the Basilica type. The central area (*medius-porticus*) measured 226 ft. long, by 30 ft. wide; of the two lateral passages, that to the south was uniformly about 14 ft. wide, and that to the north 13 ft. 9 in., at the western, and 16 ft. at the eastern extremity. Thus the proportions of the whole area were 226 ft. by 60 ft. To the east there is an adjoining enclosure (c) 26 ft. by 60 ft., which may have been the *chalcidicum*, a room usually attached to Basilicas. The length of the building, including this, would therefore be 262 by 60 ft. The central area is just the width of the side aisles taken together. The walls of these which remain probably supported columns, and were, in fact, only the base upon which they rested. I have heard that rows of columns were found in this field, and that these were dug up to form the coping stones of the enclosure walls; a labourer mentioned to me some years since the fact of their lying in rows.<sup>5</sup> The central portion of the building had been neatly paved, in its whole extent, with small red bricks, 3 in. long by 1 in. wide, set edgeways in herring-bone fashion. Here and there a few pieces of broken roofing tiles were found.

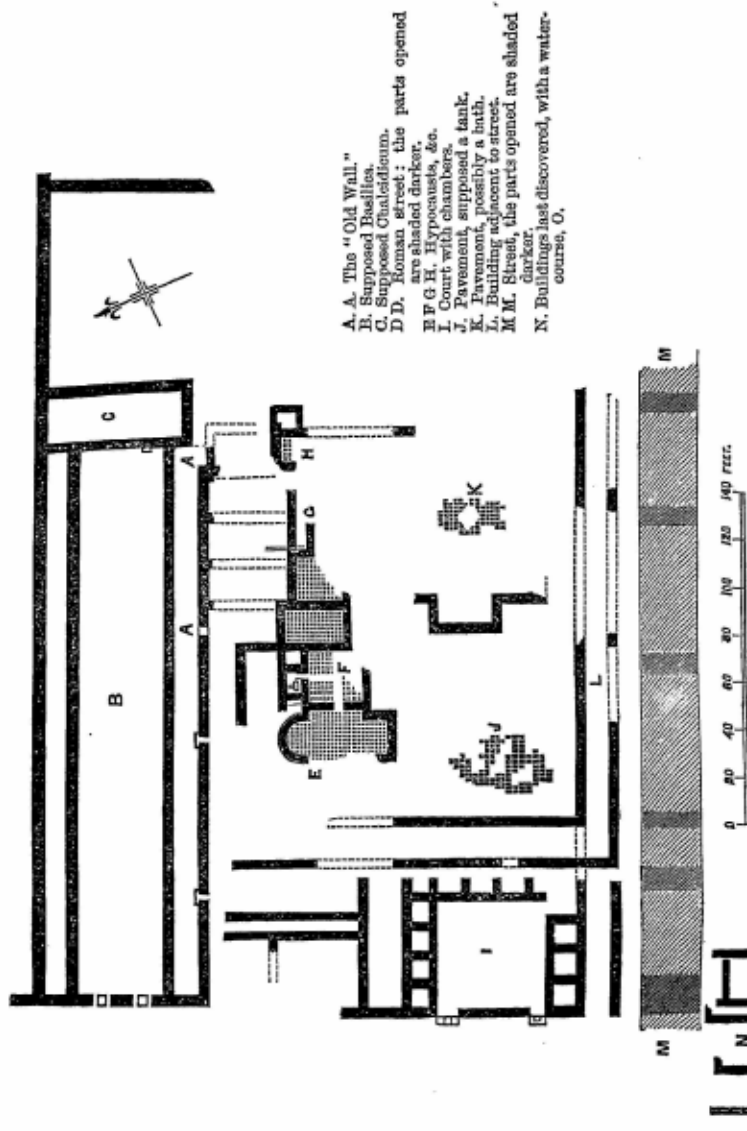
Neither of the side passages appeared to have been uniformly paved. A tessellated pavement was found at the eastern end of the northern aisle, and a fragment of a similar floor has been met with about the middle of the southern aisle. The walls separating these aisles from the central portion were 4 ft. thick; the outer wall, of which a portion remains, is only 3 ft. thick; the outer wall to the north, 3 ft. 9 in. In the middle of this wall appears to have been a doorway.

At the western end of the central area were found squared stones, which appeared to have been the basements of two columns, and this may have formed the entrance from the Forum, and this entrance faced the point where another building with a colonnade was found some years since.<sup>6</sup> Several fragments of large columns, stone plinths, and one capital found by the side of the Old Wall, sufficed to show that the building was not devoid of architectural ornament. At the east end of the central area was a step,

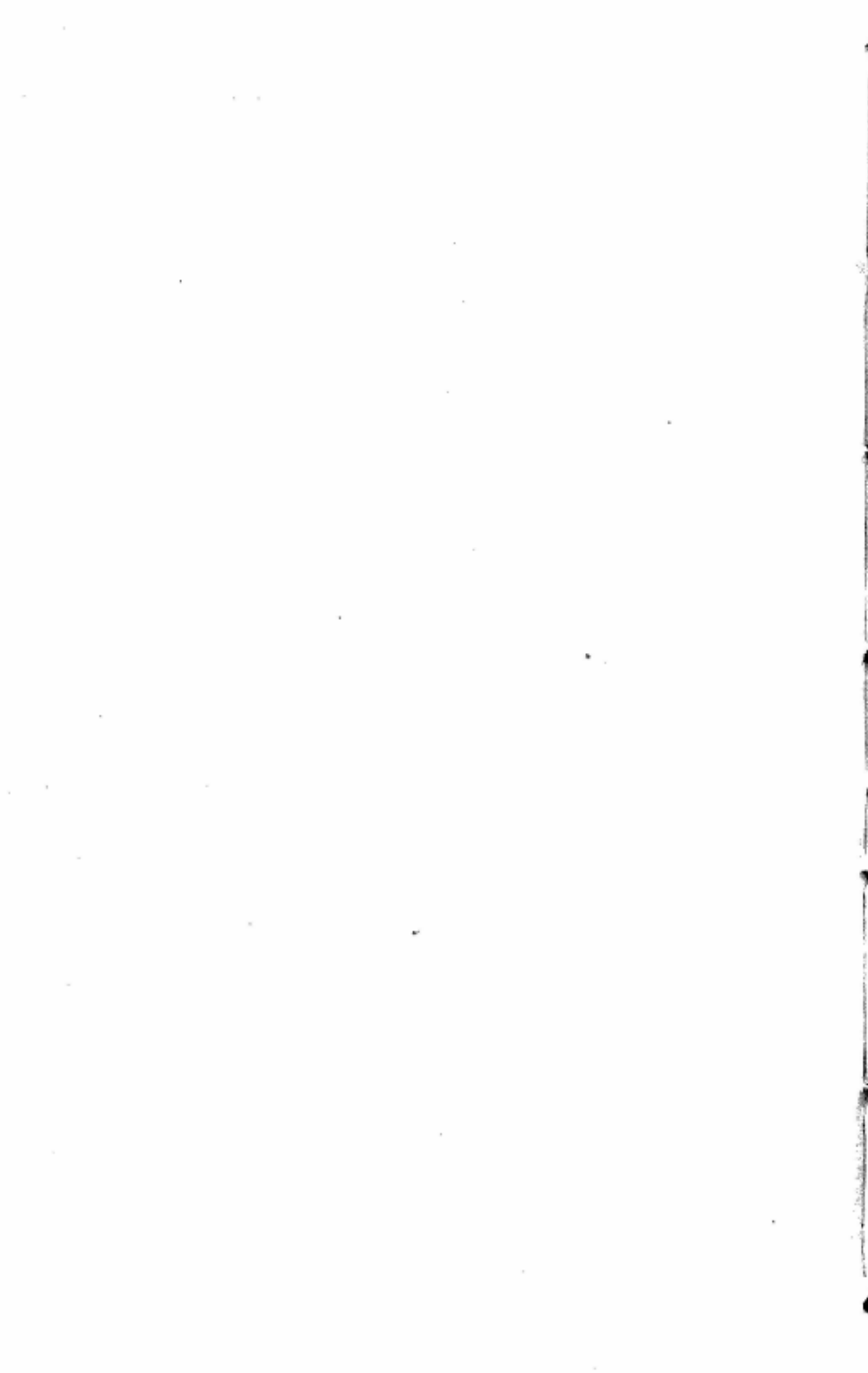
<sup>5</sup> It will be remembered that the peristylum of the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro rests upon a wall some courses of

stone high, and that the columns in that instance support arches.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 61 in this volume.



Plan of Excavations at Wroxeter.  
From a Survey by Mr. Hillary Davies.



formed of a large square stone, which led to an opening in the wall, apparently a doorway, leading into an unpaved enclosure towards the east (c), as before mentioned, which seemed to have been an open court, as Mr. Wright supposed, but which I have little doubt was the *chalcidicum*.<sup>7</sup> The northern wall of this large building is prolonged towards the east, and meets a wall at right angles; the space enclosed seems to have formed an open court or garden. The entire length of this north wall, as far as it has been traced, is more than 300 ft.; a hedge prevented further excavation. The pavement of a street (DD) has been discovered running parallel to this wall, so that the building appears to have stood at the angle made by the junction of two streets, and probably at one extremity of the Forum.<sup>8</sup>

Sufficient has been shown of this building to warrant the belief that it may have formed the Basilica or Hall of Justice of the Roman city. I need not say that such Basilicas were common, for every Roman city had its Town Hall; and it is believed that some of these after the introduction of Christianity were converted into churches. The Roman station of Borcovicus, *per lineam valli*, Housesteads in Northumberland, has a somewhat similar, but much smaller building, in the centre of the station.<sup>9</sup>

Contiguous to this building the foundation of another of considerable size has been discovered. (I in the plan.) The form has been distinctly ascertained, and may probably be that of a large dwelling-house. There is first the entrance court, paved with brick, in which a horse-shoe was found; at the side of this court are small chambers, which may have been occupied by slaves, or served as stores, for in these bones and other refuse have been found. The second court (J) seems

<sup>7</sup> The *chalcidica* were chambers separated by partitions from the body of some *basilica*, or other large buildings. The name, as stated by Festus, was derived from the city of Chalcis. Vitruvius directs that they should be constructed at the ends of *basilicae*, if the area were disproportionately long. An inscription discovered at Pompeii records the building and dedication of a *chalcidicum* and *crypto porticus*; the former being, as shown by the plan of the building, the vestibule. Such an enclosed space was necessary for the safe custody of goods remaining unsold. See Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, under

*chalcidicum*, and the plan of the *basilica* at Pompeii, *ibid.*, p. 181. That building, the largest structure in Pompeii, measures 220 ft. by 80 ft., and was situated on the most sheltered side of the Forum, at its south-west angle. The *basilica* at Treves measures 180 ft. by 90 ft.; the supposed *basilica* of Uriconium (240 ft. by 60 ft.) was longer than either of these but not so wide.

<sup>8</sup> The form and dimensions of this building are shown in the ground-plan given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. v. third series, p. 210; *Gent. Mag.* May, 1859, p. 451.

<sup>9</sup> Bruce's Roman Wall, p. 190.

to have had the *impluvium* in the centre, but it has not yet been excavated; and on the north side the dwelling-rooms were laid open, under which were the hypocausts, described by Mr. Wright. One of these (B) had supported the floor of a room 37 ft. by 25 ft. including a semicircular projection at the end, common in Roman houses.<sup>1</sup> The floor of this room had been formed of concrete, but it had disappeared, with the exception of a mass, which was found adhering to the north-eastern corner. This floor, or *suspensura*, had been supported by more than 120 pillars, formed of flat square tiles, three feet high, and in perfect condition. During the suspension of the works, which unfortunately occurred, these pillars were nearly all overturned, and some of the bricks carried away. A passage through the eastern wall of this hypocaust led into another (F), the entrance being by an arch turned with tiles. This entrance is approached on the outer side by three steps, each of a single stone. Another small room was found to the east of this, eight feet square, with a herring-bone pavement, similar to that in the area of the Basilica. A third hypocaust was found under a room of small size (G), and a passage with a drain under it, occupying the whole breadth, and running at right angles to the Old Wall. The floor of this drain is formed of large roofing tiles, the flanged edges turned upwards. To the south of this passage a fourth hypocaust was found.<sup>2</sup>

The side of the Old Wall has on its face arches, which seem to be the springings of vaulted roofs, and transverse walls have been discovered, answering to all these arches, and evidently belonging to a series of vaulted chambers. In one of them was found a quantity of charred wheat, possibly indicating that these chambers had served as granaries.

The walls of the buildings, even those serving as partitions, are in no instances less than three feet thick, and the

<sup>1</sup> A large curved stone which had formed part of this apse now lies beside it. It is of the sandstone of the country, and measures 7 ft. 2 in. by 5 ft. 9 in.; it is one foot in thickness. Mortar adheres to the upper surface, and an iron cramp still remains fixed in it. Unfortunately these stones have, for the most part, been carried away for building purposes. Large steps and corner stones are removed, which if kept *in situ*, would prove of great service in forming a correct idea of the buildings, but unfortunately the

excavations are not allowed to be kept open, and, as the foundations must be covered up, these stones are thought too valuable to be buried again.

<sup>2</sup> A series of baths has since been laid open at the eastern portion of the building. These are small and seem only adapted to the requirements of a private dwelling. At present there is some difficulty in tracing the drain, and ascertaining the means by which these baths were supplied with water.

masonry well put together. The inside walls were covered with a thick layer of mortar, painted in fresco; the fragments which remained had preserved the colours very fresh. The ornaments are simple and tasteful; on one piece of cement three or four large letters had been scratched with some instrument, but this was wantonly broken before they had been deciphered.<sup>3</sup> In one of the rooms the interior wall was tessellated.<sup>4</sup> The cubes were of black and white stone, arranged chequerwise. Mr. Wright considers this to be a mode of ornamentation of unique character; if, however, my recollection is correct, I observed this kind of wall-decoration in a Roman villa discovered at Box, in Wiltshire, five miles from Bath.

Roofing tiles have been found, but the houses appear to have been generally roofed with thick slabs of micaceous sandstone or flag from the coal measures, ascertained to have been brought from Barrow, near Bridgenorth. These are scattered about in considerable numbers, sometimes lozenge-shaped, but more frequently in the form of elongated hexagons. A considerable quantity of window glass has been found, occasionally in large fragments, and exceeding an eighth of an inch in thickness, of good quality, although time and decay have destroyed its transparency. Numerous relics of iron have been discovered, consisting of clamps, rivets, and nails, with other objects, now to be seen in the Museum at Shrewsbury.

Lead and tin have also been found during the recent excavations; some relics formed of lead had been brought to light previously, and it will be remembered by those who attended the meeting of the Institute at Shrewsbury, that a leaden sarcophagus found at Wroxeter was exhibited in the temporary Museum; within this was an urn filled with calcined bones. The existence of lead mines in the Stiperstones on the Welsh borders, where pigs of lead have been found,<sup>5</sup> might account for the occurrence of numerous objects of that metal at Uriconium. Mr. Wright mentions especially a small bowl of lead, of simple form, about three inches in diameter, of which he has given a representation.<sup>6</sup> Among

<sup>3</sup> The remains of this wall inscription are figured in the report by Mr. Wright and Dr. Johnson. *Archæol. Camb.* vol. v. third series, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> Noticed in *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xv. p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Gent. Mag.* May, 1859, p. 455.

the relics deposited in the Museum at Shrewsbury are two heads and some bones of the *bos longifrons*, a species now extinct.<sup>7</sup> A dog's skull, about five inches long,<sup>8</sup> may deserve notice, also the antlers of a very large red deer (*cervus elaphus*), and portions of a species of elk, conjectured to be the *strongyloceros spelæus*. Some tiles have been found with the impressions of dogs' feet, and also the marks of the foot of a kid or young fawn.

As is usual on all Roman sites, great quantities of pottery have been found, and some of a peculiar kind, white, and of a porous texture, and which is ascertained to have been made of the clay found at Brosely, where the Romans probably had a pottery; specimens also of black Upchurch ware have occurred, and Samian in abundance. I noticed a fragment of a *mortarium*, having the surface set with granular pieces of silex to assist the process of trituration. Among other fictile relics was found the mouth of a large amphora, in the form of a boldly executed mask of a female face. Some portions of glass vessels have also been dug up. Personal ornaments have been discovered in great variety, also spindles, and weights (one  $11\frac{1}{2}$  oz. in stone, another  $20\frac{1}{4}$  oz. in lead, and a third  $2\frac{1}{2}$  oz.), similar to those found lately in the Tiber, and exhibited by the Rev. J. Beck in the museum of the Institute at Carlisle.<sup>9</sup> In the British Museum a weight is preserved found at Wroxeter. Among the more remarkable discoveries, however, may be mentioned the skeletons and human bones, which deserve notice on account of the peculiar position in which they have been found, and may serve to show the suddenness of the surprise, and the fierceness of the conflict when the city was destroyed. Mr. Wright observes that, so long as the labours of the excavators were confined to the large public buildings to the north of the Old Wall, no bones were met with which could be identified as human, but when they came upon the domestic buildings to the south of these, they discovered skeletons in one of the

<sup>7</sup> The bones of an ox were found with a layer of burnt wood in one of the hypocausts.

<sup>8</sup> A bas-relief of a dog carrying a young deer thrown over his back has been lately found at Bath: the head of this hound seems to present some re-

semblance in form to the cranium found at Wroxeter.

<sup>9</sup> See the catalogue of articles found at Uricconium, and now in the Museum at Shrewsbury; given in the Guide to the Ruins, by Mr. Wright.

smaller hypocausts (H). The bones of at least three or four individuals were disinterred, and the skull of a child was found at a spot which appeared to be the corner of a court. In the small hypocaust adjoining F, on the East, three skeletons were found, one of which appeared to be seated or crouching in a corner, the other two lying extended by the side of the wall; it appeared from the skull and jaw of the former, that these were the remains of a very old man; the others appeared to be of females.<sup>1</sup> At a short distance from the skeleton of the old man lay, in a small heap, 132 copper coins, extending from Claudius to Valens, *i. e.*, from about 52 A.D. to 379.<sup>2</sup> With these were found small iron nails and decayed wood, showing apparently that the coins had been enclosed in a wooden coffer. These skeletons were no doubt the remains of persons who had sought safety by hiding themselves in the hypocausts, and had there perished. Mr. Wright observes, that the discovery of these coins with the skeleton is a fact of considerable value, as showing what was the currency ordinarily carried about by a private individual, and what was the current money at the time in Britain. The fact is also deserving of attention, since it may give us some clue to the date of the destruction of the city. That event could not be earlier than A.D. 379, and may not have been much later. It certainly is an interesting coincidence, that, in A.D. 383, a few years after the date of the latest coin discovered, Maximus, then in command of the Roman forces in Britain, having stirred up the spirit of revolt, withdrew the garrisons from the cities, and took all the Roman soldiers into Gaul, with those Britons who were fit to bear arms. Britain is represented to have been left destitute of troops and unable to defend herself. Maximus, in A.D. 388, lost the object of his ambition with his life, but many years elapsed before Britain was again adequately garrisoned; native troops, moreover, which Maximus had brought into Gaul, refused to return to Britain,<sup>3</sup> and settled in Armorica, probably on account of the wretched state of their own

<sup>1</sup> Two more skeletons have been found in another small hypocaust, which has since been opened.

<sup>2</sup> A catalogue of these coins has been given by Mr. Roach Smith in Mr. Wright's Guide to the Ruins of Uriconium, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The chief authorities in regard to

this period are the writings of the following historians of the earlier part of the fifth century. See Zosimus, *Hist. Nov. lib. i. c. 64*; Socrates, *Hist. Ecc. lib. i. c. 2*; Sozomenus, *Hist. Ecc. lib. i. c. 5*. These passages may be seen in the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*



country. In A.D. 396 the Britons sent ambassadors to Rome for succours against the Picts and Scots, the country having been drained so completely by Maximus. This was only seventeen years later than the latest coin which has been deciphered in the hoard above mentioned.

We know that there were constant internal troubles previous to the final withdrawal of the Roman power. It was then that efforts were made by the Romanised Britons to select their new ruler; and when a man of more than ordinary capacity had been found, in Constantine, called the Usurper, originally a common soldier, he could not remain content with British rule, but aspired at more extended empire.<sup>4</sup> Then again the British cities were left weakened by the withdrawal of their garrisons, and, in A.D. 409, the Britons and some of the Celtic nations revolted from the Romans. Zosimus relates that the barbarians beyond the Rhine ravaging everything at pleasure, compelled both the inhabitants of the Britannic Island, as well as some of the Celtic nations, to revolt from the Romans and to live independent. The people, therefore, of Britain, taking up arms, freed the cities from the invading barbarians. This defection of Britain and the Celtic nations took place during the time of Constantine's usurpation, the barbarians rising up in consequence of his neglect of government.<sup>5</sup> Zosimus states that the whole of Armorica and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britons, liberated themselves in like manner, expelling the Roman præfects, and setting up a civil policy according to their own inclination. In A.D. 411, Britain was reduced to the greatest extremity. The termination of the Roman dominion may be fixed in the year A.D. 426 or 427.<sup>6</sup>

Besides the skeletons in the hypocaust, the remains of a child were found, and other human bones; but one of the most remarkable incidents is the discovery of numerous skulls near the point where is the passage across the Severn, which appears to have been guarded by a fort or tower. During the temporary interruption of the excavations at the Old Wall, the labourers were employed upon the southern extremity of the city, where there are traces of fortifications

<sup>4</sup> Zosimus, lib. vi. cc. 1—6; Sozomenus, lib. ix. c. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Pauli Orosii Hist. lib. v. c. 22. Orosius lived about A.D. 417.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Roach Smith, from examination

of the coins, however, thinks that they indicate the very latest period of Roman occupation. (See Guide to Uriconium, p. 40; Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xx. p. 81.)

which secured the passage of the river. I have ever regarded this as one of the most interesting points of the city. When the top of the highest mound was trenched, the walls of a square tower were partially uncovered. Here was found the bearded head of a statue in stone, with a horn upon the brow, which led to the conjecture that it may have been a figure either of a River God or of the God Pan.<sup>7</sup> A clay mould for casting coins was also found here, having the impress of a coin of Julia Domna, the wife of Severus. A silver coin of this empress was found in the excavations of the Old Wall, which fits the impress exactly.<sup>8</sup>

I have alluded to the excavations made by the side of the river, at what may be called the Water Tower. Near this the remains of a bridge were believed formerly to exist. In the orchard adjoining the Severn, and on the opposite side of the Watling Street Road, five skulls were found, with fragments of others. Of these skulls four were distorted in form. The excavations being continued in the orchard, sixteen more skulls and skeletons were discovered. These, as far as they have been examined, are not all deformed; some are distorted like those before noticed, and it has been alleged that this distortion may be the effect of posthumous pressure; but a different opinion has also been entertained.<sup>9</sup> It was more probably some congenital deformity; these crania may be those of a particular tribe, or race of men. If this be the case, a very curious enquiry is suggested for our consideration. We know that some races distorted the skull in infancy; and it would be a very interesting question to

<sup>7</sup> It appears to me, however, to be mediæval, and I suspect was either brought here, or carved when the church was built. There are many small sculptures in the church tower, which seem to have been brought from some other building.

<sup>8</sup> Hence some persons have inferred that Urioconium had the privilege of multiplying the imperial coin. It will be remembered that clay moulds were found in 1847 at Ryton, near Condever, not far from Wroxeter, one with the head of Julia Domna. See p. 62, in this volume. Clay moulds were also found in 1722.

<sup>9</sup> The reasons alleged are as follows:—Posthumous pressure can scarcely be admitted as the cause of this distortion, because pressure would break the skulls into fragments, not distort them, as they

are absolutely inflexible. A skull taken out of the ground is like wet biscuit; it is not practicable to bend it in the least. How then could these skulls be thus completely altered in shape? Besides, if bones did become soft in the ground and were liable to become changed in shape, these results would often happen, which we do not find to be the case. Bones out of a churchyard would very frequently be found distorted, and anatomists would find skeletons spoiled if left too long in macerating. It must be remembered also that if pressure were to act, it would not distort but collapse, *i.e.*, press in the sides of the skull, and this may be seen, but never without fracture. It may therefore be concluded that the effect is not due to pressure.

ascertain, if practicable, by anatomical comparison, to what race these people belonged. The attention recently bestowed on craniology by Dr. Thurnham, Mr. Barnard Davis, and other skilful comparative anatomists, may hereafter enable us to form some just conclusion on this subject.<sup>1</sup>

The skeletons found in the excavations near the river were not lying in a confused heap, but the bodies had apparently been decently laid out at the time of the interment, and buried possibly at the spot where the conflict had taken place. This, it must be admitted, seems scarcely consistent with the conjecture which some have entertained, that these remains may present to us vestiges of the savage slaughter of the inhabitants, who, when the city was attacked probably by a surprise from the north-west, may after obstinate defence have rushed to the bridge, and there perished before a passage could be effected. This, it may be remembered, was the direct road to Caerleon, where the second legion was stationed, and also to the garrisoned towns, Glevum, and Durocornovium or Corinium. Much, doubtless, remains concealed, which might serve to throw light upon the final catastrophe, not less than on the condition of this great city and its inhabitants; and the hope must be expressed that the increasing interest of the investigation may encourage public liberality, so as to enable the Committee to pursue their undertaking.

The following conclusions may, as I conceive, be drawn from the results of the excavations, so far as they have extended. The fact seems established, that the remarkable fragment of masonry known as the "Old Wall" formed part of a large public building of the *basilica* type, with a *chalcidicum* at its East end, and beyond this a court or *atrium*. It is worthy of remark that this structure faced the portico of the building discovered in 1854, as described in this Journal;<sup>2</sup> the space between the two being about forty yards. A street of considerable width has also been traced on the northern side of the *basilica*, paved with small rolled stones from the river, occupying the central

<sup>1</sup> Representations of crania found at Wroxeter may be seen in Mr. Wright's Guide to the Ruins, pl. 12. A distorted cranium, closely resembling those at Wroxeter, was found with Saxon remains

at Stone, Bucks, and it is figured in the Crania Britannica, p. 38, where a notice of distortions of the skull is given by Mr. Davis.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 61, in this volume.

part of the street(D, D.), with a row of kerb stones, and a space on each side apparently unpaved.

The front portion of the building now under excavation runs flush with the front of the basilica, and extends to the length of 80 feet. This I have supposed to be a large private dwelling, possibly that of the chief magistrate; a careful consideration of the plan seems to lead to such an opinion, although Mr. Wright appears to think otherwise. There is first the entrance court or *peristylum*, with the chambers around it, one of which contained charcoal; in another were bones, horns, &c. The court (1 in the plan), 40 ft. square, was paved neatly with bricks in herring-bone fashion, which in places had been damaged and repaired while the Romans had possession. Mr. Wright supposes that the larger entrance was for horses and carts, and part of a horse shoe has been found there. This court would therefore resemble that of old houses, especially in France, which had a court in front and small buildings in the wings, forming a square. Two portions of capitals were found here, which may have ornamented the entrance. The steps of an approach to the court from the south-west were found, very much worn; this may have led from the space in front into the court; the entrance for carriages was by a gentle incline. Beyond this court eastward seems to have been the central court, with the *impluvium* (J),<sup>3</sup> coinciding in fashion with that of the Pompeian house at the Crystal Palace, to which it bears some resemblance. Beyond this, at the north-east extremity, and near to the "Old Wall," appear to have been private baths (G, H.), and a drain for conveyance of water has been found not far from them. On the north side of these courts were the large room and other chambers, underneath which the hypocausts (E, F) before described were found. The whole appears to have been a large private residence, very substantially built, and the front, being flush with the basilica, I am inclined to think, looked towards the forum, on the opposite side of which stood the temple or other building, the site of which is now occupied by Mr. Stanier's new farm buildings.

As the excavations proceed southward no doubt this may be determined by the remains of other buildings being found; and if, as I am disposed to believe, the east side of

<sup>3</sup> This is stated as far as could be ascertained from the state of the excavations, on occasion of my visit, July, 1859.

the forum is actually being excavated, the most interesting discoveries may be anticipated.

The forum of Urioconium was probably larger than that of Pompeii, for the city itself was larger; at Pompeii there were twelve public buildings in and around the forum. As yet only three or four buildings have been brought to light in the forum of Urioconium.<sup>4</sup> Pompeii had an amphitheatre as well as two theatres within its walls; we may reasonably conjecture that Urioconium had one public structure of each description. Two streets appear to have led into the forum, namely that between the ford and the city gates, near which the monumental stones were found, called the Watling Street, and that of which the pavement has been laid bare, which ran past the basilica and entered the forum at the northern extremity, keeping the line of the present road from Ironbridge to Shrewsbury. The excavations, I regret to state, at present are under great disadvantages. The excavation Committee dare not carry away the soil because the excavated portions are again to be covered up, according to agreement. The soil therefore accumulates greatly through the depth at which the foundations lie, and must be heaped upon some other portion of the ground not excavated, but under which remains exist, and it has therefore to be removed repeatedly, at a serious sacrifice of time and labour, whilst the expense is increased proportionably. By being obliged to cover up within a certain time whatever has been excavated, the general effect of these most interesting excavations is entirely lost. How much were it to desired that some arrangement might be effected, with a view to keeping the excavated portions open for some longer period, so as to enable the antiquary to trace at one view the plan of Urioconium with its public edifices, presenting the first exemplification of a Roman city in Britain. It is not too much to say that it may now justly be regarded as a national monument, supplying evidence of no slight value as subsidiary to history; and that the explorations now in progress are well entitled to public consideration and assistance. An effort, more especially, on the part of the

<sup>4</sup> These are the basilica, the temple or other building opposite, the large house now under excavation, and the building with a hypocaust, described as a bath,

found some years since. The position of these buildings, gives the rectangular shape and the probable space which the forum of the city would occupy.

learned and antiquarian societies of our country might doubtless avail, in the present difficult position of the enterprise, to secure more liberal facilities, and preserve the remains which may be discovered from being interred anew without delay. I would also invite attention to the fate of the columns, sculptured stones, and relics of ancient buildings, which are not removed to the Museum at Shrewsbury, and which for the most part are carried away for building purposes.<sup>5</sup> It were very desirable that all such fragments might be preserved *in situ*; on the spot each tells its tale, and has an essential value. Numerous objects of large dimensions, scarcely suitable for preservation in a museum, where they would occupy too much space, might thus convey instruction and gratification to the future visitor of this remarkable Roman site.

An inscribed column, apparently a Roman mile-stone, with a few letters discernible, is preserved in Mr. Oatley's garden. Considering how few remain of the many thousands that must once have existed in Britain (not more I believe than three), this is a very interesting relic and should be carefully preserved. It is figured in Mr. Wright's "Guide to the Ruins of Uriconium," and that interesting little volume contains also an engraving of the font in Wroxeter Church, formed of the base and part of the shaft of a large Roman column.

Some conclusions may perhaps be suggested as to the destruction of the city and the great accumulation of earth above the ruins. The opinion has sometimes been put forth that the Roman houses in Britain were not wholly built of stone, but consisted of stone and wood; they were wooden superstructures on stone foundations. This may very probably have been the case where wood of excellent quality, like English oak, was in abundance. Whilst the large public edifices were entirely built of stone, the upper portions of private buildings were probably of wood; hence a city like Uriconium, if chiefly built of wood, when set on fire, would be burnt to the basement story, and the whole area be covered with a deep stratum of ashes with scattered roofing tiles, the blackened walls of the chief buildings alone

<sup>5</sup> The gateway of the churchyard at Wroxeter is formed of columns with capitals of different styles; these might

deserve to be transferred to the Museum, and are scarcely suitable to the approach to a parish church.

standing out of the dark mass of burnt matter. The rains and snows of a few seasons would soon decompose this mass, and make it capable of vegetation, which would become of a very rank description, rapidly forming an accumulation on the surface of the ruins. Such desolate spots were doubtless shunned as places of habitation, and superstition generally clothed them with imaginary terrors. The Saxon population avoided the site of the Roman city as unsuited to their habits of life; Charlton Hill and Donnington, in the vicinity of Wroxeter, were more favourable places for Saxon settlements, as their names suggest, than desolate Uriconium, which served as a harbour for robbers and outcasts, or a quarry for building materials in mediæval times. After centuries the site was gradually brought under cultivation, but not before a deep stratum of vegetable matter had accumulated over its blackened foundations. Local tradition may deserve mention, that the city was destroyed by fire, and the "Black Land," the local name given to the ground comprised within the circuit of the walls, and especially to the portion adjoining the "Old Wall," which is remarkable for its fertility, may be the result of the conflagration.

We regret that as yet no more inscriptions or altars have been found, or any other lettered memorial, except the fragments of vases, bearing potters' stamps, and the few letters on the wall stucco, before mentioned. A rich harvest of inscribed stones may probably be obtained when the Committee feel themselves in a position to examine the line of Roman road without the walls, where the sepulchral monuments were found in 1752. We know by what imperfect mode of examination these were procured. The ground was only pierced here and there with iron rods, near the place where the first inscribed stone had been turned up by the plough.<sup>6</sup> A more systematic investigation would doubtless be productive of many interesting memorials; at present, however, the investigations within the city walls must occupy much time, and will probably exhaust the limited resources at the disposal of the excavation Committee. The sculptured capitals lately taken out of the river, would lead us to suppose that a temple existed

<sup>6</sup> The Roman road is said to be traceable through one of the adjoining farms; the borders of it, if carefully examined,

would probably yield some sepulchral remains and inscribed stones.

not far from the present ford, and opposite what may be called the Water Tower.

It has been well observed by Mr. Wright that, by the examination of the objects brought to light during the late excavations, "we obtain an insight into the condition of the inhabitants of Roman Britain, and to what degree they enjoyed the luxuries and comforts of life." We see that they possessed a great majority of the refinements of modern society, far more than can be traced among the population of the middle ages. We are taught even the character of their food by remains of edible animals. The comparison of other objects enables us to judge to a great degree of the state and extent of manufactures and commerce. We are thus enabled to form a truer notion of the manner in which this country had been inhabited and governed during nearly four centuries; and we have the further hope of eventually discovering monuments which will throw some light on the more particular history of the neighbourhood in these remote ages."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The personal ornaments usually found on Roman sites have occurred in great variety at Wroxeter. The discovery of considerable remains, as supposed, of window glazing is a fact deserving of special mention, among evidences of the civilised condition of the inhabitants of *Uriconium*. Tessellated floors also of good workmanship have been discovered, which may be regarded as comparatively uncommon decorations in more remote parts of Britain, and rarely found in the

northern districts of the country.

<sup>8</sup> *Guide to Uriconium*, p. 76. A second edition of the Guide has just been issued, in which are enumerated the recent discoveries and articles added to the Museum, and an engraving given of the column mentioned at p. 87 in this volume. The wheel of a chariot, or other carriage, has very lately been exhumed, having an iron tire, 3 feet 3 inches in diameter. The references given to the Guide in this memoir are to the first edition.

We have the gratification to announce, that while this memoir was in the press, the facilities so much desired have been most courteously conceded by the Duke of Cleveland. His Grace, at the request of several influential archaeologists, has liberally granted to the Excavation Committee four acres, with permission that the remains discovered shall be kept open to view for public instruction and gratification, so long as may be thought desirable. It will be a satisfaction to the members of the Institute, that an appeal addressed to the Duke of Cleveland by their noble President, and expressing the warm interest with which the Society regarded the important undertaking at Wroxeter, was received with very courteous consideration. His Grace, in acknowledging Lord Talbot's communication on behalf of the Institute, gave the assurance of his liberal intention to meet, so far as practicable, the wishes of antiquaries, for the furtherance of scientific objects.

The Committee of the Institute would acknowledge with pleasure the kindness of Mr. Hillary Davies, of Shrewsbury, in supplying, from a Survey recently made by him, the Plan of the Excavations, which accompanies the foregoing memoir.



## SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CARDINALS' RINGS.

BY EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.

It appears most probable that the use of the ring was granted to the Cardinals about the twelfth century, but no precise mention is to be found of the first grant. In the *Ordo Romanus XIV.*, attributed by Mabillon to Cardinal Gaetani, nephew of Boniface VIII. (1294), in the description of the Consistory, in which the Pope opens the mouth of the new Cardinal, we find that—

"Papa singulis novis Cardinalibus in consistoriis, die quo eis os aperit, dare consuevit titulos et annulos in fine consistorii."

But this custom of giving a ring to the new Cardinals, when their titles were assigned to them, was in those days considered to be an old custom, as the following passage from the *Ordo* will show.

"Norma vero quæ antiquitus consuevit servari in aperi-tione oris novorum Cardinalium, et assignatione titulorum, et datione annulorum, est infrascripta."

The titles and rings may be conferred upon the new Cardinals out of the Consistory. (*Sac. Cær. Rom.* p. 42).

In the wills of Cardinals we frequently find legacies of their rings. John Miroglio, a Cardinal priest, in his will, dated 1397, enumerating his effects, mentions "*aliquos annulos non ascendentes summam ducentorum francorum.*" (*Baluzzi, Vit. Papar. Avig. tom. iii. p. 1101.*) Baluzzi also gives the wills of other Cardinals of that period, in which their rings are disposed of under the title of jewels.

It was the custom to bury Cardinals with their rings. Nantiporto relates, that when the body of Cardinal D'Estouteville was being carried to the Church of St. Augustine (Jan. 24, 1483), an assault was made on the corpse, and the rings were stolen. (*Apud Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. Script. Rer. Ital.*)

Michael Canensis mentions that the grave of Cardinal Louis Scarampa Mezzarota was violated in the night time by his familiar Antonio de Tocca, who robbed the body of the mitre, the robes, and the rings. (*De gestis Pauli II.* p. 41.)

On the tombs of Cardinals, when there is a representation of the full figure, the rings are also introduced. As examples I may cite the tomb of Cardinal Adam Eyston, Titular of St. Cecilia, who died on the 15th August, 1398. He is buried in the left aisle of his titular church at Rome. On his right hand is represented a ring on the annular, and another on the third finger. The left hand I was unable to see. Cardinal Ardicini della Porta, the younger, died in 1493. On his tomb at Rome there is a representation of his full figure, arrayed in his vestments. On this figure Gabrielli says (*Crypt. Vat.* p. 172),—

“Unum tamen animadversione existimavi dignum, scilicet, marmorea hæc imago quatuor habet annulos, tres quidem in dextra, alterum in pollice, alterum in digito medio, tertium in auriculari seu minimo; quantum vero in medio lævæ digito.”

The figure over the tomb of Cardinal Armellinus Medices, Titular of Sancta Maria in Trastevere, who died in 1524, and who is buried in that church, has two rings on the right hand, one on the auricular or little finger, and one on the index.

A Cardinal's ring is set with a sapphire. Sarnelli says that the sapphire denotes the high priesthood and the regal dignity; hence Cardinals wear it since they “*regibus æquiparantur.*” (*Litt. Eccl. vi.* p. 86.)

On receiving the ring, a Cardinal has to pay a fine of 500 ducats of gold. This is an old custom, and I am unable to trace its origin. There exists in the Archives of the Confraternity of St. Anne, in Rome, a *motu proprio* of Paul IV., dated August 5, 1555, granting permission to the heirs of Cardinal Jerome Veralli to pay to the Camera Apostolica the 500 ducats which the deceased had not paid. The revenues arising from these fines were paid to the Camera Apostolica up to 1564. In that year Pius IV. assigned them to the support of the fabric of the Lateran Basilica, with this proviso, that the surplus should be otherwise invested. In the life of Pius V. it is stated that he gave 10,000 scudi, and also the fines from the Cardinals' rings, to the Nuns of St.

Dominic, whom he had removed from the convent of San Sixto, and established on Mount Magnanapoli. This grant was confirmed by Gregory XIII. in 1572. But at a later period this Pontiff allotted these fines to the German College, then newly established by St. Ignatius of Loyola. The date I have not ascertained. In 1592 Clement VIII. restored these funds to the Lateran Basilica, and Paul V. confirmed the donation in 1609. Finally, Gregory XV. assigned these annular revenues to the College of the Propaganda Fide, *in perpetuum*, which is recorded by the following inscription in the College Church:—

GREGORIUS . XV . PONT . MAX .  
CONGREGATIONEM . DE . PROPAGANDA  
F I D E .  
PRIMUM . INSTITUIT .  
PRIVILEGIIS . AVXIT .  
PERPETVO . EX . ANNVLIS . CARDINALITIS . CENSU .  
LOCVPLETAVIT . A . A . SAL . MDCXXII.

Until, however, the new Cardinals have paid the fine, they do not receive the three briefs by which they have the privilege—

1. Of making their wills.
2. Of making an allotment of half of their pension, or 2000 dollars.
3. Of disposing of the paraphernalia of their private chapel, which otherwise would at their death fall to the Sacristy of St. Peter's.

Cardinals always wear their rings. On Good Friday, however, they lay them aside as a sign of the mourning in which the Church is placed for her spouse.

My Dactyliotheca contains the ring with which the late most worthy Cardinal Frasoni was invested, on being raised to the Sacred College in 1812 by Leo XII. During his lifetime Cardinal Frasoni consecrated no less than seventy Bishops and Archbishops.

## Original Documents.

### ANCIENT ORDINANCES OF THE GILD MERCHANT OF THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON.

COMMUNICATED BY EDWARD SMIRKE, Esq., M.A.,  
Vice-warden of the Stannaries, and Recorder of Southampton.

THE following ordinances of the gild merchant or the corporation of Southampton are contained in a small parchment book of miscellaneous documents, which, though relating specially to that town, serve to illustrate the history of the constitution and usages of other towns. The handwriting is of various dates, but appears to be mainly that of the fourteenth century. The ordinances had been copied, with more care and fidelity than usual, by Dr. Speed, a gentleman who resided at Southampton about eighty years ago, and left behind him a short, but very careful and intelligent, history of the town founded upon the records and archives in the possession of the corporation, with which he was evidently familiar. Through Dr. Speed's transcript the interest and value of the following document became known to me.

By the favor of the governing officers of the corporation, and with the obliging aid of my friend, Mr. Deacon, the town-clerk, I succeeded in finding the original text, from which I have been enabled, not only to verify, and occasionally to correct, the copy by Dr. Speed, but also to extract other documents which are subjoined to the gild laws, and appear to have been contemporaneous and connected entries. One of them is the tariff of town dues. This will be given on a future occasion.

I have done no more, by way of editorship, than add a few notes, and append some general observations. Upon the whole, I cannot promise that they will present so many points of interest or historical information as the Consuetudinary of Winchester, on which I had the pleasure of contributing a memoir some years ago;<sup>1</sup> but considering how little has been done in this country towards a history of early municipal and mercantile institutions, I am inclined to hope that the publication of the following collection will not be regarded as destitute of interest or value. The writing is generally very clear. The rubrical abstracts, which precede each law or article, had been omitted in Dr. Speed's copy. They are sometimes explanatory; some in the original are imperfect and unfinished, for want of space. The spelling is very various and capricious, but I have not attempted to correct it, or to introduce punctuation, which is generally either wanting or capricious.

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Journ. vol. ix. p. 69.

(1) *COMENT le Alderman Seneschal Chapellayn eskevyns usser serrount esluys en Gilde.*—En primes chief que de la Gilde marchaunz soient eslus et establiz un Alderman un Seneschal un Chapeleyn et iiij. eskevyns et un usser. Et est asavoyr que celui que serra Alderman doit avoyr de chescun entraunt en la Gilde iiij<sup>d</sup>, le Seneschall ij<sup>d</sup>, le chapeleyn ij<sup>d</sup>, et le usser j<sup>d</sup>. Et doit la Gilde feer deuz foyz en le an cestz asavoir le dymaynge prochayn apres la seintz Johan le Baptistez et le dymaynge proschayn apres la seintz Hyllery.

(2) *Quant la Gilde serra nul entre eux ne vendra si ne seit per le Alderman.*—Et quant la Gilde serra nul de la Gilde ne doit mener nul estraunge si il ne soit requis par le Alderman ou le Seneschal. Et le Alderman doitz avoir un sergeant a servyer devaunt ly le Seneschal un autre sergeantz et les deuz eskevyns un sergeantz. Et les autres deus eskevyns un sergeant et le chapeleyn avera seon clerk.

(3) *De ceo que le Alderman avera chescun nuzt taunt cum la Gilde y serra.*—Et quaut la Gilde serra le Alderman doit avoyr chescun nuytz tauntz come la Gilde sietz ij. galouns de vin et deus chaundeles et le Seneschal autresy et les iiij. eskevyns et le Chapelayn chescun de eus un galoun de vyn et une chaundele et le usser un galoun de vyn.

(4) *Que les meseaus averount de la Gilde tancum y serra.*—Et quaut la Gilde serra les meseaus de la Maudeleyne averount del aumune de Gildeyns ij. cestres de la cervoyse. Et les malades de la maysun Deu et de seintz Julian averount deuz cestyers de cervose. Et les freres menors averount ij. cestres de cervoyse et un cestre de vyn. Et iiij. cestres de cervoyse serrount donetz a poveres la ou la Gilde serra.

(5) *Nul de la Gildeyn(?) ne isse hors de la vile tancum la Gilde seit en la vile.*—Et quaut la Gilde seetz nul que seit de la Gilde ne doit issir hors de la vile pour bosoigne saunz le conge del Seneschal. Et si nul fetz le soit en la merci de j<sup>a</sup>. et les paie.

(6) *Coment ij. Gilde visiterent (sic) le malades de la Gildeyne et que chescun prodeshome avera.*<sup>2</sup>—Et quaut la Gilde serra et ascun Gildeyns eit hors de la vile issi que il ne sache quaut la devera il avera un galoun de vyn si ses servauns le vynent quere. Et si Gildeyn est malades et seit en la vile vyn lui doit enveer ij. payns et un galoun de vin et un mes de la cusyne et deuz proddeshomes de la Gilde le deyvent aler visiter et regarder seon estatiz.

(7) *Quaut Gildein moert ceux que sont de la Gilde facent issy toutz ceux que sont en la Gilde et sont en la vile serrount a la servise le mort.*—Et quaut Gildeyn muert toutz ceutz que sont de la Gilde e sont en la vile divent estre a la servyse del mort et Gildeyn divent le corps porter et cundure le corps a sepulture. E quy ceo ne fra (sic) il paiera per seon serment ij<sup>d</sup>. a doner aspovers.<sup>3</sup> Et chescun de la garde ou le mort serra doit troever un homme a veiller al corps celui nuzt que le mort

<sup>2</sup> This probably should have been, *Coment ij. proddeshomes visiteront le malades*

de la Gilde et que chescun Gildeyne avera.

<sup>3</sup> Aspovers, i.e., aux pauvres.

girra en sa meysoun. Et taunt com le servise del mort durra cestz asavoir la vigille et la messe deyvent arder iiij. cyrges de la Gilde chescun cirge de ij. li. ou de plus deske le corps soit entere. Et ces iiij. cirges deyvent demorer en la garde le Seneschal de Gilde.

(8) *Le Seneschal doit garder les Roules et le tresour de la Gilde desuz seel.*—Et le Seneschal doit garder les Roules et le tresor de la Gilde de souz le seel le Alderman de la Gilde.

(9) *Coment le prochayn heir de Gildein mort avera le siege seon pere.*—Et quaut Gildeynt (*sic*) muert seon fitz einz nei ou soun prochayn heyr doit avoir le siege seon pere ou de uncle sy pere neist Gildeyn et de nul autre et riens ne dorra por son siege. Ne nul baron par encheson de sa femme ne putz siege de la Gilde aver ne sigé demander par nul droit des auncestres de sa femme.

(10) *Nul de deit ne ne puyt doner seon siege de la Gilde.*—Et nul ne doit ne ne putz par dreitz seon siege de la Gilde a noul homme vendre ne doner. Et fitz de Gildein autre que seon fitz eine doit entrer en Gilde donaunt x.<sup>s</sup> e deit fermer la Gilde.<sup>4</sup>

(11) *Si Gildein seit en prisone en leu qe seit en Engleterre.*—Et si nul Gildein soit emprisonne en Engleterre en tens de pees le Alderman ovesque le Seneschal ovesque un des eskyvyns devient aler sur coustz de la Gilde a porchacer la delyverance celuy que serra en prison.

(12) *Si nul fiert a autre del poin et seit de ceo ataint yl doit perdre la Gilde desqe.*—Et si nul Gildein fiert a autre del poin et soit de ceo ataint il doit perdre la Gilde deske a taunt que il avoyt rechate de x.<sup>s</sup> e doit fermer la Gilde autresy come novel entraunt. E si Gildein fiert a autre de bastoun ou de cotel ou dautre arme quele qu ele soit il doit perdre la Gilde et la fraunchise e serra tenu estraunge deskes ataunt que il seit reconsille a la bone gentz de la Gilde et eit fetz gre a celuy que il avera trespase e soit en la merci de la Gilde de xx.<sup>s</sup> e ne soient pas pardonetz.

(13) *Si ascun estraunge fiert Gildein et seit de la Fraunchise ou trespase.*—Et si ascun trespase que ne soit de la Gilde e seit de la Fraunchise fiert Gildein e seit ataint resonablement perde la Fraunchise et voit a la prison un jour et un nuytz.

(14) *Si ascun fiert Gildein que ne seit de la Gilde ni du Fraunchise.*—Et si estraunge ou ascun autre que ne soit de la Gilde ne de la Fraunchise fiert Gildein e seit de ceo ataint resonablement seit en la prisone ij. jours et ij. nuytz si le trespas est<sup>5</sup> tiel que il pende plus graunt punyusement.

(15) *Si Gildein mesdie ou despersone a autre Gildein de quei plainte viegne.*

<sup>4</sup> The freedom of the gild may be inherited by the eldest son, but cannot be sold or aliened. This general rule in the theory of our trade gilds and corporate franchises may perhaps have had its root in the ancient form of royal grants to the burgesses or citizens of such a place "and their heirs." This original

form, so much at variance with modern notions of incorporation, impressed a personal and heritable character on the franchise. It confounded the ideal and artificial person with the individual and natural person. See also *post*, Art. 57.

<sup>5</sup> The negative *ne* seems omitted in the last part, "si le trespas nest tiel," &c.

—Et si Gildein mesdie ou despersone autre Gildein de quei plainte viegne al Alderman e de ceo soit ataint resonablement il deit paier ij<sup>s</sup>. de mercy a la Gilde et si iles ne paier putz perde la Gilde.

(16) *Que nul de la Fraunchise ne autre viene a maudire ne a maufer a Gildein et si le fetz et soit ataint.*—Et si ascun que soit de la Fraunchise mesdie a Gildein e de ceo soit ataint devant le Alderman il deit doner v<sup>s</sup>. de la merci ou perdre la Fraunchise.

(17) *Et nul ne vendra al conseil de Gildein si yl ne soit Gildein.*—Et nul ne deit venir al counseil de la Gilde si yl ne soit Gildein.

(18) *Si nul de la Gilde forface la Gilde per ascun fetz ou trespas et forjuge soit.*—Et si nul de la Gilde forface la Gilde per ascun fet ou per trespas et soit forjuge per le Alderman et le Seneschal et les eskevyns et les duzze jureis de la vile e voille reaver la Gilde il deit fere tutz de novel auxi come celi que unkes ne fut de Gilde et amender soun trespas per esgard del Alderman et des avauntbiz proddeshommes. Et si nul de la Gilde ou de la Fraunchise emplede autre hors de la vile per bref ou saunz bref perde la Gilde et la Fraunchise si yl de ceo est ataint.

(19) *Nul ne deit rien acheter a revendre en la vile meyme fors il soit Gildeyn.*—Et nul ne deit en la vile de Suthamtone rien achater a revendre en meyme la vile si il ne soit de la Gilde maarchaunde ou de la Fraunchise. Et si nul le fetz e soit ataint toutz quaunke il avera achate en tiel manere soit encoru al Roy. Et nul ne soit quite de coustume si il neit fait purquei il soit en Gilde ou en Fraunchise et ceo de an en an.

(20) *Nul deit acheter miel seim sel de arang ne oile ne moeles quirs fors Gildein sauns jour de marche ou fere.*—Et nul ne deit acheter miel ne seym ne seil de araunk ne nule manere de oyle ne moeles ne quirs fres ne nule manere de peaus fresches for le Gildein. Ne taverner tener de vin ne vendre dras a detail for au jour de marche ou de feire ne tenir ble en gerner utre v. quarteres a vendre detail si yl ne soit Gildein et quy le fra e soit ataint soit toutz encoru al Roy.

(21) *De partis maunder en marchaundise entre Gildein et Gildein avaunt.*—Nul de la Gilde ne deit partenir estre ne comunier en nul manere de marchaundises avaunt dites a nul que soit de la Gilde par nule manere de couverture ne de art ne de engin ne de collusion ne de nul autre manere. Et quy le fra e soit ataint le avoyr qu serra en tiel manere achate soit encoru al Roy e le Gildein perde la Gilde.<sup>a</sup>

(22) *Si nul chiete en povertex et ne cits de quei vivre.*—Et si nul Gildein chiete en poverté et neit de quei vivre ne ne puyse travailler ovi ly

<sup>a</sup> The object of thus prohibiting secret partnerships between Gildsmen seems to be to prevent engrossing the articles specified in the 20th ordinance. Dr. Speed in his copy inserted the negative, and read "a nul que ne soit de la Gilde." The general tendency of this

ordinance is certainly to favour, unjustly, the freemen of the Gild, and a partnership with a non-freeman would evidently be a suspicious thing to them. I think, however, that no amendment is warrantable here.

purvoiera yl avera un mark de la Gilde a relever seon estatiz quaut la Gilde serra. Nul de la Gilde ne de la Fraunchise ne avowe autre chose pour le seon par quei la coustume de la vile seit besilliez. Et si nul le fait (?) et seit ataint perdre la Gilde e la Fraunchise et la marchaundise issi avowez seit encoru al Roy.

(23) *Et nul prive ne estraunge ne vende marchaundise ne achate avaunt Bourgeois.*—Et nul prive ne estraunge ne deit nule manere de marchaundise venaunt en la vile devaunt Burgeis de la Gilde marchaunde bargaigner et achater taunt come ly Gildein est present et celle marchaundise voille bargaigner et achater et si nul le fait et soit ataint ceo que yl achate soit encoru au Roy.

(24) *Coment Gildein departira des marchaundises que autre Gildein achate.*—Et celi que est de Gilde marchaundeit partir en toutes marchaundises que autre Gildein achaterra ou autre kyque il soit si yl veut et demaunde partie e seit la ou la marchaundise seit achate issi que yl face grey al vendour et quy il soit en seur del seon. Mes nul qe Gildein ne seit ne putz ne ne deit a Gildein partir saunz la volunte del Gildein.

(25) *La coustume et toutes autres choses soient paieiz saunz delay.*—Et si nul Gildein ou autre de la vile deneie partie al Gildein en la manere avaunt dite yl ne deit achater ne vendre en cel an en la vile fors que sa vitayle.

(26) *Si marchaund de la vile achate vins ou ble et ne coustume mye.*—Et si nul marchaund de la vile achate vins ou ble issi que toutes aventures soient sur lachateour ne paie nule coustume de cele marchaundise et si ascun aventure est sur le vendur seit.<sup>7</sup>

(27) *[No rubric.]*—Porvou est que le chief Alderman de la vile ou les Baillifs et les douze jurez soient entendauntz as marchaunz auxi bien estraunges come as privetz auxi sovent come il serroit requis a veer que il eient suffisaunt a seurte de lour dettes et de la reconisaunce de lour dettours et le jour de ceo soient enroule devaunt eus issi que cele jour ne soit tenuz a la demonstraunce le creauncer seit le dettour meintenaunt destreynt solom la reconisaunce que avera fete par terres et par chatels a fere grey solom le usage de la vile saunz nule manere de play si que les gens de la vile ne eient damage par dufaute de le paie de les dettours avaunt dites.<sup>8</sup>

(28) *Et si Gildein ne veut soffrer que yl soit destreint pur dette ou de brese le lok le Roy et soit ataint.*—Et si nul Gildein pour ascun dette que il devera deyve estre destreint ou name et ne suffra mie que il seit destreint et si yl est destreint et de piece ou fet ouster ou depecier le lok le Roy<sup>9</sup> et

<sup>7</sup> I understand the ordinance thus: If wine, &c., is bought at the risk of the purchaser (*emptoris periculum rei vendite*) who is a merchant of the town, custom is not chargeable on him; but it is otherwise if the risk is on the seller.

<sup>8</sup> The statutes of *Mercatoribus*, 11 & 13 Edward I. are not expressly referred to here, and the process of acknowledgment and execution on recognisances "saunz

nule manere de play" (without any pleading) is treated as the usage or custom of the town; but the proceeding was probably under those statutes.

<sup>9</sup> Depecier le lok le Roy,—break the king's lock. This probably means not to break prison, but to rescue goods taken on a distringas, or by way of pledge on the king's process.



de ceo soit ataint resonablement, perde la Gilde deskes ataunt que yl la eit rechte de xx<sup>s</sup>. et ceo est chescune fiez que il trespase en tiel manere. Et ja le meynz ne seit destreint desque ataunt que yl est fet gre de la dette que il avera e si yl ne se suffre justiceer en la manere avaunt dite et de ceo seit ateynt seit enprisonnez un jour et un nuyzt come celuy que est contre la pes et si yl ne se sueffre justicer soit monstre al Roy et seon conseil en la manere avaunt dite.

(29) *Pur lasise de payn et de la serwoyse seit tenu driturement en touz poins.*—Et le chief Alderman et les xij. jurez ou les Baillifs chescun meis ou al meyns iiij. fez en le an [gardent] qe assyse de pein et de cerbien tenue en toutz pointz solon la vente de ble.

(30) *Que nul de la vile vende marchandise de marchaunt achate per colour.*—Nul de la vile par colour de achat ne par autre manere de colour ne doit vendre autri marchandise de marchaunt estraunge par quei la marchandise seit plus vendue qe le marchaund la peutz vendre par sa meyn par quei le genz de la vile perdent lour gayn mes les marchaunz que lour avoyr meynent a vendre le vendent per lour meyn. E qi le fera et de ceo est ataint perde la Gilde si yl est Gildein et si yl seit de la Fraunchise perde la Fraunchise desque ataunt qe il est amende le trespas a la vile.<sup>1</sup>

(31) *Qe marche de peisson et de bocherie et de la peletrine<sup>2</sup> soient tenu en touz poins.*—Et chescun an lendemayn de la seintz Michel serroune eslues ij. proddeshommes et jurez a garder que les estatutz feez sus le marche de peisson soient tenuz en toutz pointz et averount lour pointz en escriptz. En meyme la manere seient ij. proddeshommes esluz et jurez a garder que les estatutz feez de la bocherie et de la peletrie<sup>3</sup> soient tenuz en toutz pointz et ces iiij. jurez prendront garde de que le statutz del pain qu vient a vendre hors de la vile soit bien tenuz et si nul face encountre le facent a savoir al chief Alderman et a Baillifs.

(32) *Coment xij. proddeshommes serount esleus de meintenyr la pes le roy et coment Baillifs serjaunz etc.*—Chescun an lendemayn de la seintz Michel serrount esleus par toute la commune de la vile assemble en luy porveu<sup>4</sup> a veer lour estat et a treyter de communes bosoignes de la vile et dounk serrount esleus par toute la commune xij. proddeshommes a former les comandementz le Roy ensemblementz ou les Baillifs et a meintenyr la pes et a garder la fraunchise et dreiture fere et tenir a toute genz auxi bien as poveres com a riches et a prives et a estraunges toutz celuy an et a ceo fere seient jurez en la forme que est purveue. Et ces xij. proddeshommes eslirunt meyme le jur ij. proddeshommes de eus et de autres profitables et sachaunz a estre Baillifs lan suant des queus la commune se tienge bien paiee et deyvent receyvre la Baillie lendemein de la seintz Michel si com yl este use e issi seit fait de an en an issi que les Baillifs soient chescun an remuez e les xij. avaunt dites si mester est. En meymes la manere seit fait del clerk et des serjaunz de la vile a feyre et a remuer.

<sup>1</sup> Merchant strangers are not to use the agency of a town merchant to sell their wares, so as to sell them to the same advantage as a native.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*—Peltry, i. e., skins.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.* See last note.

<sup>4</sup> En luy porveu,—in a place provided.

(33) *Que nul Baillif ne doyne respitz ne prenge gage pour la coustume ne ne preste la coustume.*—Nul Baillif de la vile ne doyne respitz ne prenge gage por la coustume ne ne preste la coustume dewe de chose que eny devie (sic) mener hors de la vile e si yl le feit et de ceo seit ataint le Baillif paie al double de ceo qil avera issi prestz e le Baillif soit a seur de toutes choses que coustume deyvent de entree si qe la vile ne soit perdauntz par sa defaute si com yl ne voedra respon del doublee.

(34) *Chescun entre de nef et de chose que coustume donne par mer soit en Roule.*—Et chescun entree de nef et chose que coustume deyve et chescune issue de la vile ou de chose que coustume deyve de issue par mer soit en Roule. Issy qe homme peustz a chief de la seymeine saver le issue de la vile et quy la boiste de la coustume ne seit overte saunz la vewe del chief Alderman et des xij. jourez ou de vj. al meynz et dount seit celuy issue en Roulee (sic) en double Roulee que chief Alderman eitz un Roulee et les Baillifs un autre et celi issue seit mys al comon coffre issy que rien ne seit remuez ne despenduz saunz la vewe des avaunt ditz Alderman et les jourez.

(35) *Que la comon coffre soit en la meson del Alderman ou del Seneschal.*—Et le comon coffre deit estre ela (sic) meson del chief Alderman ou del Seneschal et les iij. clefs del coffre serrount baillez a iij. proddeshommes des avaunt-ditz xij. jourez ou a iij. des eskevins que leaument garderount le comon sel et les chartres et le tresor de la vile et les estaundars et les autres munymenz de la vile et qe nule lettre ne seit enselee du comun seel ne nule chartre baille hors de coffre saunz la vewe de vj. jourez des xij. jourez et del Alderman et del Seneschal e que nul ne vende par nule manere de mesure ne de peis si ele ne seit enselee sur forfeture de ij<sup>s</sup>.

(36) *Cest que rien ne averount les Baillifs de chose que apend a la coustume come de forfeture.*—Et ceutz que serrount Baillifs rien ne averount de chose que apende a la coustume come de forfeture et de entree de ble et de avoyr de peys ne rien naverunt for que les amercyamenz et les presens e la busche cest a savoir j. charette de busche de chescun charretter que meyne buche a vendre en la vile et dount avera le charretter j<sup>d</sup>. pour sa busche.

(37) *Ceux que al Alderman out fait trespas serrount amercie par egard des prodeshommes.*—Et celui que est de la vile et deyve estre amercie pour nul trespas seit sa merci taxee soloum le trespas et par esgard des Aldermans de la garde dount yl est.

(38) *Ceux que sont somonz a la curt le Roy ou a la semble et ne voillent venyr.*—Et ceux que serrount somons de venyr a Court ou asemble por le comandement le Roy oyer et fornier ou pour lo comon bosoigne de la commune de la vile et ne viengent a la somonce et la somonce soit tesmoignes par serjaunt jurez soient amercies auxi sovent com yl trespasserunt en cele manere kyqil soient povere ou riche par le esgard des Aldermans (sic) de lour garde et la merci meynテナunt levee de la vile.

(39) *Que nul ne herberge feyn aveyne ne autre blees apres ceo que la choses sont portez a vendre.*—Et nul ne deit herbage (?) feyne aveyne ne nule manere de blees herbergier apres ceo que la chose soit porte ou menee al

marche a vendre et si nul fetz et de ceo seit ataint il perdra toutz ceo qe il avera issi herbergie.<sup>5</sup>

(40) *Que nul alowe meson que marchaunt estrange ad lowe ne herberge autrieus.*—Nul de la marchaunz estraunge que avera alowe mesoun ou celer en la vile ne deit ne ne puytz autri marchaundise herberger en cele meson ne en cele celer pour nule manere de colour for qe la seone propre a toler le lowage des mesons as Borgeys de la vile et quy le fra et seit ataint resonablement yl serra grevousement amercie par esgard de la vile et solom le trespas.<sup>6</sup>

(41) *Que bocher ne nul queu ne vende viande autre que avenaunte et nette sur peine.*—Nul bochier ne queu<sup>7</sup> rien ne vende a nul homme que seine et nette chose et bien quizte. E si nul le faceo et de ceo seit ataint seit mys en pilori un heure del jour ou doigne ij.<sup>8</sup> a la vile por le trespas.

(42) *Que nul bocher ne queu nule ordure ne autre chose ne jette en la rue sur peine.*—Et que nul bocher ne queu nule ordure ne autre chose ne jette en la rue par quei la vile ou la rue seit plus soille ou plus orde ou plus corrompue e si nul fait le et seit ataint il paiera xij.<sup>9</sup> de mercy auxi sovent come yl trespasera en la manere avaunt ditz.

(43) *Que nul eit devant seon meson femer ne fiens ne pork alaunz.*—Nul homme neitz pork alaunt en la rue ne nul homme neit devant son eus<sup>8</sup> ne en rue fumer ne fiens outre dous nutz et si nul eitz qike voudra lenporte et celi qi avera feitz contre cestz estatutz seitz amercie grevousement.

(44) *Coment les xij. jurez serrount entendanz en tous pointz as Baillifs de vile.*—Les xij. proddeshommes jurez deyvent jurer que ils serrount eidaunt et consaillaunt as Baillifs de la vile en toutz pointz a fournyr le commandementz le Roy et a feire dreitz communaument auxi bien as poveres com a riches et a meyntheyner les Baillis en toutz leus a dreit et la fraunchise et les usages de la vile e seirount a chescune court et vendrount a la somonse des Baillis auxi sovent come il serrount somones por oyer le commandement le Roy ou pour jugement rendre en court e le conseil de la vile celerount et tendrount et frunt tenyr les estatutz de Gilde et de la vile ensemblement ove le chief Alderman ove le Seneschal et ove les eskevyns.

(45) *De ceo que les Aldermans et gardayns des rues de la vile de Suthamtone etc.*—Les Aldermans gardeins des rues de la vile deyvent jourer qe ils leaument frount la pes le Roy et qe yls frount enrouler les nouns de toutz ceuz que sont en leur garde et frount en tour chescun meis

<sup>5</sup> Corn brought into market is not to be withdrawn and warehoused in store.

<sup>6</sup> Merchant strangers, it seems, are not to harbour other goods than their own in their hired premises, so as to interfere with the exclusive right of letting by burgesses. By strangers, persons not being burgesses, and not aliens only, must be meant.

<sup>7</sup> Queu, a cook. The sale of cooked

meat was probably as familiar as that of butcher's meat. In the corporation rolls of Exeter there are punishments for the sale of *rechauffés* of stale pies. At the *Turnus* of the *curia civitatis*, 9 Edward III., the jury present cooks for selling "pyes, capon, auc," &c., *rechauff*, cum *pernoctaverunt frigid*.

<sup>8</sup> Eus, i.e. huis, the door. Fumer ne fiens, i.e. ni fumer ni fiente.

almeyns a veer que bien soient tenuz les pointz et les establicemenz feitz de leur garde et sy il trovent rien que seit encontre les establissemenz de la Gilde et de la vile en leur garde il le frount a savoyr al chief Alderman et as Baillifs de la vile et ceo ne lerrount en nule manere sy com il voillent joier de la fraunchise de la vile.

(46) *De deus Aldermans que tendront la pes dedens les boundes.*—Porvou est par comon conseil de la vile que de la porte de North deskes al a porte de Estz et deskes a la cornere que fu Richard de la Prise e le chief mys que fu Johan de la Bolehusse de une part e dautre de la rue ove toute la paroeche nostre Dame en Estret soient ij. Aldermans esleus gardeyns a prendre garde que la pes seit bien garde dedenz les boundes avaunt ditz et ceus frount mettre en Roule les nouns de toutz ceux que sont demoraunt en leur garde et serrount plevys par bone plevyne que ils serrount a la pees le Roy et leur plegges en Roules et prendront garde que nul demoerge en leur garde outre un nutz si il ne trovisse plegges auxi com avaunt est ditz si yl veutz demorer en la vila que mal ne damage ne avyegne par luy a la vile e les dous Aldermans facent chescun viij. jours ou xv. jours al meyns en tour parmy leur garde a sourveer que nul ne seit en contre la manere avaunt dite dedenz leur garde. E si yl y seit nul en la garde avaunt dite que trespasse et ne se seuffre de atacher le serjaunt jurez de la vile et les Aldermans ou toute leur garde voysent ove toute leur poer et seiwent le mesfesaunt desques a taunt qe yl seit pris et si les Aldermans ne le facent la vile se prendra a eus.

(47) *De les veilles de la vile soient sagement fetes et agardex en touz poins en leur.*—Et les Aldermans prendront garde que les veilles<sup>9</sup> de la vile seent bien gardetz et sagement fetez en leur garde.

(48) *De la cornere qe fu Richard de la Prise deskes a Niewetone* ij. Aldermans en tout.—De la cornere que fu Richard de la Prise et le chief mys que fu Johan de la Bolehouse et desques a la mer ensemblement ove la rue de Niewetone soient ij. Aldermans en la forme avaunt ditz.

(49) *De la rue de Frauncoise deskes a la mer* ij. Aldermans auxi com il est avaunt dite.—De toute la rue Fraunceyse fait asaver de la cornere que fu Richard de la Prise et Henre Brya dautre part et de une part et dautre de la rue desques a la mer soient ij. Aldermans auxi com yl est avaunt ditz.

(50) *De la rue de Symenelstrete deskes a la Chastel serrount* ij. Aldermans.—De la rue de Symeneles strete ove la marche de peisson et toute la Bolestrete ove toute Wesheuthe desques al Chastel soyent iij. Aldermans com avaunt est porveu.

(51) *De hors la porte de Norhtz deskes a la Lubriestrete serrount* iij. Aldermans.—De hors la porte de Norhtz de une part et dautre part de la rue ove Fulefode ove la Straunde et Lubriestrete soient iij. Aldermans en la forme avaunt ditz.

(52) *Que nul peissonyr ne vende peisson que venu est en nef ne en graunt*

<sup>9</sup> Veilles, i.e. the waits or watches of the town.

<sup>1</sup> The text says *three*.

*batel saunz del Aldeman.*—Nul peissoner desoremes que peisson meyne en nef ne en graunt batel ne deit le peisson deskarquer ne vendre avauntz qil eit conge del Baillif et qy le fra et seit ataint seit grevousment puny et fait entendre de peisson salee. Ensement est establi de toutes autres merchaundise.

(53) *Qe le Alderman seit cheveteyn de la vile et de la Gilde en vile.*—Le Alderman est chevetein de la vile et de la Gilde et doit principalement mettre peine et entente a meyntener la Fraunchise et les estatutz de la Gilde et de la vile et deit aver la primyere voyz en toutes eleccions et en toutes choses que touchent la vile et la Gilde.

(54) *Et si Baillif ou autre de la vile que soit en office trespasse et ne face dreit.*—Et si Baillif de la vile ou autre que soit en office de la vile trespasse ou le Baillif de la vile ne face dreit as privez et as estraunges solom seon serrement par qei plainte vieigne ou saunz plainte la chose est conue et aperte le Alderman de<sup>2</sup> fere asembler le Seneschal les eskevyns et les jurez de la vile et tels trespas fere amender et dreiture fere par la defaute del Baillif.

(55) *Auxi sovent com mester seit puyzt home asembler la comune pur bosoigne.*—Et deit auxi sovent que mester est fere asembler la comune par le Seneschal et fournir le comandementz le Roy et pour estraunge cas et pour comune bosoigne.

(56) *Si cas aviegne qy contek surde entre borgeis en vile.*—Et deit si cas avient que contek<sup>3</sup> surde entre borgeis de la vile en la vile un plainte ly viegne mender ceus de quei le contek surde et le baret et devaunt les proddeshommes fra fere hastyvement les amendes celi qe avera trespasse issi que bone pes soit et unite entre les proddeshommes de la vile. Et si nul seit rebel qe ne puse estre justice homme devera feire de ly solom les establissemenz de la vile.

(58) *Si nul . . . menaunt en la vile seit par la grace des proddeshomes et si y seit receu.*—Et si nul que ne seit menaunt en la vile soit par la grace des proddeshommes de la vile receu en la Gilde seon heyr ne doit par seon pere rien joier de ce grace ne de la Gilde.<sup>4</sup>

(58) *Si deuz homes de la Gilde tesmoignent trespas fait contre le estatuz.*—Et si deuz homes de la Gilde tesmoignent sur lour serrement trespas feitz contre les estatuz et en contre la Fraunchise de la vile lour tesmoignaunce doit ester et estre creu<sup>5</sup> et si ceux que issi tesmoignent seent resonablement ataint quil eient tesmonye fausement cels que tiel tesmoignage auront ditz perdent la Gilde solom le establissemenz.

<sup>2</sup> The word *deit* seems to be wanting before "fere asembler;" but there is no visible vacant place for it in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Contek*, i. e. dispute or contest. Baret, strife.

<sup>4</sup> See ante, Art. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ester et estre creu*. This illustrates the distinction between the verb derived from *stare*, and that from *esse*. The testimony of the two gildsmen was

to stand, and to be believed. This was analogous to the old rule that presentments for minor offences in the court leet, or by a wardmote inquest (which is equivalent to a leet), are conclusive and cannot be contradicted; though the persons who made it are punishable if it be false. Their testimony was, in fact, a verdict.

(59.) *Nul abrokur ne doit mener marchaunt prive ne estraunge si paier ne puyse.*—Nul abrokur ne doit mener marchaunt prive ne estraunge pour nule marchandise acheter se le acateur ne soit leul homme et voile et puyse bien paier et fere gre al vendur sur la peyne avant ditz.

(60) *Que nul abrokur ne doit herberger marchaundise de genz estraunges ne lour biens.*—Ne nul abrokur ne doit herberger nule marchaundise de genz estraunges ne lour biens sour la peine avant ditz et dounk par seon serrement fere asaver le Alderman se nul estraunge achate et reveent dedenz la vile.

(61) *Nul achate navee.*—Et si nul de la vile achate navee de vins ou de ble en gros et burgeys de la vile voile aver un tonel de vin ou ij. ou iij. quarteres du ble a seon user et les doit aver par le pris qe il sera achate dementiers qe les achatez serront en la seisyne del vendeur.<sup>6</sup>

(62) *Si nul de la vile achate vins ou autre marchaundise de coustume*—Et si nul de la vile achate vins ou autre marchaundise que coustume deyve entre la Huyrst et Langestone yl doit paier la coustume et la prise si la chose soit achate de homme coustumer.

(63) *Nul ne doit . . . ou autre marchaundise venaunt vers la vile pour rien.*—Et sachiez que nul ne doit en contre vins ne autres marchaundises venaunz vers la vile de Suthamtone pour ryen acheter avant que la nef soit aryvee et ancre a desgarke et si nul le fait et soit ataint la marchaundise qil avera achatez soit encoru au Roy.

(64) *Nul ne vende en marche ne en rue poisson fres fors celui qui avera pesche en leavee.*—Pourvou est per comon conseil de la Gilde que nul ne vende en marche ne en rue poisson fres for celi quy le avera peschee en la cawe ou celi qe le avera pourchacee dehors Calchesores. Et ceuz que ameynent poisson en batel le deyvent porter toutz a une fez al marche et cyl celent partie del poisson en lour batel yls deyvent toutz perdre. Et si yl baille partie del poisson a vendre a autri que a luy il le doit tont perdre et si ad ascune femme regrateresse achate poisson a revendre ele le doit toutz perdre.<sup>7</sup>

(65) *Nul ne doit acheter poisson avant le solaille levaunt ne apres le solaille recorusaunt et si etc.*—Nul ne doit acheter poisson avant le solaille levauntz ne apres le solaille recorusaunt et si ascun le fait et de ceo est seoit (sic) ataint si yl est Gildein perde la Gilde et si est de la Fraunchise yl perde la Fraunchise et eit la prisone un jour et un nuyt.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This again is a provision to prevent engrossing; the offence of buying for the mere purpose of re-selling being one which our ancestors thought they could never be sufficiently on their guard against. See also Art. 63, and several following ordinances.

<sup>7</sup> Here, again, none may sell fresh fish, unless he caught it himself, or bought it beyond Calshot. This is intended to extinguish the middle man. The last direct attempt to effect this purpose was by statute 5 & 6 Edward VI., ch. 14.

The statute 5 Elizabeth ch. 5, abolished all restraints on the sale or price of fish brought to land, and all local port dues on it, with the single exception of the local customs of Kingston-upon-Hull: a notable precedent for the parliamentary extinction of town dues!

<sup>8</sup> Similar limitations on the sale of fish between sunset and sunrise occur in 31 Edward III., stat. 2, ch. 2. They were soon abrogated as inconvenient by statute or "ordinance of herring," 35 Edward III.

(66) *Nul de Milebrok ne daillours ne meyne peisson outre la vile de Suthamtone.*—Nul de Milebrok ne de aillurs ne ameyne peisson outre la vile de Hamtone saunz conge demaunde ou saunz paier la custume et qy la feitz et de [ceo ?] seit ataint la marchaundise yssi amene seit encoru al Roy.

(67) *Nul ne vende quyr sur beste ne aillurs que en la vile bocher ne autre.*—Nul bocher ne vende quyr sur beste ne aillours que en la vile ne nul ne deit saler quir ne peal<sup>9</sup> seccher sy il ne seit Gildein en meme la manere de quirs de chival de porks et de autres quirs et de peaus fresches de berbiz et de motons et de chevers.

(68) *Chescun que meyne payn en karett a vendre deit celuy payn vendre par mayn.*—Chescun qui ameyne payn en karett a vendre deit celuy payn vendre par sa meyn et nul autre et si nul payn seit trovee en la meyn de autri yl deit estre perdu.<sup>1</sup>

(69) *Nul Gildein voyse en le leawe en contre peisson venaunt en la vile pour achater le et [si] ascun le fait.*—Pourvou est qe nul Gildein voise en le eawe de Hamtone contre peisson venaunt en la vile por [a]chater le et si nul Gildein seit ataint qe il voistz contre le peisson et le achate avaunt que la nef seit aryve et ancre perde la Gilde. E si ascun autre qy ne seit pas Gildein seit ataint qil voistz contre le peisson et le achate avaunt que la nef soit aryvee et ancre si il est de la Fraunchise eit la prison un jour et un nuyt. E si estraunge homme le fait que ne seit de la Fraunchise perde quanqe il avera achate.<sup>1</sup>

(70) *Nul regratur de chiveres des aigneus des oiseaus des owes des chapons et de gelines.*—Nul regratur de chyveriz de aigneus de oiseaus de owes de chapons de gelines de pucinis<sup>2</sup> ou dautre manere de vitaille de formage fres bure oefs ne achate tile manere de vitaille a revendre avaunt heure de prime sonie ne avaunt que les proddeshommes de la vile et autres frauns hommes del pais eient achate lour manger. E nul regratur ne voytz hors de la vile contre vitaille venaunt en la vile por celi vitaille achater et qy le fait et de ceo seit ataint perde quanqe il avera achate.

(71) *Porvou est des porturs de Suthamtone que prendront . . . .*—Porvou est que les porturs de Suthamtone prengent j<sup>d</sup>. et ob. de herbiger un tonel de vin en celers sur la ryve de la mer et dure cele ryve en la Rue Englesche desks a la venele que fu Walter le Flemeg et en la Rue Franceyse desks a la meson ou Jakes le Wyte soleit mendre et a Westhutte desks a celers que furent Sampson del Puytz et desks a la Chastel le Roy et desks a la chief mys que fu Dame Cleremonde ou ele soleit meyndre. Dautre part puz un tonel de vin mener sur poleins ou lotels outre le avaunt dite ryve desks a la Eglise Sainte Croyz e le Eglise Sainte Michel iij<sup>d</sup>. et outre les avaunt ditez Eglises ou que il meynent un tonel de vin aillours en la vile iij<sup>d</sup>. Dautre part pour charger un tonel de vin sur charette amener ascune part

<sup>9</sup> Peal, pel, or skin.

<sup>1</sup> I presume that this extraordinary regulation, requiring the delivery of bread by the very hand of the carter who brings it, is aimed at regratery; but it is

not clear how it could be effective unless the carter were also the baker.

<sup>2</sup> Pucins, poussins, chickens. These regulations are to prevent forstalling. There are early statutes to the same effect.

en la vile iij<sup>d</sup>. ob. et a charger un tonel de vin en nief iij<sup>d</sup>. et en batel iij<sup>d</sup>. et a descharger et herberger celui tonel iij<sup>d</sup>. ob. et a charger un tonel de vin a enveer hors de la vile iij. ob. Dautre part pour un gros sak de leine de porter de sendes en la paroche Seinz Laurence deskes a la mer et a mettre en batel et a charger en la nef iij<sup>d</sup>. Item pour un petit sak de leyne iij. ob.<sup>3</sup> cest a saver pour porter maylle et pour charger prendre j<sup>d</sup>. Item pour un last de quirs des avaunt dites sendes pour porter deskes a la mer et pour alever les en la nef xij<sup>d</sup>. cest a saver pour porter viij<sup>d</sup>. et pour aloer (*sic*) iiij<sup>d</sup>. Dautre part pour iiij. peyses de formage daporter a la batel iij<sup>d</sup>. Item pour porter sel et ble et autres choses que sount portez par C. forpris carban de mer pour le C. porter iij<sup>s</sup>. de la mer deske a les avaunt dites sendes. Item pour un tourn de moeles herberger iij<sup>d</sup>. achatez sur la ryve de la mer et pour un tourn descharger et herberger vj<sup>d</sup>. et pour un tourn de moeles mettre en batel et charger viij<sup>d</sup>. Les avaunt dite porters plus tosttz enpleterount les bosoignes des borgeis de Hamtone que de nul homme estraunge en toutz poinz et si yl ne fount et noysent en nul point contre les avaunt dites estatutz soient emprisonnes pour un jour et un nuyzt saunz estre replegez et ne deyvent fore le office de porturs pour un an et un jour.<sup>4</sup>

(72) *Nul abrokur ne seit en la vile de Suthamtone si yl ne seit a ceo establis par les proddeshommes.*—Et nul abrokur ne seit en la vile si yl ne seit a ceo establi par les proddeshommes de la vile et seit a ceo jurez a le office de abrokurs en la forme que est pourree et deit sauf plegge trover a tenyr leaumentz seon serment avaunt dite et si fait en contre seon serment dount il seit resonablement atteint devaunt les proddeshommes il deit perdre le office del brokur et ceus que serrount ceus (*sic*) plegges responderunt de seon trespas et le amenderount solom le esgard des proddeshommes de la vile.

(73) *Si nul faceo le office de abrokur que ne seit jurez a ceo.*—Et si nul vinge a fere le office de brokur quy ne seit jurez al forme avaunt dite nul marchauntz privez ne estraunge ne seit de ryen tenu a doner a celui abrokur et le office li seit defendu et kyl mes ne se entremette saunz le conge del Alderman et des proddeshommes de la vile sur peine de estre en prisone. Et les abrokurs deyvent estre entendaunt en toutes maneres des marchaundises a seon poer et par seon serment avancer les borgeis de la vile en toutes maneres des achatz et de ventes et de toutes maneres de marchaundises devaunt touz autres marchaunz en tiel manere que le preu a borgeis de la vile seit fait avaunt que nul marchaunt estraunge en soit garny e quy il ne monstrent ne ne facent monstren ne fere a saver a nul marchaunt estraunge de nule manere de marchaundise avaunt que les borgeis de la vile en soient garny et la cient refuse ou achatez.

<sup>3</sup> iij. ob. i.e., 1½d., maylle which follows is equivalent to obolus.

<sup>4</sup> Mys, in the early part of this article, is a house. Dr. Speed translated "po-loins" *slings*. The word may be *pulleys*, and Dr. Speed perhaps meant slings available by pulleys. He translates *lotels*, *barrows*. The word *sendes* in the latter part was read "fendes" by Dr. Speed, who con-

jectured that it meant warehouses. But the word *sende* for a stall or a shop occurs in the Winchester Consuetudinary, Arch. Journ., vol. ix., pp. 71, 77, and in Kelham. The more correct reading may probably be *seude*, corrupted from Lat. *selda*. See Ducange, in v. Tourn de moeles, a pair of millstones. Most of the streets and places mentioned can be identified.



(74) *Nul abrokur jurez ne doit estre marchaunt et abrokur.*—Et nul brokur jurez ne doit estre marchauntz et abrokur ne taverner tenyer de vin ne de rien marchaunder a seon oepe demeyne ne ove autre marchaunz en nule manere de marchaundise partyr ne eistre partenyr et si nul le feitz et de ceo soit ataint perde le office de abrokur.

(75) *Nul borgeis ne autre ne achate ne vende fundrible de seim.*—Porveu est par comon assent que nul borgeis ne autre achate ne vende desoremes nul manere de fundrible de seim que homme apele blobbe e que de chescun tonel soit feru hors le funz sus le grant mer de la mer et ny passe pas la floudmark quant le cler seim serra hors tret qil ne soit effonce pour corrupeion et pour autre gref damage que en porra avenir en la. Et si Gildein le fait et soit tesmoigne par Gildein de la Gilde perde la Gilde et si autre de Fraunchise le fait perde la Fraunchise et soit tenu pour estraunge et si autre le fait soit en la prisone un jour et un nuzt et soit replegge par tieles qe meynprengent de amender le trespas par esgard del Alderman des eskevyns del Seneschal et de jurez.<sup>6</sup>

(76) *Que Gildein vendra a heure de prime lendemeyn que la Gilda serra.*—Et chescun de la Gilde doit venir lendemeyn que la Gilda serra al heure de prime et qi ne vendra soit en la merci de vj<sup>d</sup>, et les paie tantostz. Et si Gildein ne vient a la semble le matin et soit en la vile soit en la mercy de ij<sup>s</sup>. et les paie saunz nul relessier.

(77) *Com arange sale y vient.*—Porveu est par comon conseil de la Gilde que le arange sale venaunt en port de Suthamtone de queconque soit meymes le arange soit en chescun nef soit le arange vendu a comensement a meloure vente com il entendent lour profist fere yssi que apres la premiere vente le mestre de la nef ne lour hostz ne devent encrestre outre la premiere vente. Et quike le face et de coe (*sic*) soit ataint tout cele encrecment soit encoru al comon profist de la vile saunz contre distz.<sup>7</sup>

Prefixed to the above Ordinances is the following Oath of office.

Ceo oyez vous Meyre Baillif et bones gentz que vous H. serretz foial et loyal a nostre seignour le Roy et a ses heres la Fraunchise de la ville les pointz (*sic*) de la Gilde meyntendrez le counseile celerez a les courtz et a les assemblez par renable somounse vendres nule estraunge parcener ne serrez par qe la custume de la dite vile ne soit amenuse nules coviengnes ne assemblez hors de comune assent de la dite ville ferrez ne soeffrez estre fait par qe nule homme de la ville ne soit endamage ne defait. Et si nulles itieles confederacies ou malveis alliaunces porretz savoir par vostre serment freez garnyr le Mayre et les bones gentz pour tieles iniquites destourber ovesque vostre seen od vostre corps od biens et chateux les poyntz surditz meyntendrez. Si Dieu vous eide et les Seyntz.

<sup>6</sup> The regulations are sanitary. They direct that the lees or dregs, "fundrille" or "fundrible" of fish-oil shall not be an object of sale; and that when a cask of blubber has been opened and the "cler seim," or clear oil drawn out, the refuse "blob" shall be discharged be-

low high-water mark.

<sup>7</sup> *Sic. i.e. viendra.*

<sup>7</sup> The provisions against sales by auction are similar to those of the statute 35 Edward III., already referred to; but not in language that shows the gild law to be a copy of the statute.

## Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

April 1, 1859.

The LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

IN opening the proceedings of the Meeting, the noble Chairman took occasion to express his gratification at resuming his place, and again meeting his friends and fellow labourers in the field of Archaeological investigation. During his absence in the country, Lord Braybrooke had, as he remarked, prosecuted his researches on the site which had yielded such a harvest of precious results at *Icianum*; he had brought the most recent produce of his explorations for the inspection of the Institute. With this Roman relic he had also the pleasure to place before the meeting some of the latest additions to his *Dactyliothea*, and he hailed with satisfaction the presence of his generous rival as a collector of the interesting personal ornaments of that class, Mr. Edmund Waterton, who had likewise brought on this occasion, as he (Lord Braybrooke) perceived, a fresh instalment of valuable rings from his collection, the rich stores of which were always generously open to please and instruct those who take interest in such relics of mediæval sentiment and taste.

MR. EDMUND WATERTON communicated Notes on the History of the Cardinals' Rings. (Printed in this volume, p. 278.)

The following letter from Mr. WILLIAM CLAYTON, of Dover, was then read, accompanying a photograph which represented a group of Roman urns, of various kinds of ware, lately found near that town. They are deposited in the Museum there; and arrangements have been made, so that henceforth all antiquities discovered in the works for the new railway will be carefully preserved.

"The urns of which I send you a photograph were found in a field in the parish of Buckland, near Dover. The tenant had begun to dig clay for making bricks, and the workmen found, on one side of the field, what they called old jars and saucers, and they broke them to pieces as soon as they found them. Our mutual friend, Mr. Thompson, by accident, heard that such things had been discovered, and at once went to the place, and by the diligent enquiries he made, and by offering to pay the men a small sum for anything they could save or procure for him, he very soon convinced them that it was more worth their while to preserve than to destroy. He has been enabled to secure a few urns entire, and a great many fragments: those which are photographed are the most perfect, and are in the Museum here. From the skilful hands in which the fragments now are, I have no doubt some other vases will be restored. On visiting the place and making enquiries, I find that the deposits lay about four feet deep, a few yards from each other, almost in a continuous line, and parallel to the road from Dover to Canterbury; there is generally a large urn, with two or three

smaller ones close to it; one had a thick red tile placed over it, about eighteen inches long and eleven broad. The fashion of the pottery is very various, both as to shape and colour; some is ill-burnt, and appears not to have been coloured at all: those urns that are better burnt are generally black. One which is nearly perfect is so coarse and rough, it is more like sandstone than earthenware. Two bottles, each with a handle, are of a bright red colour, not glazed but of a finer clay than most of the others. One of the workmen told me that hundreds had been destroyed, and on my expressing surprise at the number, he said more than a cartload of fragments had been thrown away. At present no work is going on in the field, as part of it will be required for the new railway, and until the company have railed off their portion, there will be no further digging. However, I believe such arrangements are now made, both with the brickmakers and the contractors for the railway works, that I trust all antiquities that may be discovered will be preserved, and notice of what they find given to those who will secure them properly. I have no doubt the place is part of the burying-ground of the Roman DUBRIS, and that a great number of discoveries will be made during the ensuing summer. I must add, that on Mr. Thompson asking the men in the field if they ever found any metal objects with the urns, one man said that there often were pieces of wire, or some such relics, in one urn in each group, and that such had been the case in one he had emptied that day. On searching at the spot, several very small pieces were found, but they all crumbled away on being touched. A day or two after, some pieces were brought to Mr. Thompson, which, on being joined together, proved to be an armlet, apparently of brass or copper wire. There are quantities of fragments of burnt bones to be found where the urns have been emptied."

The Rev. THOMAS BURNINGHAM, Rector of Charlwood, Surrey, communicated the following particulars regarding Roman remains found in Hampshire, accompanied by a drawing of a mosaic pavement then discovered.

In May, 1817, a tessellated pavement, of considerable beauty of design, was discovered at Badley Pound Farm, Crondall, in Hampshire, of which a short account was produced in the same year by Mr. Joseph Jefferson, of Basingstoke, from which the following particulars are derived. The discovery occurred in ploughing, at a spot about a mile south-east of Crondall. The attention of the ploughman was attracted by seeing tesserae of various colours, which lay at a depth of about six or seven inches under the surface. On examination he found a considerable portion of mosaic work; and the discovery becoming known, excavations were made, and a floor of very ornamental design was exposed to view. The field had long been under the plough, and it is remarkable that these remains had not been found before, especially as it had been frequently observed that the part of the land where they were disinterred was comparatively unproductive.

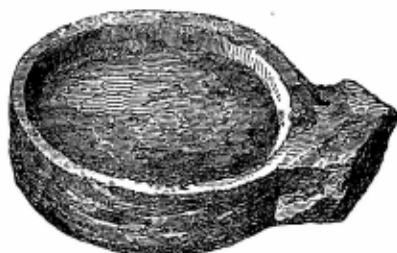
The pavement, of which an original drawing was sent by Mr. Burningham, measured about twelve feet square. It was composed of tesserae, about half an inch square, black, white, and red: the last being apparently of brick or terra-cotta. Around the sides are two borders of interlaced riband-patterns; the area within is filled up with various designs, the largest of which, nine in number, are octagonal in form, in three rows. The central compartment contains a vase with two handles, and in those

surrounding it there are four-petaled flowers and ornaments like tulips. The spaces intervening are filled up with riband-patterns and other designs. Around the whole there was a pavement of inferior work, formed of cubes of brick, about an inch and a half square.

The floor was perfect when first discovered, but portions were speedily carried away by visitors. A temporary building was afterwards erected for its protection by Mrs. Debrett, of Chelsea, on whose property it was found.

Besides this mosaic, the floors of two adjoining apartments were exposed to view; one composed of tesserae of brick, about an inch and a half square, the other paved with tiles about six inches square. The field where these remains were found, and also another field adjacent, contained foundations of buildings, with many fragments of Roman bricks and pottery. At a short distance may be traced vestiges of a fosse, possibly for defence. The site is near a rising ground known as Castle Hill, where tradition reports that a fortress formerly stood. A house near the church at Crondall, of some antiquity, appears to have been partly built of Roman bricks. About two miles distant is Tuksbury Hill, and the entrenchment known as Cæsar's Camp, of which remains are visible. The Roman buildings, of which the vestiges have been described, are in a direct line between that camp and Winchester, *Venta Belgarum*. It was thought that they might possibly mark the site of the *Calleva* of Antonine's Itinerary, which has been usually placed at Farnham; there is, however, no appearance of Roman remains at that place. Crondall is three miles distant from Farnham. A few Roman small brass coins were found, including one described as of Antoninus Pius, and one of Constantine.<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. John H. AUSTEN, of Ensbury, Dorset, sent the following interesting report of his researches in regard to the "Kimmeridge coal-money" of the Isle of Purbeck, on the coast of Dorsetshire:—



Saucer, or stand of Kimmeridge coal. Found at Povington, Dorset.

Length of the original, 5½ inches, depth of the saucer, ½ inch.

"I have lately had another digging amidst the 'coal-money' at Povington in Purbeck. The place where these relics occur extends over

<sup>1</sup> The tessellated pavements discovered in this country are remarkably numerous, and recent excavations have largely augmented the list of such remains, of which it were desirable that a complete inventory should be compiled, whilst the facts connected with such discoveries can

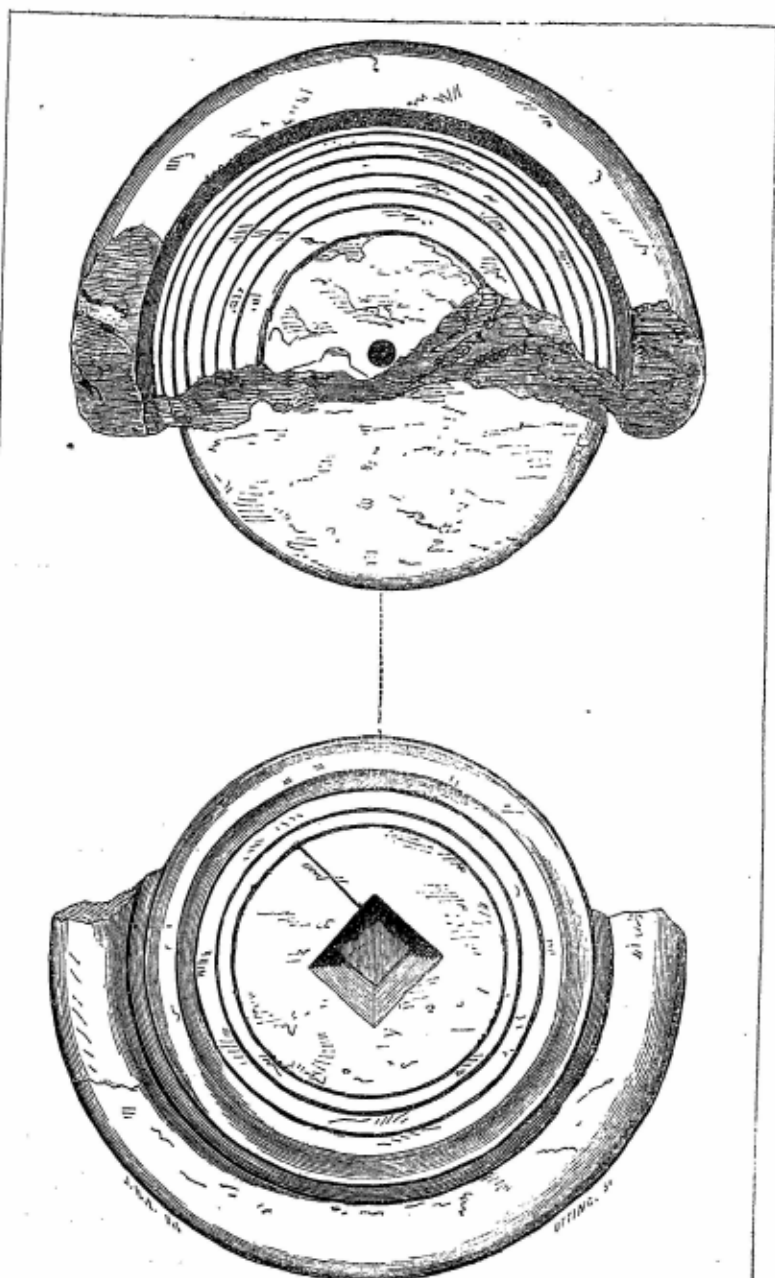
be correctly recorded. Part of a mosaic floor (of a bath?) from Oxfordshire, is said by Mr. Jefferson, in his notice of the Crondall pavement, to be preserved in Mr. Hutton's Museum at Keswick, in Cumberland.

only half an acre, and has been mostly dug up; but I fell upon an undisturbed spot, and in a space of not larger than a yard in diameter, there could not have been fewer than 600 or 800 pieces. The collection contains several varieties, and some novelties: among the latter is a piece of coal shaped into a one-handled saucer. (See woodcut, previous page.) It was turned up amidst a mass of coal-money and broken flints, conglomerated by the presence of iron matter. I think it had possibly been used for holding the flint chippings, or rather the points used in turning the coal in the lathe instead of steel, and had been placed at the workman's side. There were many pieces of flint, and many portions of broken armlets, varying in thickness, and some pieces of coal-money with the broken armlets attached, but not so good as that which is preserved in the Museum at Dorchester (see woodcuts.) There were also many chippings and pieces of coal cut ready for the lathe. I remarked that in one digging the pieces were nearly all small, as if the refuse from turning links for chains or amulets, whilst in the other deposit (only 3 or 4 yards apart) they were of the common size, such as were cut out from armlets. At this spot thousands must have been cast from the lathe, and therefore thousands of armlets and other objects must have been here manufactured. The question suggests itself, for what market were they destined? must they not have been for exportation? In that case, is it not probable that the Romans used some varnish to prevent the coal from cracking, which, at the present time, it does after a day in a dry room? No systematic examination has hitherto been carried out at Kimmeridge, but, in course of draining and other operations, it has been proved that the coal-money is in abundance over a round hill between the village and the bay. Colonel Mansel, to whom the property belongs, informs me that since he has been resident in the neighbourhood, scarcely less than a waggon-load must have been carried away.

"At Povington I have found fragments of black Roman pottery, of more than one description. Broken armlets are found abundantly; the soil where the coal-money occurs is black, and where such is not the prevalent colour of the mould, our diggings were fruitless."<sup>2</sup>

The small one-handled vessel noticed by Mr. Austen, and here figured, may possibly have served as a portable lamp or cresset, of the same description as the so-called "Druidical pateræ" of stone, frequently found in North Britain, of which specimens of somewhat unusually ornamented character are figured in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 202. In the Faroe Islands, as we are informed by Sir Walter Trevelyan, similar vessels of rude construction are still used as lamps or chafing-dishes. The vestiges of extensive manufactures of objects formed of Kimmeridge shale, undoubtedly carried on in Roman times, present a subject of considerable interest to the archaeologist. The relics, familiarly termed coal-money, appear to have been first noticed by a writer on Dorset Antiquities (doubtless the county historian, the Rev. John Hutchins), *Gent. Mag.* March, 1768, p. 111, by whom they are described as found in abundance at Smedmore, mostly near the top of the cliffs, and enclosed in small cists of stones set edgeways; these deposits consisted of a quantity of coal-money mixed with bones. It was observed that they always occurred in "made ground." Some had been found in the cliffs at Flowers Barrow, a camp near East Lulworth, and on the seashore near Kimmeridge-an

<sup>2</sup> Papers read before the Purbeck Society, 1856; Wareham, 1857; p. 84.



Kimmeridge "Coal Money;" specimen in the Dorchester Museum, with part of an armlet attached, fractured in the lathe. (Original size.)

object had been found, resembling apparently that discovered by Mr. Austen. It is described as "a bowl made of Kimmeridge coal, six inches in diameter, but shallow, and of equal height; it contained a few pieces of coal-money." Mr. Hutchins first suggested that the coal-money was the pieces rejected from the lathe, a notion fully substantiated in a memoir published in this Journal, vol. i. p. 347, by Mr. Sydenham, who has satisfactorily set aside the hypothesis of Mr. Miles, in his treatise on the Deverel Barrow, attributing these relics to the Phœnicians, and regarding them as representations of coin. The subject has been carefully investigated by Mr. Austen, and we may refer our readers to his memoir in the Transactions of the Purbeck Society, before cited. The most remarkable relics of the manufacture are two vases found at Warden, Bedfordshire, of which one is in the collection of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the other in the British Museum; and the curious vessels found by Lord Braybrooke at Great Chesterford, Essex, figured in this Journal, vol. xiv. p. 85. Some cylindrical boxes apparently of Kimmeridge shale are to be seen in the Museum at Boulogne. By Mr. Austen's kindness we are permitted to place before our readers representations of one of the pieces of coal-money, found, as stated above, with a broken moiety of an armlet still attached to it. The two sides of this curious object are here figured, and the centres of adjustment to the lathe are distinctly shown. It were scarcely possible to adduce more conclusive evidence in regard to the origin of these relics. (See woodcuts on the previous page.)

Dr. HENRY JOHNSON, secretary to the Wroxeter Excavation Committee, communicated further particulars regarding the successful progress of the explorations, and sent a ground-plan showing the vestiges of buildings brought to light in the neighbourhood of the "Old Wall," and also sketches of various relics disinterred during the excavations, hexagonal roofing tiles of stone, such as have been noticed on other Roman sites (see p. 186 in this volume), a remarkable little bowl formed of tin, an iron spear-head the only weapon hitherto found, &c. A full account of the discoveries at Wroxeter has since been produced by Mr. Wright, entitled a "Guide to the Ruins," which may be obtained from Mr. Sandford, Shrewsbury, the publisher.

By the Lord BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A.—A fine specimen of Samian ware, with ornaments in relief, representing a conflict with lions and other wild animals. It measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and bears the potter's mark—ALBYCI. It was found at Chesterford, where Samian vessels bearing the same name had previously been disinterred by Lord Braybrooke, as given in his list of potters' marks in this Journal, vol. x. p. 233.

By Mr. WHINCOPP.—Four rings of various periods; one of them set with turquoise; another with malachite between two small diamonds; another has a flat oval head upon which is engraved a magical or talismanic symbol, of which no explanation has been given. These rings are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A selection of beautiful rings, recently added to his collection, and of which he has kindly given the following description.

"1. Gold ring set with two rough diamonds.—This is of late Roman work, and I believe an unique example. Lord Braybrooke has in his Dactylitheca a similar specimen but set with only one diamond; and another ring set with one diamond is in the British Museum.

"2. Large Roman ring of amber.—On the shoulder there are two figures in relief. This is also unique.

"3. Ring with a death's head in enamel.—It is surrounded with the motto + NOSCE TE IPSVM, and, on the outer edge of the bezel, which is hexagonal, is inscribed + DYE TO LYVE.

"4. Small gold hoop ring, bearing the inscription,— + a + na ny + zap + ta.—and within—+ buro + berto + berneto + consumatum + est.

"5. Gold signet with a merchant's mark.—It is made of fine *zecchino* gold, and I consider it to be Venetian.

"6. Gold ring, the hoop of which terminates in two figures supporting a circular bezel on which is the cross of St. John in white enamel, on a black field. This is of Italian work, possibly Maltese, and of the latter part of the sixteenth century. In the *Gabinetto delle gemme* in the Uffizi at Florence, I saw a ring set with a talismanic stone which had the cross of St. John in white enamel on one of the shoulders. This may have belonged to some Knight of the Order, but the Knights never wore rings with the cross of St. John, as indicative of their being of that Order, and they do not at the present day.

"7. Gold ring with a round stone set *à griffes*. The bezel projects very much; on the hoop is the inscription—god help hir maria."

By Mr. WILLIAM LAWRIE, of Downham Market.—The guard of a dagger or small sword, of beautiful workmanship. The chased ornaments are in perfect preservation, and their character appears to indicate the sixteenth



Guard of a small weapon found near Downham Market, Norfolk.

In the possession of Mr. William Lawrie.

or early part of the seventeenth century as the date of this relic, which was found in a field on the Bexwell road, near Downham Market, Norfolk, in 1857. It is in the possession of Mr. Lawrie, who has very kindly contributed the accompanying woodcuts.

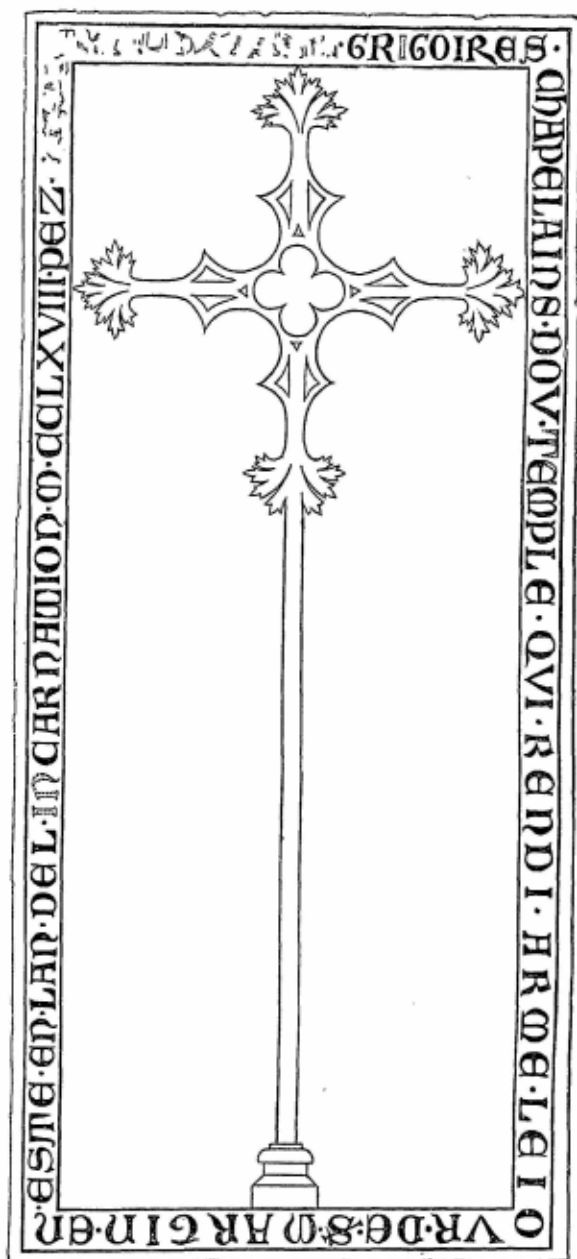


By Mr. HOWLETT, chief draughtsman of the Ordnance Office.—An extensive series of photographs taken, during recent operations in China, by the officers and sappers of the Royal Engineers quartered at Canton. They illustrate in a remarkable manner architectural details, picturesque scenery, manners and usages of life in China.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Two bowls of lignum vitæ wood thickly studded with leaden plugs, and peculiar in their construction. They are supposed to have been used formerly on the bowling-green at Delamere Lodge, Cheshire, where they were found. An iron spindle passes through each of them; to one end of this is fastened a round brass plate engraved with the initials T. W., united by a true-love knot, and to the other end is screwed a triangular plate, by which the spindle is fixed; on the triangular plates are engraved three cocks, with stars or mullets in the intervals. The initials, as Mr. Bernhard Smith supposes, are probably those of Thomas Wilbraham, living about 1650, a person who appears to have possessed singular taste and accomplishments. A volume of calligraphy attributed to his pen is still at Delamere Lodge, now in possession of George Fortescue Wilbraham, Esq. See the account of the family in Ormerod's Cheshire, vol. ii. p. 64.

By Mr. HENRY FARRER.—A remarkable example of iron-work, with elaborate *repoussé* ornament. It bears representations of St. Jerome and other Saints; also two escutcheons, under a mitre and a coronet, respectively; one of them is charged with a hound rampant, on the other is a castle.

By an inadvertent error to which Mr. Nesbitt has called our attention, the woodcut at p. 85 in this volume was given as the memorial of a Chaplain of the Order of the Temple, at Laon. The engraving in question represents the memorial of Frère Pierre Spifamo, whose name appears among the knights present at Rhodes in 1522. The original exists in the Temple Church at Laon, as described in this Journal, vol. ix. p. 114. The incised slab at Laon, which commemorates the Chaplain of the Order, was brought before the Institute, in 1852, by Mr. Nesbitt, and it is noticed in this Journal, vol. ix., p. 383. He has kindly placed at our disposal a rubbing of that memorial, from which the accompanying woodcut has been prepared. It is a cross-slab of considerable interest, since scarcely any well authenticated memorials of persons connected with the Order have been hitherto noticed. The cross has a very slender shaft, on a moulded pedestal not gradated; the head is foliated, pierced with a quatrefoil in the centre, and the arms are cusped; the cuspings are pierced. Each of the foliations terminating the arms of the cross consists of three trifid leaves. Their character bears some general resemblance to that of foliated crosses on slabs in this country, attributed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See the Manual of Sepulchral Slabs, by the Rev. E. Cutts, pl. xv. to pl. xviii. One of the examples there given, existing in Exeter Cathedral, and supposed to cover the grave of Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, who died in 1291, may be particularly cited as apparently approximating in date to the slab under consideration. The dimensions of the slab at Laon are 7 feet 9 inches, by about 3 feet 3 inches. The



Incised cross-slab, the memorial of a Chaplain of the Order of the Temple, in the Temple Church at Lacu.

Date, 1268.



inscription may be read as follows, some words now effaced having been probably as here supplied.—[+ CY · GIST · FRERE] · GRIGOIRES · CHAPELAINS · DOV · TEMPLE · QVI · RENDI · ARME · LE IOVR · DE · S · MARTIN · EN · ESTE · EN · LAN · DEL · INCARNATION · M · COLXVIII · PEZ · [FVR · LY ·]

There may probably have been some mark of contraction over the word following the date, not seen in the rubbing, and to be read in extenso *FRERE*. The feast of St. Martin in Summer is July 4th, the day of the Saint's Translation.

### Archæological Intelligence.

Mr. NEWTON, H. B. M. Consul at Rome, announces for immediate publication (by subscription), a History of the Recent Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ; being the results of an Expedition sent to Asia Minor by Her Majesty's Government in October, 1856, under Mr. Newton's direction. The work will consist of a folio volume of about 100 plates (including sixty-six views in double tinted lithography, principally from photographs taken under the direction of Lieut. Smith, R.E.), and a volume of text giving an account of the discoveries, with a dissertation on the Architectural Remains of the Mausoleum, and on its presumed structure, accompanied by a full description of the Architectural Illustrations of the work, by Mr. Pullan, Architect. A publication of this character will doubtless contribute to a more just appreciation of those precious remains of Greek Art acquired for the National Collection through Mr. Newton's exertions, and now in course of arrangement at the British Museum. The highly interesting explorations, carried out by one of the earliest and most active promoters of the Archæological Institute, were recently brought under the notice of the Society by the talented discourses delivered by Mr. Newton at the Carlisle meeting, with the exhibition of the attractive illustrations, plans, photographs, &c., viewed with much gratification on that occasion. The archæologist who desires to give encouragement to this important publication should forthwith communicate with the publishers, Messrs. Day, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, from whom the prospectus may be obtained.

Mr. B. B. WOODWARD has in preparation an Archæological Map of England and Wales, and a Map of the Mediæval Antiquities of England and Wales; the first exhibiting the localities and the character of all known remains of the Aboriginal, the Roman, and the Saxon inhabitants of the country; the other showing the sites of Cathedrals, Monasteries, Castles, &c. The scale of the Maps will be twelve miles to an inch, and an illustrated Handbook will be prepared as an accompaniment. Communications may be addressed to Mr. Woodward, 20, Eaton Villas, Haverstock Hill.

A magnificent work on Armour and Arms has recently been announced by the Conservateur of the Museum of Arms at Bordeaux, M. Micol. It is entitled "*Panoplie Européenne*," and will comprise, in a hundred large folio plates coloured, upwards of 400 figures of arms, defensive and offensive, from the foundation of Rome to the close of the last century. Many of the subjects will be given of the full size of the originals. For all the practical purposes, however, of antiquarian inquiry, the valuable treatise by Mr. Hewitt, "*Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*," will hold the

foremost place among Archæological Manuals. The second volume, in which the subject is continued to the close of the fourteenth century, is announced for immediate publication by Messrs. Parker.

It is proposed to establish a CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, for the purpose of promoting the publication of such MSS. of general interest as are found in the University or College Libraries, and of such unedited documents from whatever quarter, as relate to the history and antiquities of the University, Town, or County. The subscription to be one pound annually. All persons favourable to the objects are requested to address the Rev. George Williams, King's College, Provisional Secretary, who will supply the prospectus, with lists of the Committee and of publications contemplated in the scheme of the Society.

The examination of the site of the Roman city at WROXETER, to which the notice of our readers has frequently been invited, since the commencement of the excavations early in the present year, has received a fresh impulse through facilities recently conceded by the Duke of Cleveland, on whose estates the remains are situated. We may refer with pleasure to the official reports by Mr. Wright and Dr. Johnson, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. v. third series, pp. 218, 257. To the former, under whose directions the work has been conducted, the visitor of Uriconium is indebted for a "Guide to the Ruins," published by Mr. Sandford, at Shrewsbury; the rapid demand for a second edition has satisfactorily shown that the marked interest in these vestiges of an obscure historical period has not been limited to the locality. The accurate plan most kindly supplied by Mr. Hillary Davies, of Shrewsbury, with the courteous assent of the Excavation Committee, gives the latest results. (See p. 266 *ante*.)

The valuable Museum formed by the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, hitherto deposited very disadvantageously in the insufficient space available at their apartments in Edinburgh, has lately, we have the satisfaction to learn, been transferred to the spacious gallery and rooms appropriated for the purpose in the Royal Institution in that city. The Honourable Board of Manufactures has thus satisfactorily carried out the liberal provisions of H. M. Treasury, by which these instructive collections are henceforth to be maintained as a National Establishment, whilst their custody is entrusted to the Society through whose influence they have been formed. The new Museum will be inaugurated on December 23, by a conversazione, and an Address will be delivered on the occasion by the Hon. Lord Neaves. An efficient curator, Mr. T. M'Culloch, has been appointed; valuable accessions to the series have been received, including the numerous Roman inscriptions and relics found in Scotland, presented by the Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, and various articles of "Treasure Trove," which, through the concessions liberally sanctioned by Government, in respect of the claim formerly enforced, have been preserved for the National Museum of Scottish Antiquities.

The gratification occasioned by the Temporary Museum, formed during the Meeting of the Institute at CARLISLE, caused a general desire for some permanent memorial of collections presenting unusual local interest. A descriptive catalogue has accordingly been prepared, which may be obtained (by post) from Messrs. Thurnam, Carlisle, or at the office of the Institute.

# The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1859.

## POSY RINGS.

BY EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.

AMONG the various classes of finger-rings, there is not perhaps one which offers so many pleasing varieties as those commonly designated Posy Rings. This term is generally applied to rings which bear a motto or verse, such as is frequently to be found on betrothal rings, and of which I have found no example earlier than the latter part of the sixteenth century. Prior to that period, these verses or mottoes seem to have been otherwise designated, as will subsequently be seen.<sup>1</sup>

I am of opinion that the Posy Ring is of Roman origin. Many *intaglii*, with short mottoes in Greek and in Latin, are found, mounted in rings; each class of these may be Roman, for the Romans employed Greek for inscriptions, as French was used in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Sometimes the motto is cut on the metal. Thus, a gold ring in my collection has on the bezel—ΑΗΘΙ · ΖΗΑΙC; and another, ΙΤΕΡΕ · FELIX (*sic*, for *utere*?). Some gems referred to by Peiresc<sup>2</sup> have—BONAM · VITAM :—AMO · TE · AMA · ME; and—VIRTUTEM · AMA. Maffei,<sup>3</sup> commenting upon a gem with the inscription—ΑΘΑΝΑCΙ · ΗΙΚΤΙC, observes that pro-

<sup>1</sup> The earliest occurrence of the term posy used to designate a motto, such as are inscribed on the rings under consideration, is probably to be found in the curious Treatise of Palsgrave, "Eclaircissement de la Langue Françoisse," published in 1530. He gives "Posy, device or worde, *devise*." Sherwood gives "A posie, *devise*," and Cotgrave renders

*devise* "a device, posy, embleme, conceit, &c. Quel devise y avoit il en cela? What reason, or sense, was there in that?"

<sup>2</sup> *Récherches Curieuses d'Antiquité*, par M. Spon, p. 69; Fran. Nicroni *Gemmae Literatae*, Romæ, 1757, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Gemmae Antiche*, Roma, 1709, vol. iv. p. 118.

bably it was set in an *annulus pronubus*, or nuptial ring. It should be remarked that some of these mottoes were cut in intaglio, to serve for seals, whilst others were in cameo, and often on a sardonyx, so as to form the background of a different colour from the letters. Rings set with these gems were given by young *amorosi* to their lady-loves; and it is obvious that they may have been not only pledges of honest affection, but of unhallowed love as well. This conjecture is supported by a line of Ennius,—“*Alii dant annulum spectandum a labiis*,”<sup>4</sup> implying, as some have supposed, that they held their rings in their teeth, and invited young damsels to approach and see or read what was engraved upon them. Hence also Plautus says, “*Spectandum ne cui det annulum neque roget*.”<sup>5</sup> The Roman posies are for the most part engraved on gems; but the Duke of Northumberland has a curious gold ring of that period, found near Corbridge, which bears the motto,—*ARMILIA ZESES*, pierced in the hoop: it has been described in this Journal.<sup>6</sup> See also the woodcut at the close of this memoir.

It is a question whether these rings may not have been the *annuli natalitii*, referred to in the Classics, presented by damsels to their lovers.

In the *Epidicus* of Plautus, the *Virgo* asks of *Epidicus*,<sup>7</sup>—

*VIR.* Quis tu homo es qui meum parentum nomen memoras et meum?

*EP.* Non me novisti? *VIR.* Quod quidem nunc veniat in mentem mihi.

*EP.* Non meministi me auream ad te afferre natali die

*Lunulam atque anellum aureolum in digitum?* *VIR.* Memini mi homo.

Tune is es?

Gori<sup>8</sup> enumerates many of these gems, bearing either the name of the donor's lady-love, or some good wish:—*XAIPE KAAH*.—*XAIPE ΨΥXH*.—*ΚΤΡΙΑ XAIPE*. (Hail! fair one—Hail! my life—my Mistress, Hail!); also the following in Latin—*VOTIS · MEIS · CLAUDIA · VIVAS*; and a gem, with *MNHMONTETE · KAAHΣ · ΤΥΧΗΣ* (be mindful of good fortune.)

These mottoes are to be found on rings of the early Christian period. One in my collection bears, signet-wise,—*LIBERI* ·

<sup>4</sup> Apud Isidorum, lib. i. Originum, c. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Plant. in *Asinaria*; Kirchm. de *Annulis*, p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 192. This interesting ring had been

regarded as of *cinq-ues-cents* workmanship; but there can be scarcely any doubt of its Roman character. It was discovered on the site of the station *Corstropitum*.

<sup>7</sup> Act v. scene i. v. 33.

<sup>8</sup> ii. p. 54.

VIVAS; Father Garrucci, the eminent Jesuit archæologist, possesses one which has the inscription,—JANVARI · VIVAS; and a gem, figured in Garrucci's edition of the Hagioglypta, bears the inscription,—IOHANNES · VIVAS · IN · ✠ (Christo).<sup>9</sup> He also mentions another<sup>1</sup> which is exceedingly beautiful. On the bezel, which is circular, is represented a dove with wings half expanded, apparently intended for the soul of one departed, which hears the voice of her heavenly spouse. Around is the motto,—SI · AMAS · VENI; or, perhaps,—VENI · SI · AMAS, with which may be compared the verse of the Canticle of Canticles,—“Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, beautiful one, and come.”<sup>2</sup> If I remember right, the bezel of the ring in the possession of Father Garrucci is of silver, and the hoop of brass.<sup>3</sup>

Peiresc describes a curious wedding-ring of gold, of the sixth century, which bore on the bezel a head rudely engraved, and around,—✠ TECLA · SEGELLA. Around the hoop was the inscription,—✠ TECLA · VIVAT · DEO · CVM · MARITO · SEO (*sic*). He also mentions another gold ring, on the bezel of which were two heads, those of a man and a woman, whilst over them was represented a little dove supporting a crown, and around, VIVATIS.

The wedding-ring of St. Louis of France was set with a sapphire intaglio of the crucifixion, and bore on the hoop, “Dehors cet anel, pourrions avoir amour?”<sup>4</sup>

In France these mottoes were sometimes called *chansons*. In the inventory of the Duke of Berry we find the item, “A Jehan Lassaieur orfèvre pour un anneau d’or esmaillé de lermes, auquel est escript une *chançon* ;”<sup>5</sup> whilst in England, prior to the sixteenth century, they appear to have been called reasons, or “resons.” Thus in his will, in 1463, John Baret of Bury St. Edmunds orders that the “Seynt Marie preeste” should sing his mass “of prikked song at Seynt Marie auter” in a white vestment, “with a remembraunce of my armys, and my reson therto,—Grace me gouverne.”<sup>6</sup> And,

<sup>9</sup> Hagiogl. p. 235.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. of Cant., c. ii. v. 10.

<sup>3</sup> It may be inquired how I distinguish some rings as Roman, and others as early Christian, which bear nearly identical mottoes? I reply, partly by the names, and partly by the form of the letters.

<sup>4</sup> Dict. de Trevoux, p. 425.

<sup>5</sup> No. 6727.

<sup>6</sup> Bury Wills, p. 18, publications of the Camden Society. Among the effects of Henry V., of which an inventory was taken in 1423, occurs a barge covering, embroidered with “*Resons du roy et de la royne*.” Rot. Parl., vol. iv. p. 234. The word is used by Lydgate in a similar sense; Minor Poems, p. 223.



in Rous's lives of the Earls of Warwick, are the following examples of posies or reasons *temp.* Henry VI., as used by the three daughters of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

1st. Margaret married John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. "Hir reason was,—Til deithe depart"—a sentiment which was borne on the wedding-ring of the wife of Duke John, brother of Eric XIV. of Sweden, though in a different form,—“Nemo nisi mors.”<sup>7</sup>

2nd. Alianour married Edmund Duke of Somerset. “Hir reason was,—Never newe.”

3rd. Elizabeth married Lord Latimer. “Hir reason was —‘Till my live's ende.’”<sup>8</sup>

My collection contains several examples of rings with “resons.” One, of gold, has—*in · hony · fuy*. Another, also of gold, bears on the inside—*sons · mal · desir*. The outside is delicately chased, and bears traces of enamel. It is divided into four compartments, bearing, alternately, flowers, and a scroll on which may be deciphered the reason, —*mul · sons · puy*. Another, of silver which has been gilt, has—*rest · myn · plesir*,—and between the words there are trefoils, which have been enameled. Another is formed of a broad band of silver, and bears—*+ quant · dire · plera · melior · sera*.

Reicholt mentions the custom of engraving mottoes or inscriptions on marriage rings. He says,—“Sic annulis sponsalitiis. etiam subinde litteræ initiales certorum quorundam verborum memorabilium aut rythmorum insculptæ sunt, quo conjuges crebrius reminiscantur mutuae suæ fidei atque amoris perpetui.”<sup>9</sup>

But these reasons or mottoes were not confined to betrothal rings; they occur on signets and on other rings. A seal-ring, in my collection, has the device of a cradle, empty, and within the hoop—*my willz · myrr*, possibly expressing desire for progeny—my will were; another, found not far from York, bears on the inside—*de · huy · rar*,—having reference probably to the figure of St. Barbara, the patron invoked against sudden death—which is engraved on one of the shoulders. Another is a fine gold ring, belonging to the iconographic class, and which resembles the preceding in workmanship, bearing on the bezel the figure of St. Christopher,

<sup>7</sup> Doran, *Monarchs Retired from Business*, vol. ii. p. 245.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Hearne, *Hist. Ric. II.*, p. 235.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* p. 582.

and within the hoop is found the same motto,—*ne · lūn · rūr*. which has allusion to that saint, who was the patron against sickness, tempest, earthquake, and the dangers of fire and flood. To his figure there is frequently attached the following distich :—

Christophori Sancti speciem quicumque tuetur  
Illa nempe die nullo languore gravetur.

The term *Posy* is used to denote mottoes or inscriptions, sometimes they are in prose but generally in verse. Puttenham, in his *Art of English poetry*, 1581, says :—

“There be alsoe another like *Epigrams* that were usually sent for *Yeare's Gifts*, or to be painted or put upon banketting dishes, or sugar plate, or of *Marche paines*, &c.

“They were called *Nenia* or *Apophoreta*, and never contained above one verse or two at y<sup>e</sup> moost, but the shorter the better. We call them *posies*, and do paint them now-a-dayes upon the back-sides of our trenchers of wood, or use them as devices in armes or in rings.”<sup>1</sup>

Shakspeare mentions the *posy* of a ring. In *Hamlet*, when Prologue enters, he thus addresses the King.<sup>2</sup>

*Prologue.* For us and for our tragedy,  
Here stooping to your clemency,  
We beg your hearing patiently !  
*Hamlet.* Is this the prologue, or the *posy* of a ring ?  
*Ophelia.* 'Tis brief, my lord !  
*Hamlet.* As woman's love !

Again, in the *Merchant of Venice*—

*Portia.* A quarrel, ho, already ! what's the matter ?  
*Gratiano.* About a ring, a paltry hoop of gold,  
That she did give me, whose *posie* was,  
For all the world, like cutlers' poetry  
Upon a knife, *Love me and leave me not.*<sup>3</sup>

Peele, a poet of the time of Elizabeth, calls the motto of the Garter a *posy*. He says—

Dead is Bedford.

\* \* \* \*

This tale I thought upon told me for truth,

<sup>1</sup> See the notices of such inscribed and painted fruit-trenchers in this *Journal*, vol. iii. p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamlet*, act. iii. scene ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, act v. scene i.

The rather that it praised the *posye*,  
 Right grave and honourable, that importeth much,—  
 “ Evil be to him,” it says, “ that evil thinks.”<sup>4</sup>

Old Tusser, who wrote in the time<sup>5</sup> of Henry VIII., gives what he calls the Innholder’s posy,—Husbandry posies for the Hall,—Posies for the Parlour,—Posies for the Guest’s Chamber,—Posies for thine own bed-chamber, &c.<sup>6</sup>

Herrick distinctly shows that, in his day, posies were used for nuptial rings :

What posies for our wedding-rings,  
 What gloves we’ll give, and ribainings.<sup>6</sup>

A silver Florentine ring, in my collection, has in niello—  
 ERVNT · DVO · IN · CARNE · VNA.

Another, a silver ring of Florentine work, ornamented with niello, has, on the bezel, the head of Medusa, on one of the shoulders, the initial A, and on the other, G ; while around the hoop is—LA · VIRTU · FA :—at the end of which is a sprig of the orpine or love plant, called *amore*, consequently the posy read as follows,—LA · VIRTU · FA · L’AMORE. Another silver ring has the alliterative posy—LET · LIKING · LAST. A similar example is preserved in the Londesborough collection.<sup>7</sup>

Among rings of this class in my collection one bears—

R

TIME · DEVM · ME · AMA · QD · I E ·

the concluding letters possibly signifying QUOD, or QUOTH, I. R. and E. R., the initials of the wedded couple, in accordance with the well-known practice of thus placing the initial of the surname above those of the Christian names. Thus the ring would express that both husband and wife, respectively, adopted the sentiment, Fear God, and Love me. On another is inscribed— · REMEMBAR · THE [a heart] · THAT · IS · IN · PAYNE · with the initials M and B as a monogram. On a ring of bronze are the words—EVER · LOVE : two rings are inscribed with the following posies, “ In constancie, I

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Doran, *Knights and their Days*, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, by Thomas Tusser : edit. by Dr. Mavor, pp. 283, 287, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Herrick’s *Hesperides*, p. 252. See

notes to Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, under *Bride Favours*.

<sup>7</sup> *Catalogue of Lady Londesborough’s Collection of Rings*, No. 34. Mr. Crofton Croker thought this example may be as early as the time of Henry VIII.

live and die ;” and—“ My promise paste shall always laste.” Another simply conveys the admonition—“ Love the truth.” I possess also a very diminutive ring, set with a diamond, and within is inscribed,—“ this spark will grow.”

Some of the posies on betrothal rings express a very proper devotional feeling. I have seen one with the posy—“ In Christe and thee—my comfort be.” This was handed down for three generations, and may recall the passage in Shakspeare regarding Bertram’s ring.<sup>8</sup>

*Diana.* He does me wrong, my lord ; if I were so  
He might have bought me at a common price.  
Do not believe him. O, behold this ring,  
Whose high respect and rich validity  
Did lack a parallel ; yet, for all that,  
He gave it to a commoner of the camp,  
If I be one.

*Count.* He blushes, and ’tis it.  
Of six preceding ancestors, that gem  
Conferr’d by testament to the sequent issue  
Hath it been ow’d and worn. This is his wife ;  
That ring’s a thousand proofs.

Lord Braybrooke has in his collection many posy rings of the seventeenth century. The following examples of the inscriptions engraved within their hoops may suffice.<sup>9</sup>

O lord us bless	As God decreed	Happy in thee
In happiness.	So we agreed.	Has God made me.

I have seen a gold posy ring inscribed—*MVLIER · VIRO · SVBIECTA · ESTO* : and Lord Braybrooke has another with the motto—*LOVE AND OBAVE*, evidently showing that there should be no mistake in regard of authority !

Some posies again express anything but refined taste or religious feeling. Dr. John Thomas, who was Bishop of Lincoln in 1753, married four times. The posy he selected or composed for the ring to be used on the last occasion was coarsely characteristic of the man and of the times.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>8</sup> All’s Well that Ends Well, act v. scene ii.

<sup>9</sup> See notices of other examples found in Essex, described as “Globe Poesy Rings,” in Lord Braybrooke’s collection ; Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society, vol. ii. p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> Edwards on Rings, p. 221. This anecdote of Bishop John Thomas may recall to our remembrance the Wife of Bath, who gloried that—

“Husbands at churchs doore have  
I had five !”

If I survive,  
I'll make them five.

It has been well observed, that, if the following lines of Herrick were not too long, they would form the most appropriate posy ever devised.

And as this round  
Is nowhere found  
To flaw, or else to sever,  
So may our love  
As endless prove,  
As pure as gold for ever.<sup>3</sup>

Under the head of posy rings should be classed the Hebrew wedding rings, which generally have a sentiment engraved on them, conveying the expression of good wishes. Selden,<sup>3</sup> Leo of Modena,<sup>4</sup> and Basnage<sup>5</sup> are all of opinion that the use of the wedding ring did not exist in the Mosaic days; and no mention is made of it by the Talmudists. Ugolini,<sup>6</sup> in his great work, mentions that it was used in his time; whilst Basnage has stated, that formerly a piece of money was given as a pledge, for which, at a later period, a ring was substituted. Leo of Modena says that the ring was rarely used, and that neither the Italian nor the German Jews habitually used it, some did, but the majority did not; and Selden states that the wedding ring came into general use with the Jews, after they saw it was everywhere prevalent. On these rings there was generally engraved in Hebrew characters, *Mazul*, or *Mausselauf*, Joy be with you!<sup>7</sup> Ugolini considers this inscription or posy to be of Syrian origin. *Mazul*, he says, does not signify a star, but any place in the heavens, at the pleasure of astronomers ("mathematici").

*Fortuna Bona* was regarded as a God by the Greeks and the Romans, who were accustomed to dedicate altars to the ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ.

Plutarch observes, "διὰ τὴν Ῥωμαῖοι Τύχην σέβονται Πριμυγενειαν,

<sup>3</sup> Herrick's *Hesperides*, p. 72, cited in the notes to "Ring and Bride-cake;" Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*.

<sup>3</sup> *Uxor Heb.*, 190.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Rites, Customs, &c., of the Jews*. The work was translated by E. Chilmead, London, 1650.

<sup>5</sup> 111. 819.

<sup>6</sup> *Theat. Antiqu. Sacr.* Vol. xxx. p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> See the Catalogue of Lady Londesborough's Collection, Nos. 6, 13, 16—20, &c. Examples of Jewish Nuptial Rings are also preserved in Lord Braybrooke's Collection; two of them are engraved with Hebrew characters, which may be read *Mazul-taww* or *Mausselauf*, joy be with you. See Lord Braybrooke's Catalogue, printed for private distribution, Nos. 206, 245, 250.

ἢν ἅν τις εἴποι πρωτογένειαν.”<sup>8</sup> And Ugolini quotes an inscription at Præneste, in which Venus and *Fortuna Primigenia* are named together.—

VENERI ET  
FORTVN · PRIM ·  
SACR ·

I have seen none of these Jewish rings of a date earlier than the sixteenth century. There are four specimens in my collection, each of which has some peculiar and different characteristics. Fine examples are rare, but ordinary ones are comparatively of common occurrence.

In Italy may still be found many rings of the *sei cento* period, of a peculiar type; the bezel is formed of a bouquet or posy of flowers, composed of rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds. Sometimes in the centre there are represented two hearts surmounted by a coronet; and sometimes again the bezel is made of two strips of gold, fashioned into the form of hearts and intertwined, surmounted also by a coronet. These rings the Italians call “*giardinetti*,” literally, posies, in the secondary sense of the term, as denoting a nosegay. Specimens are in my Dactyliotheca.

Treating of Italian majolica, Mr. Marryat observes,<sup>9</sup> “It was the custom among Italians to interchange presents of plates, or other specimens of majolica, and these were always painted with subjects appropriate to the occasion; of these there was one class, called *amatorii*, consisting generally of plates, jugs, or deep saucers, upon which the cavalier caused to be painted the portrait of his lady. Underneath was inscribed her Christian name, with the complimentary addition of *bella*, after this manner—  
MINERVA · BELLA—CECILIA · BELLA.

“These pieces were presented as pledges of affection, and sent filled with sweetmeats. The portraits are interesting, as giving the costume of the period.

“Sometimes, instead of the portrait, we find represented hands united, and hearts in flame.

“Thus, on one, we have two hands clasped over a fire, and above, a golden heart pierced by two darts.

“On a saucer, a youth kissing a lady and giving her a flower—*Dulce est amare*.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch in the *Questiones Romani*, c. ii. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Pottery and Porcelain, p. 39 *et seq.*, ed. 1857.

"Sometimes, instead of the name of the lady, we have some motto or moral sentiment. Thus, a lady with a large pink—Non è sì vago el fiore che non imbiacca o casca.

"And again :—

"A female, probably symbolical of purity—Chi serve Dio con purità di core, vive contento, e poi salvato muore.

"Per dormire non si acquista.<sup>1</sup>

"Penso nel mio afflitto core.

"Un bel morire è vita, e gloria, e tama.

"Nemo sua sorte contentus erat."

Thus far Mr. Marryat. I have quoted at length, because what he says serves to illustrate a most interesting class of rings, little known to English archæologists.

It is very reasonable to suppose that the fair damsel would not allow all the attentions of her cavalier to pass unrequited, and without some *gage d'amour* on her part. What would be more acceptable to him than the portrait of his innamorata? What manner of wearing it more convenient and unobtrusive than delineated on a ring? And what symbol more fit for the pledge of eternal constancy, than the *fede*, or two right hands joined?

The rings to which I allude are made of silver, and inlaid with niello. I consider them of Florentine work; the date assigned to them may be from 1460 to 1520 or thereabouts. They have the bezel either oval or circular; the shoulders of the hoop are shaped so as to form representations of sleeves, from each of which issues a right hand, and the hands clasp together at the back. These rings vary in execution, but in general design they are the same. Some have plain hoops without the sleeves and the *fede*. On the bezel is represented the head of a lady in profile, and in every case with a flower or a posy under her nose: the ground work of the bezel and of the sleeves is filled up with niello. Of these rings I am so fortunate as to possess eight examples; those which have plain hoops appear to be of finer execution than the others. From their size they were evidently intended to be worn by a man. These rings I consider to have been *gages d'amour* from the ladies to their cavaliers, in return possibly for the plates of preserved fruits and sweetmeats, or *dolci*.

With the exception of those in my Dactyliotheca, and

two which formerly belonged to Mr. George Isaacs, and are now in the Londesborough collection, I know of no rings of this pleasing class. Indeed they seem to be extremely rare. The late Mr. T. Crofton Croker, describing one of these rings in Lord Londesborough's possession (no. 29), has called it a *gimmel ring*, and conceived the head to be that of *Lucretia*. He has expressed himself as follows—"This seems to be the kind of ring mentioned in *Twelfth Night*, act ii. sc. 5, where *Malvolio*, breaking open the letter purporting to be in his mistress's handwriting, says—

"By your leave, wax! Soft!—and the impressure her *Lucrece*, with which she use to seal."

Mr. Crofton Croker continues—"Mr. Knight adduces this passage as one of the many evidences of Shakespeare's familiarity with ancient works of art, in common with the best educated of his time, and not being acquainted with a ring of this kind, has engraved, as an illustration, a head of *Lucretia* from an antique gem."

I regret that I cannot receive this explanation offered by Mr. Crofton Croker, since he must have overlooked that it would be wholly impossible to obtain an impression of a *Lucrece* from a perfectly smooth surface; for in all these rings the bezels are quite level; indeed, this will be evident to those who are familiar with the peculiarities of the art of *niellure*.



Roman posy-ring, of gold, found near Corbridge.

In the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

ÆMILIA ZESES.—Long live *Æmilia*!



NOTICES OF CERTAIN REMARKABLE FORTIFIED CHURCHES  
EXISTING IN CUMBERLAND.<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN A. CORY, ARCHITECT, County Surveyor for Cumberland.

ON a Survey of the churches in the border counties, though we cannot commend them to the notice of the antiquary as examples of architectural beauty, for in no part of England, possibly, are the rural churches so devoid of ornament, yet these comparatively simple structures forcibly tell a tale of the state of the country in former times ; and, if historical evidences had perished, these buildings might suffice to give the archæologist no slight insight into the social condition of the locality in olden days. Their distance apart from each other tells of a scanty population ; the deficiency of architectural decoration shows that the inhabitants of the district were otherwise engaged than in peaceful occupations ; whilst the traces of continual repairs in the fabric are evidently not to be attributed to the desire shown in the churches of many Southern counties, to make good buildings better, but they resulted from the necessity occasioned by the partial destruction of churches through hostile aggressions. In many instances, it may be said that the church had been erected scarcely less for the safety of the body, than for the benefit of the soul.

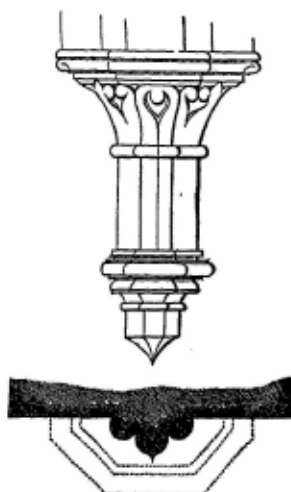
As the peculiarities, to which I have alluded, are very indicative of the former unsettled state of the country, I have selected as the subject of the present observations three churches in Cumberland, which I think worthy of notice on this account ; for in these buildings the defensive or warlike character is strongly marked. These may be already known to some members of the Institute through the concise notices and the ground-plans given by Messrs. Lysons, in their *History of Cumberland* ;<sup>2</sup> yet these remarkable specimens of ecclesiastical architecture appear to claim more

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to the Architectural Section, at the meeting of the Institute in Carlisle, July, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Account of the County of Cumberland, Magna Britannia*, vol. iv. p. cxi.

careful and minute consideration than they have, as I believe, hitherto received.

The first of the border churches to which I would invite the attention of the archæologist, on a visit to our county, is that of Burgh-on-the-Sands, situated on the southern shore of the Solway. It was at that place, it will be remembered, that Edward I. died, on July 7, 1307, in the midst of his preparation for a campaign against the Bruce.<sup>3</sup> The church stands in the south-eastern angle of one of the stations on the line of the Roman Wall, supposed by some antiquaries to be the Gabrosentum, by others, the Axeldunum, of Antonine's Itinerary. The earliest portion of the building is of late Norman date, and the remains of a round-arched doorway of that period exist on the north side of the north aisle of the church, but not in its original situation. Hugh de Morville, lord of Burgh—one of the four knights who conspired to murder Thomas à Becket in 1170—had a castle there, of which the site is traditionally pointed out near the village, and he gave the church to the abbey of Holme-Cultram in Cumberland. If we could regard the erection of the earlier fabric as in any manner connected with the remorse of the blood-stained knight, the doorway, which presents some elaborately worked details, would possess an interest which it cannot be said to possess as an architectural example. The church was almost, if not wholly, re-built in the thirteenth century; and the fabric presents some features which show that defence was not at that time the only object considered by the builders. Among them may be cited the details of the aisle, such as the respond here figured; windows, however, constructed at a height of eight feet above the ground, suffice to remind us that security was not altogether neglected. At a later period, the tower was erected at the west end of the



Respond in the south aisle,  
Burgh-on-the-Sands.

<sup>3</sup> See the circumstantial details regarding the last days of Edward I., given in

Nic. Trivet's *Annales*, edit. Hist. Soc. p. 413; and *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiv. p. 269.

church, the main object being evidently for purposes of protection. Its walls measure six to seven feet in thickness. At the time of the building of this tower, probably, a new door, of small dimensions, was opened at the west end of the north aisle; it was so placed as to be commanded by a loop-hole in the north side of the tower, at the end of a recess in the wall, in the ground-floor chamber, as shown in the plan. The larger doorway, before mentioned, was doubtless at that time built up. Instead of the large arch opening into the tower from the nave, as usually found in churches in other localities, a small doorway gave access to the vaulted chamber on the ground floor of this fortress-tower. This chamber measures about 9 ft. by 8 ft., and the entrance was strongly guarded by a ponderous iron door, 6 ft. 8 in. in height, with two massive bolts, and constructed of thick bars crossing each other, and boarded over with oak planks. The wooden covering has become decayed, or has been destroyed, but the strong iron skeleton of the door would still defy any ordinary efforts to force a passage; whilst the great thickness of the walls would long delay any attempt to gain ingress in any other quarter. The ground-floor chamber being vaulted would be secure against fire, and, in the event of the door being forced and the lower story carried, the newel-staircase could still be strongly barricaded; thus, as it would only admit of one person ascending at a time, a stout resistance could be made, whilst the bells would be rung to give an alarm and call to the rescue any succour that might be at hand. This stone staircase at the south-west angle of the tower leads to the upper chamber, which measures about 10 ft. 9 in. by 11 ft. 7 in.; on the east side of this is an opening commanding the interior of the church, and on the south and west sides are small narrow lights. Lysons states the opinion that this tower was probably built in the reign of Edward I.,<sup>4</sup> but it may be of rather later date.

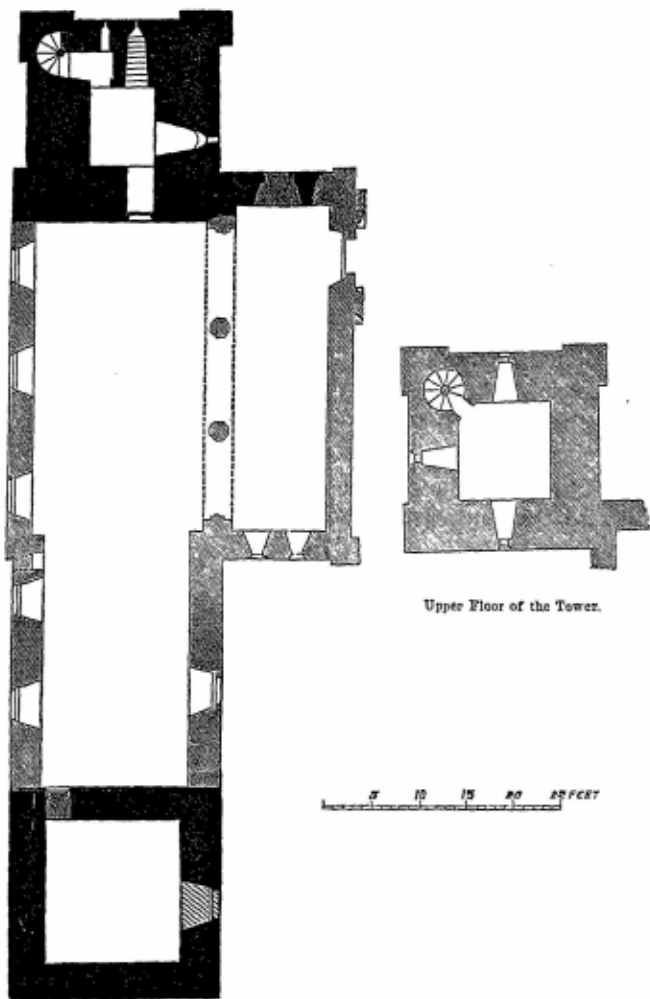
At the east end of the church, as shown in the ground-plan, another square structure of considerable strength was built, opening by a small doorway into the church; this may possibly have been a dwelling-place for the vicar. Its walls are rather thicker than those of the church. There is an

<sup>4</sup> History of Cumberland, Introduction, p. cxviii. We are indebted to that valuable work for the accompanying

ground plan of the upper story of this very curious tower.

FORTIFIED CHURCHES IN CUMBERLAND.

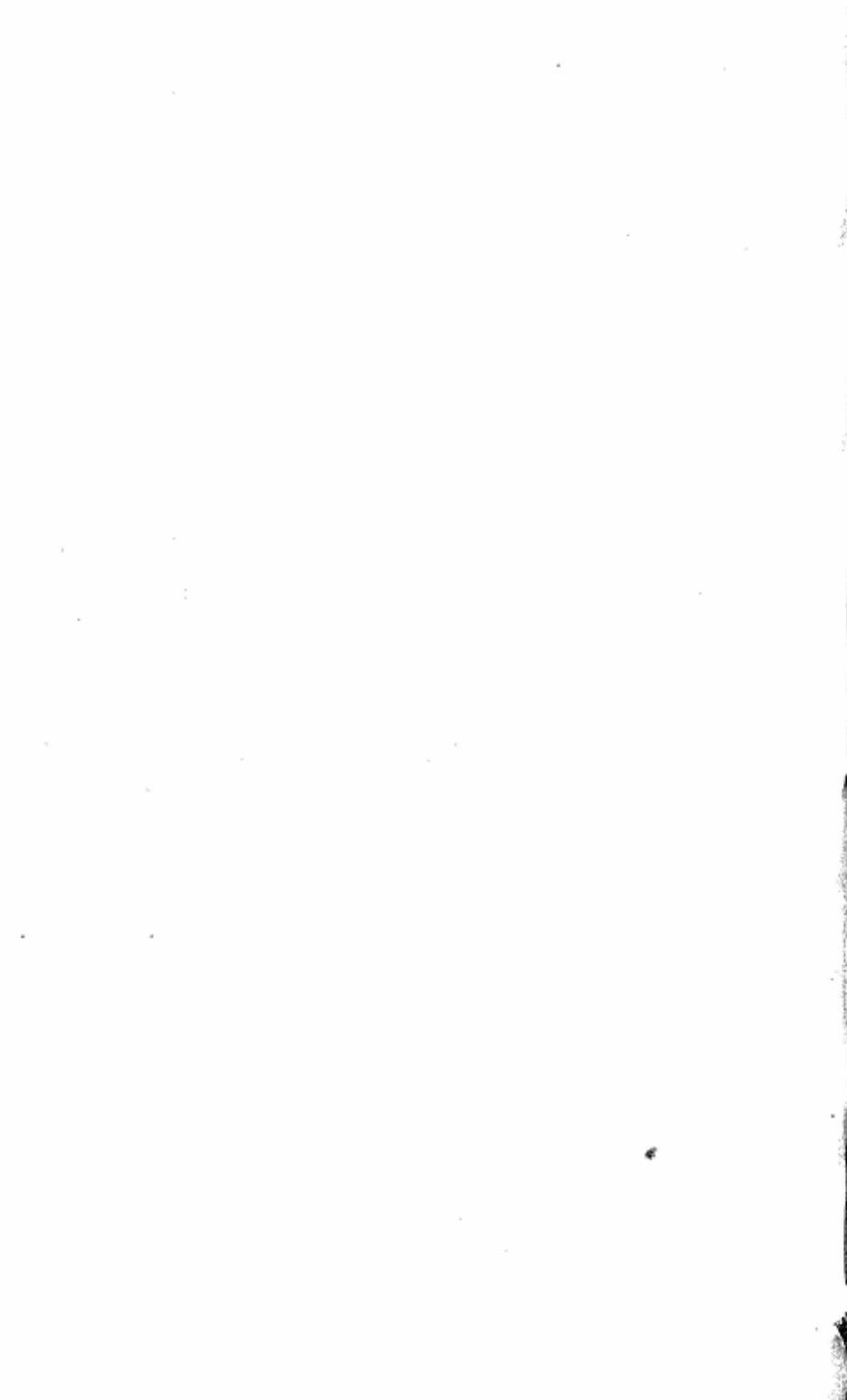
EAST.



Upper Floor of the Tower.

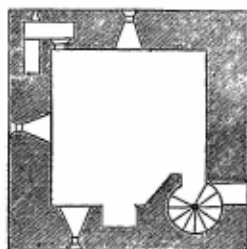
Ground-plan of the Church of Burgh-on-the-Sands.

With the plan of the upper floor, as given in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

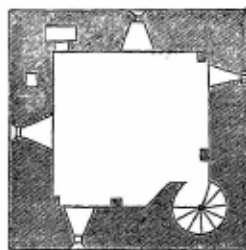


entrance on the north side of this building, which is entirely modernised, if not of recent construction. The unusual addition of such a building at the east end of a church has not been noticed by Messrs. Lysons.<sup>5</sup>

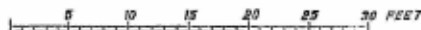
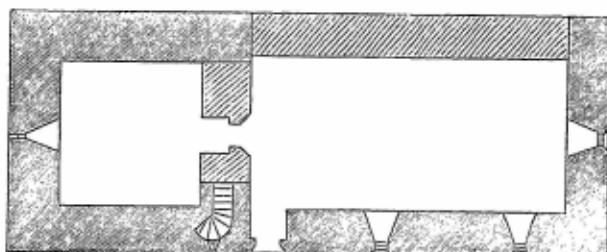
The next church to which I would invite attention is that of Newton-Arlosh, on the coast of Cumberland, a few miles



FIRST FLOOR.



SECOND FLOOR.



GROUND PLAN.

Newton-Arlosh Church, Cumberland.

to the west of Burgh, and in the parish of Holme-Cultram. This curious example is of especial interest, because the date of its construction has been ascertained. The abbot of Holme had obtained, in 1301,<sup>6</sup> a grant from the bishop for building a church at Shinburness, at that period a place of consequence as a depository for supplies for the forces engaged against the Scots. Shortly afterwards, however, the

<sup>5</sup> It is stated by Messrs. Lysons, in the *History of Cumberland*, p. cxc. note, that the church of Annan, in Scotland, on the opposite side of the Solway, appears to have been as strongly fortified as that of Burgh. Other examples are doubtless not wanting on either side of the Border, which would repay the investigations of the architectural anti-

quary. Many of the low square embattled towers of the old churches in Northumberland present, as Mr. Parker has observed, evidence of having been inhabited. That of Ancroft, in particular, which is called in an old record the house of the Curate. *Domestic Architecture in England*, vol. ii. p. 199.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolson and Burn, vol. ii. p. 177.

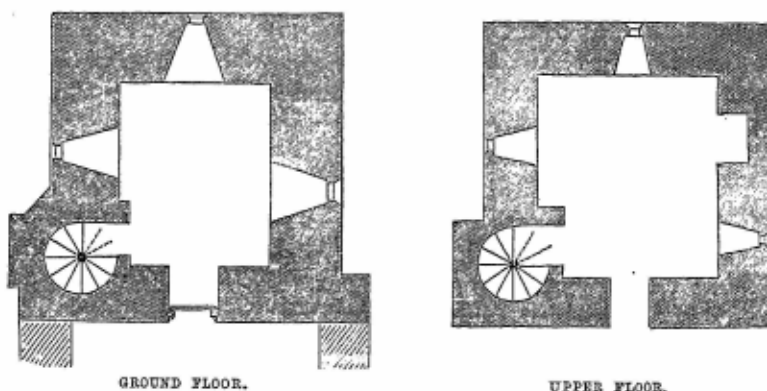
town was destroyed by the inroads of the sea ; and in 1309, John de Halaughton, bishop of Carlisle, granted licence to the abbot to build a church or chapel within the territory of Arlosh, which, subsequently to the removal of the town thither, received the name of Newton, which it still bears. In consequence of the frequent hostile invasions and depredations of the Scots, to which special attention is made in the bishop's charter,<sup>7</sup> the church then built was so constructed as to appear more like a fortress than an ecclesiastical structure. The doorway is only 2 ft. 7 in. wide ; all the windows are more than seven feet from the ground, and not one, even at the east end of the church, measures more than 1 ft. in width, and 3 ft. 4 in. in height. The chamber on the ground floor is vaulted in the same manner as that at Burgh ; it measures about 13 ft. square ; and it probably had a similar defensive door, but the lower part of the wall towards the body of the church has been pulled down and the steps altered, so that the original arrangement is not clearly seen. A single small aperture, 18 in. high and 9 in. wide, is formed on the west side. The first floor is nearly of the same dimensions, with three narrow oilets on the north, south, and west sides, and it has the unusual feature of a fire-place, which will be noticed likewise in another example to be described hereafter. There appears in Lysons' plans to have been a small chamber in the thickness of the wall, probably a privy, with a drain possibly, as in the Border pele towers, passing down to the base of the building. There was a second story, resembling the last in dimensions and arrangements, with the exception that there was no fire-place. The upper part of the tower, however, has been rebuilt some years ago, when the church was enlarged ; the whole building had been allowed to go to ruin, as it was found by Messrs. Lysons, and is represented in the section and south-west view of the church given in their History, in 1815.<sup>8</sup>

A third, and very interesting, example, is the church of Great Salkeld, about six miles north-east of Penrith, and at a greater distance from the Scottish border than the other churches which I have described, but not sufficiently remote to have been secure from hostile invasions. In

<sup>7</sup> Monast. Angl. Caley's edition, vol. v. p. 595.

<sup>8</sup> Hist. of Cumberland, *ut supra*, p. cxcī.

this instance the tower of defence has been added to a church of Norman date; the south doorway is elaborately ornamented in the style of that period, having a semi-



Tower of Great Salkeld Church, Cumberland.

(Dimensions, about 24 by 26 feet.)

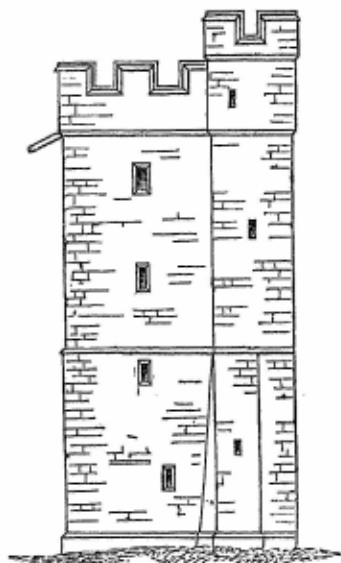
circular head, with recurved mouldings, and three shafts in each of the jambs; yet the entrance, like that at Newton-Arlosh, is only 2 ft. 7 in. in width. The elevation of one side of the tower is here given (see next page); there are five floors; the basement is vaulted, and received light by a diminutive aperture just above the level of the ground on the west side. The ground floor is also vaulted, and has a small door from the church formed of a grating of iron bars and oak planks of great strength, like that at Burgh, before described. In the south-east angle there is a newel staircase, giving access to the basement beneath, and to the three chambers above, which had floors of timber. In the chamber on the first floor, as will be seen in the ground plan, there are three small apertures, and also a fireplace, as at Newton-Arlosh. An incised sepulchral slab,<sup>9</sup> placed sideways, forms the lintel of the fireplace. It is a memorial of some interest, and has been figured in Messrs. Lysons' work. It bears a cross flory of peculiar design; the shaft of the cross rests on a gradated base; on one side of it is a sword, with a belt and buckle, on the other side appears a hunting horn,

<sup>9</sup> Hist. of Cumberland, p. cxcv. The date of this sepulchral slab may be as early as the thirteenth century. Inglewood Forest abounded in deer at that

period. According to the Chronicle of Lanercost, Edward I., during a few days hunting in Inglewood, killed no less than 200 bucks.



appended to a baldrick. The inscription has not been deciphered, but enough remains to suggest that the person commemorated may have been a forester or official of the royal forest of Inglewood, in immediate proximity to which the parish of Great Salkeld is situated. The following letters may be distinctly perceived . . . OMOBV . . . . .  
 . . E INGELVOD . . . . There are several other sepulchral slabs of various dates, and not devoid of interest, built into the



Elevation of the south side of the Tower, Great Salkeld Church.

walls of the tower.<sup>1</sup> This remarkable structure was, as has been shown, well adapted to defend the peaceful inhabitants of a rural village in a district which suffered so severely from predatory and hostile raids.

The manor, or honour, of Penrith, with certain other manors, including Great Salkeld, Castle Sowerby, &c., had been assigned to Alexander, king of Scots, in 1237, but in the quarrel between Edward I. and Baliol they were seized, and reverted to the crown. This locality suffered greatly

<sup>1</sup> On the south side of the chancel there is a stone effigy, not mentioned by Messrs. Lysons. It represents a priest in the mass vestments, rudely sculptured on a slab, on the chamfered margin of which

is inscribed THOMAS DE CALDEBEC ARCHIDIACONVS KARL. Thomas de Caldbeck occurs as Archdeacon of Carlisle in 1318. Le Neve's Fasti, edit. by Hardy, vol. iii.

at various times from the invasions of the Scots, on account of the King of Scotland's claim to these manors. In 1345, Penrith was burnt, and Salkeld and Sowerby were laid waste ; in 1380 also another fatal invasion occurred, as related by Walsingham. Richard II. granted the manors of Penrith, &c., to Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmorland, about the close of the fourteenth century ; it has been supposed with much probability by Messrs. Lysons, that about that time Penrith Castle was built by the Nevils, as a protection to the town, and that the church of Salkeld also was fortified at the same period.<sup>2</sup>

I need not occupy time by speculations on what may have occurred in these fortress churches in olden times ; on the savage attack and the gallant defence, or the dreadful oaths of revenge at the sight of the wanton destruction of life and property. I am desirous, however, to recall attention to the very peculiar buildings of this class in the northern counties, as serving to remind us of a state of society now happily passed away.

<sup>2</sup> History of Cumberland, pp. cxcii, 144, 151.

## THE PARLIAMENTS OF CARLISLE.<sup>1</sup>

It can scarcely have escaped the recollection of the historical inquirer, if he has devoted any attention to the rise of our representative system, that it was in the 23rd year of the reign of Edward I. that boroughs were first regularly summoned with knights of the shire to take part in the councils of the realm. Two years later the exigencies of the monarch compelled him to attempt obtaining large grants from his people by irregular and arbitrary means, and so far had their discontent proceeded in consequence, that he was obliged to confirm the charter of liberties granted by John and that of the forest of Henry III. He was also under the necessity of conceding, by a celebrated statute, "*De tallagio non concedendo*," that no aid should be levied by the king or his heirs without the will and assent of the nobility, bishops, knights, burgesses, and other men of the kingdom. This was a most important advancement in popular liberty, as it rendered the consent of the subject necessary to the imposition of all taxes. It may therefore be perceived that in the year 1297 the powers of legislation had very nearly approached their present form, and accordingly, when Edward summoned his Parliament to meet him at Carlisle, in the 26th, or following year to the one last mentioned, he found himself constrained to adopt wary and discreet measures, so as to ensure the maintenance of the royal authority. He was equally embarrassed by the state of his affairs in France and in Scotland. In the latter kingdom the pressure was extremely dangerous. Unable to enforce the collection of pecuniary aids upon his people without the consent of Parliament, and having had to sustain wars with Wales, France, and Scotland, his exchequer had become entirely drained. In consequence of the difficulties to which he was

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Carlisle, July, 1859.

thus reduced, both of raising money and of prosecuting the contest with the latter kingdom, he issued writs from Stanwix in September, in the 26th year of his reign (1298), to the different sheriffs throughout England, informing them of his intention of being at Carlisle on June 6th, in the next year, for the purpose of punishing the malice and rebellion of the Scotch, as well as to place his lieges in seisin and possession of the lands he had either already or in expectancy granted them for their services against his enemies. But a few days previously he had been victorious in the battle of Falkirk, and the hope conveyed in the royal summons could not fail of being an additional inducement to the men-at-arms, who were ordered to muster here in 1299, on Whitsun eve. The king, however, departed from his camp at Stanwix about a week afterwards, and no public business appears to have been transacted. Out of the eleven earls and a hundred and six barons who were summoned to attend under such agreeable mandates, we do not discover that the hopes of more than one individual were gratified, and from his name not being amongst those to whom the writs were addressed, it is more than doubtful whether the king should have shown him any preference.

Edward did not return to Carlisle till the last week of June, in the 28th year of his reign. In the previous month of December writs of military summons had been addressed to all the magnates, ecclesiastics, and sheriffs of the kingdom, ordering them to prepare for the defence of the crown and kingdom, and to prevent the damages, affronts, and dangers arising from the rebellion of the Scottish enemy. They were commanded to meet the king here on the feast of St. John the Baptist then next, or the 24th of June, 1300, prepared and ready, and in addition to the services that were due from them, to assemble with their utmost power, in order that he might deliver himself from the troubles and anxieties occasioned by this rebellion of his perfidious enemies. Edward, fired with the entire resolution of subduing the hostile forces of Scotland, did not permit the recent birth of his son, Thomas de Brotherton, so named from the place where his young Queen Margaret was confined on the 1st of June, to retard his journey to join the hosts he had gathered to meet him at Carlisle. It is curious to trace his movements. After the Queen's

accouchement, on the 1st of June, he remained with her at Brotherton and Pontefract till the 12th of the month, when he left her to join his army in the capital of Cumberland. On the 23rd he was at Brougham, the 24th at Skelton, on the 28th in this city. He staid here till the 7th of July, having had in these nine or ten days' interval the means of consulting for his future movements with his brother Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, his son, Prince Edward, his nephew, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and of gaining the probably weightier counsel that emanated from Beauchamp, and Bigod, and Bohun, de Montalto, de Multun, Mortimer, Pembroke, Percy, de Vere, names among the greatest that chivalry and noble blood can boast of, worthy indeed of descent from those still nobler men who in a better cause wrested the rights of their nation from Edward's vicious ancestor on the plains of Runnymede.

Here, then, where these glittering hosts were arrayed for an expedition, romantic and memorable for all ages, the king held a council of war. If he is more commonly known to the world as a soldier, as the conqueror of Wales, the terror of infidels, or the scourge of Scotland, it must also be remembered how needful it was that he should punish aggression, and enforce obedience by the sword. Therefore, in now speaking of him as a warrior, it is because his actions, no less than the irresistible current of events, the spirit of the age, and the course of his illustrious destiny thus present him to notice at this particular time. Undoubtedly Edward I. was, for courage and military skill, a warrior whose actions have rarely been equalled, never surpassed. Yet, in speaking of his martial virtues it must not be forgotten that he stands still higher as a legislator, and the numerous acts of his judicial life show how fully he has deserved the title of the English Justinian. Not merely do his statutes evince a wide spirit of justice towards all his subjects, but he endeavours in one of them to ensure its more speedy administration, "*Celerius*," says he, "*apponi decrevimus remedium*," and to him belongs the highest merit of desiring that all unnecessary delays should be prevented.

It was decided by the council, that the royal forces should lay siege to Carlaverock. A poem, composed by Walter de Exeter, an ecclesiastic of the period, furnishes us with very full particulars of the enterprise. Whilst the poet's verses

are replete with the quaint beauty peculiar to the compositions of the age, and picturesquely describe the armorial bearings, surcoats, and pennons of the assailants, the richness of their caparisons embroidered on silk and satin, their banners chequered with gold and azure, it is a production of equal value to the herald, the antiquary, or the historian. The poet says that as many as eighty-eight of the most distinguished peers of the realm and 3000 men-at-arms went forth on this adventurous expedition. Edward remained at Carlisle till the 6th of July, when he left the city by way of Dumfries to join his army. He continued before Carlaverock until the 15th, and in the interval this celebrated castle fell before the King's army. The little garrison vigorously resisted, for some time, the assault of the four royal squadrons, but at length, overpowered by the number, and determination of the English host, its small body of sixty men surrounded the shield-shaped fortress, and cast themselves on the clemency of the king. Edward paid it a flying visit on the four last days of August. In the months of September and October his time was chiefly passed at Holme Cultram, La Rose, Dumfries, and Carlisle, leaving this place on the 15th of November, 1300, for the south.

For a considerable time the relations subsisting betwixt Boniface VIII. and the King of England had been growing less amicable in proportion as the demands of the Papal See became more imperious and exacting. The pope had boldly asserted his claims to the kingdom of Scotland as a fief of Rome. He had forbidden Edward to persecute the Scots, and enjoined him to sue and plead before the Latin consistory for the rights he enjoyed in that kingdom. The monarch met this assumption with the dignified reply that it was a matter which concerned no less himself than the right of the kingdom of England, and he could give no other answer till he had consulted his people. Yet such an unexpected claim induced the king to call a parliament together for the purpose of giving it their consideration. When Boniface preferred this insolent demand, Edward was residing at Rose Castle, and from hence he issued on the 24th of September those writs which have for ever associated the place, and more especially the name of the monarch, with a defence of religious freedom that time will not obliterate.

In pursuance of the mandates, a general parliament

assembled at Lincoln in the month of January, 1301, which gave that unanimous reply to the pope's usurpation which effectually prevented the royal rights being called in question afterwards.

Having on a previous occasion fully examined the proceedings of this important parliament, it is now needless to enlarge on the subject. Before, however, pursuing the history of those military, or parliamentary assemblies that were called together at Carlisle, it may not be irrelevant to mention a few miscellaneous facts in their illustration.

From the Wardrobe account of the 28th year of Edward I., it is seen that the whole of the royal expenditure during this period amounted to £64,105 0s. 5d., and of this sum about one half, or £31,773 19s. 8d., was required for victualling the king's household and army, payments to knights, wages of archers, engineers, &c. It is difficult to separate the various entries with nicety, but £31,773 may be set down as the gross amount of expenses incurred for military purposes against the Scots and others in the year 1300. Now, taking what has been usually adopted as the means of knowing the comparative value of money, if a shilling, according to Bishop Fleetwood's calculation, would in 1700 buy fifteen times as much as it would exactly 500 years previously, the expenses of the Scottish and other wars in 1300 would amount to about £476,600 sterling; and measuring by the same ratio, in round figures, Edward I. was now spending little short of half a million in military operations yearly, and about £90,000 (£89,265) more than the receipts of his exchequer.

In the year 1297, or three years before, we have the account of Walter de Amondesham, confined exclusively to the expenses of the Scottish war, and these, pursuing the same method of multiplying by fifteen, amounted for that year to £160,950. These are approximate estimates for two different years relating to Scotland, and it is interesting to see how they stand in comparison with the cost of the Welsh wars. The returns of William de Luda on the Pipe Roll up to the 10th year of the reign, when Edward had scarcely passed Conway in his career of conquest, amounted to £122,113 0s. 9d., as received to sustain the contest, or in a modern equivalent calculation to £1,681,695. Nor do the contests between the Scotch and the Welsh comprise

all that was expended in this king's wars, for he had disputes going on in Flanders and Burgundy simultaneously, and his expedition to the Holy Land, where he fought for two years, must have added a considerable weight to the national burdens.

Can it then be wondered at that the people took the first opportunity of controlling the power of the crown, and of enforcing the custom that no tax or imposition of aid should be levied upon them by the royal authority alone. Than this, no privilege they have inherited from these early struggles can be more highly valued, or indeed ought to be more constantly brought to the recollection of their representatives in Parliament. The knowledge of possessing such a check upon the national expenditure, if a correct judgment may be formed from a recurring increase of taxation in our own day, is, however, but very slowly diffusing itself. It is only during periods of great excitement, distress, or misrule, that men acknowledge the inconvenience of heavy contributions to the state, passively considering them both as their natural burden and the changeless security of England's protection.

There remains to be noticed another parliament, convened at Carlisle; its proceedings were of a more purely legislative kind than those hitherto mentioned. We last parted with Edward I. when he held his general parliament at Lincoln, in 1301. Let us pass over the interval till he again issued writs, the third time, for a national gathering of his nobility, knights, and burgesses at Carlisle. The war with Scotland was being continued with its former vigour. The pretensions of the Papal See had not become moderated, and it was evidently in consequence of this untoward and unchangeable aspect of affairs that the king resolved upon taking here the advice of his parliament. From Lanercost, on the 3rd November, 1306, writs were issued for its assembling in the Octaves of St. Hilary in the following year. It was ostensibly set forth to the nobles that the meeting was called to consider the Scottish difficulty, the treason of Robert Bruce, as well as other pressing business; but the bishops, ecclesiastics, and burgesses received no intimation at all as to the real reason of their being summoned. The king was detained at Lanercost in infirm health, but he sent the bishop of Lichfield and Henry de Lacy, earl



of Lincoln, to address the parliament in his name. On the first day, being Friday, only a few prelates had appeared, business was therefore adjourned till Sunday, when numbers being still absent, the proceedings were deferred till the following Wednesday. When, however, the parliament at length entered on the business of its sitting, it enacted what still remains (unrepealed) in the authorised collection of Statutes of the Realm, the Statute of Carlisle. This statute seems to have been made in pursuance of a proceeding at Westminster two years before, prohibiting the payment by any abbot, prior, or religious person, of any tax imposed by the superior of their respective houses. It enforces the execution of this provision, and forbids any money assessed amongst themselves, or any rent, tallage, or imposition, being sent out of the kingdom. Moreover, that religious orders should hereafter possess a common seal, so that the abbot or prior should be able to establish nothing of themselves.

The Statute of Carlisle was evidently directed against the exactions of the Pope. The encroachments of the Roman See have already been adverted to, and if any proof were wanting to show how oppressive they had become, it will be found in the numerous petitions from the clergy and people of England that are entered on the roll of this parliament. These causes of complaint are set forth at great length, and undoubtedly were the motives which impelled the Parliament to enact the Statute of Carlisle.

About a hundred petitions in Latin or French, besides pleas, were subjects of consideration. Many of them are private, and many abound in local interest, relating to the regality of Tindal, Carlisle, Cockermouth, Penrith, &c. One petition, however, is of sufficiently general interest, even at the present day, to be brought before notice. The earl of Lincoln comes to the parliament of Carlisle to seek redress about the restricted channel and condition of the river Thames. The course of the water, he states, formerly ran under Holborn and Fleet bridges to the river; it used to be so large, and broad, and deep, that ten or a dozen ships could come up laden with merchandise and pass under Holborn bridge; but now its course is so obstructed by filth, and the refuse from tan-yards, and by various disturbances of the water, chiefly by raising a quay and diverting

the water for the use of the mills belonging to the new Temple beyond Castle Bagnard, that ships can by no means enter as they were accustomed; wherefore the earl prays that the mayor and sheriffs, and discreet aldermen of London may inspect the river, and restore it to its former condition. To this petition it was replied, that all the impediments should be removed and its course maintained in the way it had from antiquity been accustomed to follow.

It is hence observable, that whilst this parliament of King Edward's reign entertained private claims, it also really addressed itself to the general business of the country, and under this head the state of the Thames was considered a matter of such vital importance that even five centuries ago it arrested the attention of the legislature when it held its memorable meeting in this city. Whatever superficial enquirers may think of the inutility of making researches into the habits and civil economy of the middle ages, it must be allowed that our ancestors preceded us in taking a salutary as well as a sanitary view of this most important subject, and, had the mandate of Edward and his two successors to the throne been constantly enforced, had the prohibition of Edward III. received continual attention, that neither refuse of slaughter-houses, ordure, or the common nuisances, should be cast into the Thames (44 Edward III.), the huge metropolitan evil would never have assumed its present magnitude, nor perhaps have existed.

Without, however, attempting unduly to exalt the transactions of a bygone age and the study of our early constitutional history, or on the other hand, without aiming to enlarge the ideas of those who by depreciating these researches into the records of antiquity below the actual value they have in illustrating the social system ordained by the Divine Governor of the world, without reasoning with a class of sciolists who thus evince themselves incapable of extracting sound knowledge from these pure fountains of historic truth, it may be still further remarked on taking a review of the events of Edward's reign, that the foundation of most of the political privileges we enjoy were obtained during his life. Obtained not by violence and at once, but after full discussion and by degrees, indeed in many respects they were the necessary result of circumstances. Every aid and every act of extravagance of the crown produced some

advantage for the community, whilst the barons in their turn by uniting against its tyranny became the friends of the people. The king, the nobility, and the clergy were in reality indifferent to the condition of each other. They were friends or enemies just as it served their purpose. Yet with this anomalous relationship they were mutually, unconsciously laying a sound and expansive foundation of English liberty.

In our present state of domestic security, we are happily able to look back with calmness upon the long train of disastrous events that by war or civil strife have purchased these precious advantages. Yet we must not forget that out of national calamity and evil, even from the crimes of potentates, and the vices of rulers, have sprung those laws which have rendered England a free country. Therefore, if we are animated by the remembrance of any noble struggle that has been made in our land to destroy oppression or avert slavery, if a feeling of grateful homage arises in the mind when we think of patriots, such as the Montforts, the Hotspurs, and the Russells, who bled on the field, or who laid their heads on the block to secure their country's independence, if we are inspired with holy admiration and piety when the memory recalls the dying constancy of those martyrs who sealed the testament of religious freedom at the stake,—if the heart is touched by these affecting and sacred memories of the past, we shall transmit their fruits still more extended and matured as the very dearest inheritance that can be bequeathed by us to posterity.

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#### SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS.

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It was in the twentieth year of his reign, October 8th, 1292, that Edward first visited Carlisle, on his road from Skipton by Appleby (where he was October 3rd) to Berwick-upon-Tweed. On the 8th of September, 1298, we find him again at Carlisle, where he remained for upwards of a fortnight. There can be no doubt that during his stay here he resided in the castle.

Though this ancient place of royal residence and defence against the Scots has become much injured by the hostile incursions of this nation, by natural dilapidation, and injudicious repairs, it still exhibits in the keep and in the inclosing walls characteristic marks of its origin and its architectural history.

It was no doubt planned by William II., when he visited Carlisle in 1092, and it is more than probable that at this time he erected the curious castle of Appleby.

In 14 Henry II., 1168, notice of its existence occurs on the Pipe Roll, "*pro removenda Porta Castelli de Cardel 40 sol. per breve Regis,*" which shows that the castle was erected before 1156, or the second year of Henry II., as there is not any intervening notice relating to it, this being the earliest account of the sheriff that has been preserved. Had the castle not being built before 1156, there would have appeared some entry respecting it, before the expense just alluded to, for removing the gate. In 1173 it withstood a siege against William the Lion, Robert de Vallibus receiving twenty pounds for the maintenance of soldiers within its walls on this occasion. It is evident that this assault of the Scottish king injured it, as there occurs a charge for reparation the following year, under the direction of Wulfrius, the engineer, besides works upon the fosse, and its victualling. No further outlay occurs till the thirty-second year, 1186, when the castle bridge was repaired. In 1187, larger works were carried on in the king's chamber, in the small tower, and in removing the materials and scaffolding from the great tower. In 1192, further works occur on the sheriff's accounts. In 1197 the gate of the castle was repaired at a cost of one hundred shillings. In 1198, a chapel in the castle and a small bridge within the walls were repaired. In 1199 other repairs on the internal buildings were effected.

In the 1st, 5th, and 6th of John, minor works are mentioned on the sheriff's accounts, but after this reign the expenses are entered on a different class of official documents, and we must look to the Close Rolls and the Liberate Rolls for architectural information regarding these military possessions of the crown. More correctly speaking, it may be said that in the Close Rolls during the reigns of King John and Henry III., and in the Liberate Rolls of Edward I. and II. the information is more usually and appropriately recorded.

It would be needless to pursue those entries very fully, and I will therefore give but a few extracts, sufficient to show the manner in which the royal writs ran, and the way the charges are set down. "*The King, &c., to R. de Veteri Ponti. We command you to pay to the Constable of Chester 60 marcs, for fortifying our castle of Carlisle. Teste me ipso, apud Lutegarsal, 28th Nov.*" (Rot. Lit. Claus. 6 John, 1204.) This is followed on the 12th April, 1205, by a writ to Hugh de Nevill, ordering him to let the Constable of Chester have such wood as he has need of in the Forest of Carlisle, for the reparation of the castle there. Now, referring to the Pipe Roll of 6th of John, a verification of these orders is enrolled thus: "*In reparacione Castelli de Carduill. c. & xvi. li. xiiij. s. & vi. d.*" Whilst the Patent Rolls give the writ the same year, addressed to Robt. de Curtenay, informing him that Robt. de Lasey, Constable of Chester, was appointed to the custody of Carlisle.

These writs, addressed to the Constable of Chester and Hugh de Nevill, are thus remarkably illustrated by the account returned by the Sheriff of Cumberland to the Exchequer, and they prove upon what a very accurate system the royal expenditure was directed as well as recorded.

Other repairs were done in 1223. In the following year the keep was repaired and joisted, as well as some of the houses within the walls. But the operations were inefficiently carried out, since it is stated on the public accounts three years later (1226) repairs to what had been done, as well as leading to the keep, were ordered immediately.

During the reign of Henry III. there does not seem that any large or

continuous outlay was made on the Castle of Carlisle. It had sustained a heavy siege by William the Lion, who was repulsed by a small garrison. It was repaired by Henry II., by Richard I., by King John, who was driven out of it by Alexander of Scotland. It was repaired whilst the Scottish king held its possession, who was subsequently obliged to restore it. Walter de Gray received it for the English monarch in 1256, when it was found to be in a very dilapidated state. The whole history, in fact, is one of decay and ruin, so constantly requiring an outlay that it can scarcely be said that it was at any time in a sound state.

When Edward I. ascended the throne it naturally engaged his early attention. In the eleventh year of his reign (1283) its custody was deputed to Robert Brus, Earl of Carrik, but such was the constant restlessness of the Scots, that it did not appear prudent to entrust it very long to one belonging to that nation. In the 25th year the king selected a prelate to take charge of the castle, who was in every way fitted for so important a trust. Whatever was done in this fortress, in the cathedral, at Rose Castle, where he undoubtedly erected the existing gatehouse with the walls to its right and left, as well as the picturesque tower, standing as it were isolated as the eastern limb of the bishop's palace, or whatever was done in the diocese to the ecclesiastical architecture, must be attributed to the superior mind and energy of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle. His abilities fitted him for the prominent position in which the sagacity of the king placed him. If Bishop Burnel, a man so eminent and stirring, so wise also as to be capable of directing the legislative enactments of Edward, was the adviser of the crown in everything relating to the Welsh, John de Halton, bishop of Carlisle, occupied scarcely an inferior place as the king's counsellor in the affairs of Scotland. The bishop comes singularly before notice in the royal writ addressed to him in the year 1297, at which time Robert Brus was ordered to give up the castle with all its appurtenances, victuals, and arms, and by a concurrent letter, John de Halton was to guard them at his peril during the king's pleasure.

Two entries taken from the Liberate Roll will be sufficient to show the nature of the various outlays that were made on the castle during this reign. A great deal of this and the previous expenditure went for nothing, as it had to be repeated after every fresh incursion of the Scots.

In 27 Edward I. Michael de Harcla, late Sheriff of Cumberland, was allowed 7*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* for the carriage of timber taken in Inglewood Forest in the 24th and 25th years to Carlisle, to construct four large engines there; and 143*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* expended in iron, steel, brass, canvass, and coals, bought for those engines, and 40*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* in expenses of carriers carrying stores for the engines, and of men making cables for them. And 152*l.* 2*s.* 8½*d.* expended in wages and expenses of smiths' working the iron, and other small necessities for the engines. (Rot. Lib.) The expenses for bringing the stores for the engines is a very curious and unusual entry.

In 29 Edward I. John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, farmer of the castle and lordships of Carlisle, was allowed 10*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* for timber bought for the repair of the houses beyond the gate of the castle, and of the brewhouse; 5*l.* 5*s.* for timber bought to make anew the stockades (bretachias) round the castle, wages of carpenters, carriage of the timber and nails; 3*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* for timber to make new the three bridges of the castle (this proves the existence of three distinct fosses on the south side), carriage of timber and wages of carpenters; 1*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* for glass windows

bought for the king's chamber and chapel in the castle; 2*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* for repair of the great hall, great chamber, wardrobe, large kitchen, small kitchen and stable, &c.; 18*s.* for repairs of stone walls round the castle and scouring the ditch inside and outside the castle; 6*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* wages of four foot cross-bowmen for the fortification and defence of the castle against the army of Scots besieging the city, to wit, twenty-eight days, 4*d.* per day each; 22*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* wages of ninety-five footmen in the castle, twenty-eight days, 2*d.* per day; 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* wages of ten cross-bowmen in the castle, fourteen days, 4*d.* per day; 3*l.* 10*s.* for wages of thirty footmen, fourteen days at 2*d.* a day each. (Rot. Lib.) All these expenses were incurred for the defence of the castle against the Scotch army in the 25th and 26th years of Edward I.

Another extract from the Liberate Roll of 32 Edward I. will close the view these documents give of the state of the building.

The Bishop of Carlisle, farmer of the castle, &c., is allowed 12*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* for repairs in the 29th year; 8*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.* for repairs of houses and walls in the 30th year; 2*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* for the construction of new stockades and posts and repair of one "Springall" in the said castle in the 31st year.

John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, presided over the see from the year 1292 to 1325, retaining his military command until the death of Edward I. We now get the following succession of governors:—

3 Edw. ii. John de Caestre.	4 Edw. iii. Ralph Dacre.
5     "     Andrew de Harela.	13     "     John, Bishop of Car-
6     "     Peter de Gaveston.	lisle.
12     "     Andrew de Harela.	19     "     Hugh de Moriceby.
12     "     Anthony de Lucy.	24 Richard de Denton.
17     "     Andrew de Harela.	30 Thomas de Lucy.
17     "     Anthony de Lucy.	51 Robert de Clifford.

During the reign of Edward III., the repairs were as extensive as under the preceding king. The following are the chief entries. In the 7th Edward III., the sheriff was ordered to effect repairs to the amount of 20*l.* In the 20th, Robert de Nevill was commissioned to inspect the castle and carry out all that was requisite; and in the 39th year, the sheriff was enjoined to lay out upon it 63*l.* from the issues of the castle and its demesnes.

During this reign violent dissensions arose betwixt the citizens of Carlisle and the vassals of the Bishop, so that several of the former were slain.

Upon examining the existing buildings there is abundant evidence in the ages of its various kinds of masonry to show what numerous changes it has gone through. There are, in fact, very few feet of walling together that belong to the same period. The general figure of the keep and of the encircling walls are probably identical with those planned by Rufus. Very little, however, can be assigned to his period, a part of the keep on the west side is original, and the main portion of the foundations, which bear marks of having been taken from the Roman wall, or some other Roman work in the neighbourhood. All the other parts are so continually mixed up with the masonry of successive ages, that it would be difficult to describe on paper where one commences and the other ends.

There can be no doubt that when the English monarchs were at Carlisle

they took up their residence in the castle, and that here Edward I. held his Parliaments.

A few facts must still be added regarding the historical events of which the Castle of Carlisle has been the scene. David, King of Scotland, took possession of it in 1135, and died here in 1153. In 1173 it was besieged by William the Lion; visited by Henry II. in 1186; surrendered to Alexander of Scotland in 1216; retaken by the English the following year, and has since continued in the hands of the English crown. Edward I. made it his residence when he assembled his Parliaments to Carlisle, and here his son received the homage of the nobility immediately after his father's death. The Chronicle of Lanercost gives a minute account of the siege it sustained by Robert Brus, which, with other interesting particulars, both of this and a later period, has been so fully given in Jefferson's History of Carlisle, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

In the preceding notice I have deviated from my hitherto invariable practice of giving the particular authority for every statement, a custom that no writer's historical reputation for accuracy exempts him from complying with. All readers have the indisputable right to claim, however slight they may appear, the references for the author's assertions, and if he does not condescend, or take the trouble to give them, they are justified in withholding their reliance upon any of his statements. In fact it is as much the duty of a reader to look to the notes for the author's proofs, as it is the first obligation of the writer to set forth the reasons for demanding any confidence. My own excuse for the present deviation is simply, as will be seen from their titles, that the authorities are very few, namely, in the Parliaments of Carlisle, the Rolls and Writs of Parliament, Report on the Dignity of the Peerage, the Wardrobe Account, 28 Edward I., &c., and in the Supplemental Notes, the Pipe Rolls, Liberate, Clause and Patent Rolls, of the respective years, with the commonly received facts of Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Newbury, &c. Whilst these authorities are inconsiderable in number, the references to them would be so numerous as to make a dry statement perplexing, if not unintelligible.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE

NOTICE OF AN EXAMPLE OF MILITARY COSTUME AT THE  
COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

WE are indebted to Dr. Ferdinand Keller, President of the Antiquaries of Zürich, and a corresponding member of the Institute, for bringing under our notice the illustration of Mediæval Costume, to which the following observations relate. He has kindly communicated the drawing from which the accompanying woodcut has been prepared.

In the interesting Abbey church of Königsfelden, on the banks of the river Reuss, and near its confluence with the Aar, in the Canton of Argau, numerous examples of the decorative Arts of the Middle Ages are preserved, deserving of the notice of travellers in Switzerland, whose attention is not exclusively devoted to the picturesque attractions or the Alpine grandeur of that country. The antiquary who takes pleasure in the investigation of primeval or of Roman remains, ecclesiastical or military architecture, the arts of design, illustrations of manners and customs, costume, or indeed of any subject in the extended field of archæological research, cannot fail to discover in the ancient towns and historical sites of Switzerland many a remarkable relic not only interesting in its local associations, but available as illustrative of olden times in our own country.

In the early part of the fourteenth century the locality, subsequently occupied by the monastery of Königsfelden, was the scene of a cruel tragedy, almost under the walls of the Imperial Castle of Habsburg. The tyranny of Albert of Austria, who obtained the Empire in 1298, having with his own hands slain his rival, Adolph of Nassau, had become insupportable to the Swiss, and insurrection rose to such an extent that, in May 1308, the Emperor set forth in person to suppress it. He had made no great advance into the Canton of Argau, when, reaching the confluence of the rivers which unite near the ancient *Vindonissa*, Albert passed the ferry of the Reuss in a small boat, attended only by four of his suite, who were leagued for his destruction. John of Suabia, their chief, provoked to this murderous act by the avarice of the Emperor his uncle, who unjustly withheld his patrimony, struck the first blow. The assassins effected their escape, but the vengeance of Agnes, Queen of



Hungary, daughter of the murdered Albert, was savagely wreaked upon their kindred and connections,—not less than 1000 innocent victims having, as it is stated, been slaughtered even in her presence, to expiate the crime.

On the spot where the assassination of the Emperor took place, an Abbey was founded in 1310, by the widowed Empress, Elizabeth, and the Queen of Hungary. It was endowed with the confiscated estates of their victims. This Abbey was suppressed in 1528, and, with the exception of some portions still habitable, it is now falling to decay. The conventual church, the burial-place of many of the Austrian family, is likewise in a dilapidated condition; here, however, may still be seen a considerable quantity of remarkable painted glass representing scriptural subjects, and numerous figures of saints.<sup>1</sup> There are also many very interesting tombs, and sculptured achievements of nobles who fell at Sempach in 1386. Of the painted glass Dr. Keller has caused coloured facsimile drawings to be made by the skilful hand of Mr. Græter, and has thus enriched greatly the large series of drawings of painted glass in Switzerland, which claims special mention as a remarkable feature of the collections formed, under Dr. Keller's direction, by the Antiquaries of Zürich.

Mr. Græter, to whose pencil this Journal has already been indebted, has made an accurate drawing of one of the figures at Königsfelden, presenting an exemplification of costume at the period of transition from defences of mail to those of plate.<sup>2</sup> (See woodcut). This figure forms part of a group of Saracens, the assailants of the convent of St. Damianus at Assisi, by order of the Emperor Frederick II. They were struck blind through the prayer of St. Clara. The details of costume are curious and well defined. The warrior wears a green sleeveless surcoat over a hauberk of the peculiar variety termed banded mail. The basinet is white; and it deserves observation, as a proof of minute attention to accuracy in details, that although the vervilles are continued

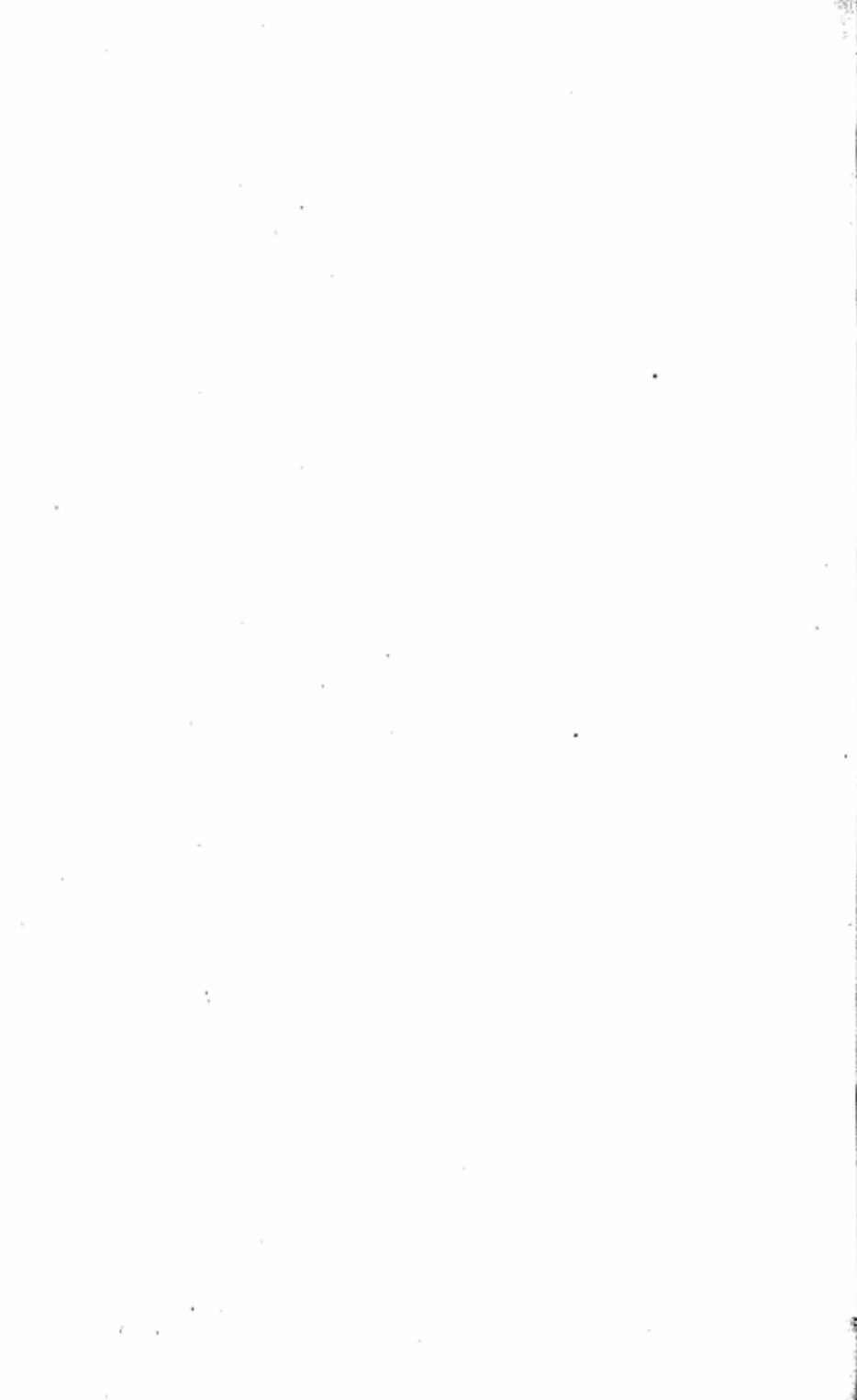
<sup>1</sup> Among the figures of saints may be mentioned one of St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, son of Charles II., King of Naples, and nephew to St. Louis, King of France. He is portrayed vested in a cope, he holds a crosier in his right hand, and a closed book in his left. His feet are bare, possibly in allusion to his ascetic habits, and he is girt with a cord like a Franciscan. St. Verena, a local saint of

considerable celebrity, whose bath near Windisch (*Vindonissa*) is much frequented by sterile females, is represented holding a large double-toothed comb, and a water-vessel, or *biberon*, with a little spout for feeding the sick or infants.

<sup>2</sup> The dimensions of the figure are 20½ inches, from the outstretched hand to the foot.



Illustration of Military Costume in Switzerland.  
From Painted Glass in the Abbey Church of Königsfelden, Canton of Argau; founded in 1310.



all round its lower margin, the lace passing through them, and serving to attach the basinet to the camail, extends only as far as the brows, beyond which the mailed defence beneath would not be continued. On the shoulder a narrow piece is seen coloured yellow (slightly dotted in the woodcut), extending beyond the green shoulder-band of the surcoat, and apparently part of some defence worn beneath it. This probably represents an *épaulière*; which, and also the *généouillères*, likewise here coloured yellow, may have been of thick or jacked leather, not of metal. The use of such a shoulder-piece, it may be remarked, would explain the peculiar rigid appearance of the surcoat in that part, in certain effigies, and on seals; examples occur where the narrow sleeve projects stiffly, almost at right angles to the neck of the figure, and seems wholly inconformable to the natural rounded contour of the shoulder. The hands are here protected by gloves of banded mail, with the fingers divided. The thighs, so far as they are seen under the scalloped skirt of the surcoat, appear to be defended by *chaussons*, or *haut-de-chausses*, of gamboised or *pourpointed* work, in longitudinal ribs; whilst the legs are encased in *chausses* of banded mail, with greaves protecting the shins, and attached by narrow straps round the calf of the leg.<sup>3</sup> These greaves are black, with longitudinal yellow lines, and intervening rows of small thin rings; these probably represent narrow strips of metal and flat riveting plates, fixed upon jacked leather. The feet are covered by the banded mail, without any *sollerets* or additional protection. The sword is unusually short, with a massive round pommel, and very small cross-guard; the *bouterolle* of the scabbard is partly concealed by the leading of the glass. It will be observed that the leading has been represented in the woodcut, in like proportion to the design that it bears in the original. Lastly, the small ovoidal shield must be noticed, on account of its very unusual form. It is coloured yellow, and charged with a sable wing within a *bordure*. Among the numerous varieties in the forms of the shield, this egg-shaped type has not elsewhere been found, so far as we are aware. It occurs, however, in one other instance, but somewhat varied, in the church of Königsfelden.

<sup>3</sup> It must be remarked that on the calf of the right leg the mail is represented in accordance with the more usual conventional mode of delineation, by parallel rows, without any intervening bands, as

in the other parts where armour of this description is here seen. This may however be only an accidental deviation, the space being extremely contracted.

The curious figure which has been brought under our notice through the kindness of our friendly correspondent, the learned President of the Antiquaries of Zürich, is interesting to the student of military costume, as an accession to the examples of the peculiar armour before mentioned, which occurs towards the close of the thirteenth century, known as banded mail. We must admit our inability to solve the difficult question, whether this type of representation, not unfrequently to be found in sculpture, sepulchral brasses, painted glass, seals, and more particularly in illuminated MSS., may have been merely a conventional mode of delineating that which it is almost impracticable to delineate with precision, namely interlaced mail, or whether in fact, as some have supposed, it denoted defences of some other description. This subject has been discussed by Mr. Hewitt, to whose observations in a former volume of this Journal<sup>4</sup> reference may be made, but more especially to his *Manual of Ancient Armour and Arms in Europe*, which none can consult in investigations of this nature without advantage and instruction.<sup>5</sup>

I have the more readily availed myself of the obliging communication of Dr. Keller to bring under the notice of the Institute the curious illustration of costume, which I have endeavoured briefly to describe, in the hope that some of the numerous tourists who annually visit the Swiss Cantons, may be induced to linger for awhile on the banks of the Reuss, and explore both the Roman vestiges of *Vindonissa*, and the interesting remains of the Abbey of Königsfelden. The value of every example of mediæval art is enhanced, when we are enabled to assign to it an approximative date; in the present instance there appears to be little doubt that the painted glass, to which allusion has been made, may confidently be regarded as of the early part of the fourteenth century. The date of the foundation by Agnes, Queen of Hungary, has been assigned to the year 1310; and there, in a cell now destroyed, she passed nearly half a century, in penance and bitter remorse for the savage indulgence of vindictive passions.

ALBERT WAY.

<sup>4</sup> *Archæol. Journal*, vol. vii. p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*; by J. Hewitt: London, J. H. Parker, 1855; p. 260—269. See also the numerous examples of various modes

of delineating mail; *ibid.* p. 123. The second volume of this valuable work, in which the subject is brought down to the close of the fourteenth century, has recently been completed.

## Original Documents.

### ANCIENT ORDINANCES OF THE GILD MERCHANT OF THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON.

(Continued from page 296.)

COMMUNICATED BY EDWARD SMIRKE, Esq., M.A.,  
Vice-warden of the Stannaries, and Recorder of Southampton.

The Ordinances (printed in this volume, p. 284—296) are immediately followed by the table of local Customs or Tolls, to which the Ordinances themselves appear to refer. Like the oath of office, which will be found at p. 296, the several headings are rubricated. For some of the notes on the articles charged I am indebted, as will be seen, to my friend Mr. Way.

SI SOUNT LES CUSTOMES ORDINES DE LA VILE YSSAUNZ PAR MIER ET PAR  
TERRE.

La custume de payn venaunt en la vile par charette.

De une charette du payn . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De une charge du payn . . . . .	ob <sup>1</sup>
De chescune manere de blee del quarter . . . . .	ob <sup>1</sup>
De la charge de blee . . . . .	ob <sup>1</sup>

La custume de vyn, pomadre,<sup>1</sup> cervoys, et weyde.

De chescun tonel de vin que arryve en le port . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Et del issue par le coste Dengleterre . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Et de j. tonel frette doutre la miere . . . . .	viii <sup>d</sup>
Et de chescun tonel de vin issaunt par terre . . . . .	viii <sup>d</sup>
Et de chescun tonel de weyde menee hors de vile . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
Et de pipe voide menee hors de ville . . . . .	ob <sup>1</sup>
Et de j. tonel de pomadre menee par mier ou par terre . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
Et de j. pipe de cervoys <sup>1</sup> menee par mier ou par terre . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>

La custume de plastre de Parys, et de chival vendu ou achatez, et  
de bacoun.

De une charrettez de plastre de Parys menee par terre . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
Et de une mounsel menee par miere . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pomadre most probably signifies cider. This form of the word is however uncommon. Roquefort gives *Pomade*, in old French; and Lacombe has

the same, and also *Pomerée*; in mediæval Latin, *pomata*, *pomagium*, and *pomaceum* occur in the same signification. See Ducange.—A. W.

Et de chescun chival achetez et vendu, del achatour et del vendour . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun bacoun mence par miere ou par terre . . . .	ob <sup>r</sup>

## La custume del sak' de leyne e des quyrs.

De chescun sak de leyne Dengleterre . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun poke de leyne . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun poke que poys outre xxvj. ct <sup>s</sup> . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
De ceint des peaux lanutz . . . . .	iii <sup>d</sup>
Del formage de poys . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De chescun quyr vert ou salez, sek ou tanne . . . . .	ob <sup>r</sup>
De ventres et des altres pieces des quirs tannes, et del fees de j. homme . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Et del somme de un chival . . . . .	ob <sup>r</sup>
De une bale de filatz Despaigne <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De un sak' de leyne Despaigne . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De une duzan de cordewaue vendu en la vile . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De j. duzan de bazan <sup>4</sup> vendu en la vile . . . . .	[crased
De la bale de bazan cum ele vient hors de nef en terre . . .	i <sup>d</sup>

## La custume de meel et seyme.

De chescun tonel de meel, de seym de arang, et de oyle . . .	xvi <sup>d</sup>
De sardeyn, seyme, et de oynt de pork . . . . .	xvi <sup>d</sup>
La pipe de chescun de ceaux . . . . .	viii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent doyle et de seu [?] . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De chescun cent de bordes pour nef . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent des bordes de Estlond . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent de drap Dirland . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
Et des veutz draps de la duzayn vendu . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
Et de chescun draps venaunt de la mier . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
Et de la piece de draps Dengleterre entiere . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
Del cent de bastouns pour arks et pour arblastas . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Et de la duzan de bastouns . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De chescun pelir' ou peletrie [?] de conynge . . . . .	ob <sup>r</sup>
Del cent des leveretz . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Probably a contraction of *clove*. The old wool weight made a clove consist of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a stone, or 7 lb.; a wey of 128 lb.; and a sack of 2 weys. Hence the "poke" mentioned next after the sack is the old English wey or  $\frac{1}{2}$  sack, called also a *pocket* or *serpler*; Hale de Portibus Maria, p. 153; and if it holds more than 26 cloves (182 lb.) or one wey, it is to pay duty like a sack. Perhaps some inference may be drawn from this as to the date of the tariff; for wool weight underwent a reduction which is referred to in stat. 25 Edw. III., st. 5, cap. 9, and was perhaps effected by that act. In the reign of Edward I. the sack weighed 28 stone, and the wey or pocket 14 stone

or 28 cloves. In that of Edward III. the sack weighed 26 stone, and the wey or  $\frac{1}{2}$  sack 13 stone or 26 cloves. See Hale, *ubi supra*, pp. 152, 153. Hence it is probable that the tariff, as it stands, was framed, or as least adapted to the state of the law, in the preceding reign.

<sup>3</sup> Filatz Despaigne seems to be Spanish flax; Filasse.

<sup>4</sup> Bazan is called *basyn* in the Provoost Rolls of Exeter. Thus in a roll, 9 Edw. III., I find a presentment for selling "*setular' de basyn*" for corde-wan. The inferior skins are still called basil or bazil, which I believe denotes sheepskin; in French, *basane* or *bazane*.

Del cent de conynges de vi <sup>xx</sup> s . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> ob'
De chescun couverture des conynges . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> q <sup>a</sup>
Del cent des sabelyns, matrinz ( <i>sic</i> ), feynz, gopiles, et chatz <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent de peaux de skyreux et cheveroill' . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> ob'
De la tymbre de menyvoir . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent des peaux des aygnels Dengleterre . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> ob'
Del cent de boge pour chaperouns . . . . .	iii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent de boge pour furrouns . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> ob'
De chescune piece de cyre Despaygne . . . . .	iii <sup>id</sup>
Et de bale de cyre Despaigne . . . . .	viii <sup>id</sup>
Del chat <sup>7</sup> dargent vif . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>

## La custume despycerie etc.

De la bale de peyvre, gyngyvere, sedewale, <sup>8</sup> canel, galyngale, maces, quibusks, clowes, safroun, greynz, brasyll, un libre ou la valu . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De la bale de almandes, comyn, et rys et lycoryz . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chascune charett de baterie <sup>9</sup> charge hors del eawe . . . . .	xvi <sup>d</sup>
De la charge de baterie sur un chival . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun draps de saye <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	iii <sup>id</sup>
De chescun hauberk et haubergoun . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun chief de sandal iij <sup>d</sup> . ou de la piece . . . . .	ob'

<sup>5</sup> Rabbit skins by the great hundred of 120. That rabbits are still counted by the great hundred, or 1200 for each thousand, appears from a case before the King's Bench, reported in Barnwall and Adolphus' Law Reports, vol. iii.

<sup>6</sup> Sables, martens, foynes, (polecat), foxes, and cats. All these kinds of furs occur in the book of rates attached to the subsidy granted by Parliament in 1660; where also will be found in detail all the current varieties of fur and skins. "Gopil," a fox, claims derivation from Vulpillus, through Goupil.

<sup>7</sup> I am unable to explain satisfactorily the word "chat," as applied to quicksilver. It is probably some definite weight so called. *Chatius*, or *Casatus*, is explained to be "Ponderis species." See Ducange. In the subjoined Latin tariff of dues, payable as between Southampton and Salisbury, contained in the volume from which I have copied the above, the Latin word corresponding to "chat" is unfortunately indistinct, but it may be read "Cato." Kelham has "cas d'argent" in his Dictionary; but this must mean a silver case. The later Rate-books charge quicksilver by the pound. Quicksilver was imported at this time from different parts of Spain, as appears from the list of foreign imports printed in Warnkönig's History of Flanders, vol. ii. p. 512—516: Brux. 1836; and was in Flanders charged for duty by the

sack. *Id.* p. 454.

<sup>8</sup> Several of these articles I am unable to explain to my own satisfaction. The virtues of "sedewale," or setwall, garden valerian, are, I am informed by Mr. Way, set forth by Langham in his Garden of Health, and by other writers. "Canel" is cinnamon. "Quibusks" (clearly so written) must mean cubebs, anciently written Quibybes. In the Sarum tariff given hereafter, it is written "Quibibus." "Greynz" signifies cardamoms, formerly called grains of paradise; the amorous Absolon is described by Chaucer in the Miller's Tale as chewing "Grein and licorice, to smellen sote."—(A. W.) Of the early use of "brasyll," see Way's notes in the Promptorium. The rest of the articles need no explanation.

<sup>9</sup> A "Fardel de batterie" occurs in the table of dues at Sandwich, printed by Boys, p. 487; and in the table appended to Arnold's Chronicle, p. 237, we find "ketellis redy bownde—Baterie troppe." See Ducange v. *Bateria*.—(A. W.) *Batterie de cuisine*, or braes and copper kitchen utensils, is a familiar phrase at the present time. The arms of the old company for "Mineral and Battery Works," incorporated 10 Eliz., had (and perhaps still has) in chief a cake of copper proper.

<sup>1</sup> As to woollen sayes or serges, see the several kinds specified in the Book of Rates, 1660.



De m <sup>t</sup> desteyn x <sup>d</sup> . ou del cent . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De m <sup>t</sup> de quyre x <sup>d</sup> . ou del cent . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
Del cent darresm <sup>s</sup> . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De formel de plombe <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Del fother de plombe . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup>
De cent de fer q <sup>a</sup> . et del yssue . . . . .	ob <sup>'</sup>
De chescun quarter de geyde <sup>s</sup> . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De chescun ton <sup>'</sup> de weyde . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup>
De la pierre de wolde <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De la pipe des cendres <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
De baraille de cendres . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De la somme des aux <sup>s</sup> (de c. bouches s. vi <sup>xx</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> . by second hand)	xii <sup>d</sup>
De cent cordes de Breytayne . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
De m <sup>t</sup> des onyons <sup>s</sup> (altered to onyonnet by second hand) j. li. ou la valu	
De m <sup>t</sup> de harang sore <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De m <sup>t</sup> de harang blaunk . . . . .	ob <sup>'</sup>
De m <sup>t</sup> de sardeyn . . . . .	ob <sup>'</sup>
De cent de congres . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
De cent de moreu et de leeng <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De cent de stokfyssh et daultres pessonns frech <sup>'</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De cent de makerell <sup>'</sup> frech <sup>'</sup> . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De cent de makerell <sup>'</sup> salee . . . . .	ob <sup>'</sup>
De barill <sup>'</sup> de mulnwelle <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De barill <sup>'</sup> de haddok . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De cent de haddok . . . . .	ob <sup>'</sup>
De deux panyers des lampereyes j. lampreye ou la value	

<sup>2</sup> 1000 i.e., weight, not number, of tin.

<sup>3</sup> Probably d'airain, brass.

<sup>4</sup> The "formel" of lead is no doubt the same as the "*fofinellum plumbi*" of *Fleta*, lib. ii. cap. 12, and the *fofmal* of the 4th ed. of *Statutes under Tractatus De Ponderibus et Mensuris*, 31 Edw. I. Spelman, *voc. Formella* has rightly spelled it thus: he cites the *Tractatus* as a statute of 51 Henry III., without showing any authority for this last date. The *Tractatus*, as printed, is evidently no statute at all. It corresponds for the most part with the language of *Fleta*, but the language of both is obscure, and the two are repugnant in several respects. Both agree in reckoning 70 lb. to the *fofinel* or *fofmal*. As the *fother* is charged 24 times as much as the *formel* in the Southampton tariff, it must be presumed to have been at least as much greater in weight. Spelman notices that the word *formella* occurs in the Vulgate Bible, 1 Sam. xvii. 18, where it applies to cheeses. It is probably the diminutive of *forma*, a mould, and describes a block of lead cast in a mould of certain size, or a cheese formed in a certain shape. The Saxon *fother* seems to have more

relation to the carrus (cart-load) of lead, mentioned in the statute, which contains 30 *fofmals* (formels), and therefore, 2,100 lb. of lead. The *fother* of lead, no longer in use, is said to have contained about 19 cwt. or 2,128 lb. In the Rates of 1660 it is estimated at 20 cwt.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be *guède* or woad, in the form of pastel.

<sup>6</sup> The word "pierre" is struck out, and the word "pointelle" overlined. I am unable to explain the article referred to. Perhaps it may be stone from the Weald of Kent, commonly called Kentish Rag; but this is a mere guess.

<sup>7</sup> Soda or barilla.

<sup>8</sup> A load of 100 water-casks or bouges, at 6 score to the hundred.

<sup>9</sup> In the margin this is explained by the words "*semen sep' oygnounet*." The word does not here mean onion seed, but either the bulbs of shallot, or a kind of pear. See Cotgrave and other Dictionaries.

<sup>1</sup> Red herring.

<sup>2</sup> Cod (*morue*) and ling.

<sup>3</sup> See Mulvellius, Spelm. Gloss.

De un barill' de sturgoun . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup>
De un salmoun salee . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De un salmon frech' yssaunt ou entraunt . . . . .	ob'
De cent de baleyne <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De un porpays frech' ou sallee . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De cent de gobettes <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De cent de coignes <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De chescun moel <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De la bale daly <sup>m</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
Del cent daly <sup>m</sup> . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De la passage de un homme outre la miere . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De la passage de un chival . . . . .	iiii <sup>d</sup> ob'
De la sege <sup>8</sup> de un nef . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De une balenge de Cambre . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Del cent dargoyl et de arnement <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	ob'
De boef et de vache . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De veel, porks, et herbiz . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De chescun cent de lyngetele <sup>2</sup> et de canevice . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun chaloun <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	q <sup>s</sup>
Del quarter de carbon' venaunt par miere . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De chescun ton des pommes et des peires venauntz par miere . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun quarter des petitiz noyz . . . . .	ob'
De la m <sup>t</sup> des noiz Fraunceys . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De hanapes, esqueles, dublers, et sausers de la deye <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
De chescun barill' de tarre et de pitz (grande added by later hand) . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun whice <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De la charette de merym <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	ob'
De la couple des fyges et reysyns . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup>
De ij. galons doyle . . . . .	ob'

<sup>4</sup> Whale-bone? As the flesh of the whale was not unfrequently used for food, Mr. Way inclines to think that the whale itself or its flesh may be referred to; as this fish was royal property it is not likely to appear in a local tariff in this form.

<sup>5</sup> This probably denoted some peculiar form in which fish were sold. Goblets may however be the round fish commended by Harrison, under the name of "Lumpes,—an ugly fish to sight and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindly dressed." Description of England, iii. 4. A. W.

<sup>6</sup> Cotgrave gives "Coin de mer, a kind of mullet fish." A. W.

<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that this may have been some rare species of mullet, Lat. *Mulva*. Cotgrave gives "Moil,—a sore mullet." A. W.

<sup>8</sup> Alum.

<sup>9</sup> Dues paid for the berth or anchorage of a vessel in the river.

<sup>1</sup> A cwt. of argoyl and orpiment? These articles of colouring matter con-

stantly occur in other tariffs of the date down to a late time. Arnement, however, means ink in some documents, according to Halliwell, *i.e.*, *atrament*.

<sup>2</sup> *Linea tela*; *toile de linge*.

<sup>3</sup> This word is explained under the Winchester Consuetudinary, Arch. Journ. vol. ix. p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> The last word looks like a contraction of *deyerie*; as to which, see "Deye" in Way's Prompt. Parvulorum. "Esqueles" is translated ladles or spoons by Kelham, but the word seems to be the old *escuella*, *scuella*, from *scutella*, and not *cuiller*. A *dubler* is said to be a platter, dish or bowl. See Way's notes in the Prompt. Parvul. pp. 70, 124. Cotgrave translates the French "doublier," table-cloth. According to Ducange's Gloss. Gallicum, it has the sense of both plate and cloth. All the articles may well belong to a dairy. The last word may, however, read *deynie*.

<sup>5</sup> *Whiche*, a hutch or chest. Halliwell's Dict., and see Arch. Journ. vol. ix. p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> Timber, in Latin, *mercenium*.

De iij. galons et de iiij.	ob'
De v. galons doyle vij. viij. et ix.	i <sup>d</sup>
De x. galons et de xj. galons	i <sup>d</sup> ob'
De xij. gallons xiiij. xiv. xv. et xvj.	ii <sup>d</sup>
De xvij. galons xvij. xix. xx. xxj. xxij.	ii <sup>d</sup> ob'
Et si continuelement de touz aultres	
Del quarter de seel <sup>7</sup>	ob'
De chescun cent des flotes <sup>8</sup>	i <sup>d</sup>
De la rule de seel et de tref <sup>9</sup>	ii <sup>d</sup>
Et sil y a ij. rules	ii <sup>d</sup>
De cordes come des cables et de tieles maneres cordes yssint overiz (del c. lb. added by later hand).	ii <sup>d</sup>
Des cables et des autres cordes de quele partie qils soient	ii <sup>d</sup>
De une novele charettetz <sup>1</sup>	i <sup>d</sup>
De la charette de carbon <sup>2</sup> de boys	ob'
Et m <sup>t</sup> de selat	q <sup>a</sup>
Del m <sup>t</sup> de lath <sup>3</sup>	ob'
Del barill <sup>4</sup> de lykemose <sup>2</sup>	i <sup>d</sup>
De chescun dozeyne des pealx de veelez <sup>3</sup>	ii <sup>d</sup>
De chescun c. de ayle	xii <sup>d</sup>
De qualibet pecia de poldavis	ii <sup>d</sup>
De qualibet pecia de olzine	i <sup>d</sup> ob'
De qualibet pecia crestlōts (?) dowles et lokeram <sup>5</sup>	iii <sup>d</sup>

## NOVUM SARUM.

NOTUM sit omnibus quod cum contencio mota fuisset inter Majorem et communitatem Civitatis Nove<sup>4</sup> Sarum ex parte una, et Majorem et communitatem ville Suthamtone ex altera, super quibusdam tolnetis et custumis, que predicti Major et communitas ville Suthamtone a diversis hominibus predictae Civitatis Nove Sarum exigebant et capiebant, tandem, communibus amicis interventientibus et videntibus quod maximum periculum temporibus futuris inde oriri poterit, partes predictae concordati [sic] sunt sub hac forma, videlicet, quod predicti Major et communitas predictae ville Suthamtone pro se et heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum concesserunt, quod omnes Cives predictae Civitatis Nove Sarum, et eorum heredes et successores, et tenentes in predicta Civitate manentes, quieti sint imperpetuum de omnibus tolnetis, muragiis, chaiaigiis, pontagiis, ex

<sup>7</sup> Salt.

<sup>8</sup> Skeins of yarn, &c. "*Flotte, paquet, écheveau de laine.*" Roquefort. Possibly, the corks used for fishing nets.

<sup>9</sup> "Rule" is probably a measure. "Seel" may be salt, as in the preceding line; but the meaning of *tref* in this place is open to question. *Tref* signifies a beam, *trabs*, or the sail of a ship.

<sup>1</sup> Among the Flemish river dues, I find one for "une voiture noeve," A.D. 1271. Warnk. Flandres, vol. ii. p. 466; see also the Winchester Gate-tolls, Arch. Journ. vol. ix. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Litmus*, otherwise spelt *lacmus*, i.e. *lac-moss*.

<sup>3</sup> The five last entries are written by

different hands from the rest, and seem to have been made after the completion of the list of customs. Poldavies, dowlas, and lockeram are among the rated liens in the Rate-book of 1660. With regard to the word which I read "crestlōts" in the last entry, it may perhaps refer to one of the three sorts of dowlas or lockeram described in the above Rate-book as "treager, grest, and narrow." "Olzine" I cannot explain.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic* in MS. The heading "Novum Sarum" is by a later hand. Many of the contracted words are here printed *in extenso*, the contractions being retained in all those words which appeared questionable.

quibuscunque mercandis suis vel aliis quibuscunque rebus, in predicta villa Suthamtone, et infra portum et libertatem ejusdem ville, seu limites eorundem, emptis et emendis, venditis et vendendis: ac etiam de omnibus bonis suis ad predictam villam Suthamtone, aut alibi infra portum et libertatem ejusdem ville et limites eorundem, seu de predicta villa vel aliis locis infra portum et limites ejusdem, caratis seu carandis, tam per mare quam per terram, quantum in eis est, jure et regio [sic] in omnibus semper salvo. Salvo tamen quod predictae Cives predicti [sic] Civitatis Nove Sarum, et eorum heredes et successores, et tenentes in predicta Civitate manentes, predictis Majori et communitati ville Suthamtone predictam villam Suthamtone ad feodi firmam habentibus, ut modo habent, solvant in futurum.

Pro quolibet sarplar' lan' . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro quolibet pacco pannorum . . . . .	iiiij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro pecia cere de Polane vel de Rye . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala cere de Ispann' . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro dolia [sic] vini . . . . .	iiiij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro pipa vini . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro barell' olei, cepi, uncti, porpays, graspois, et sturjon . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Et pro barell' tarre, pici, haddok', allec', et code . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala amigdalorum, rys, cimini, anici, et likorie' . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro coupl' fiki et reysin' . . . . .	ob
Item pro m <sup>t</sup> allecium alborum et rubrorum . . . . .	ob
Item pro m <sup>t</sup> stagni vj. d. vel pro pecia . . . . .	ob
Item pro fother plumbi vj. d. vel pro formel . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Item pro c. de stokfash . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro c. haddok' . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Item pro j. porpes' integro . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro xij. salmon' salsis . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro petra molari . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro quarterio carbonum . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Item pro quarterio grossi salis et minuti salis . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Item pro quarterio cujuscunque generis bladi . . . . .	q <sup>a</sup>
Item pro cofre vtr'i ( <i>retouched, originally nitri?</i> ) voc' sope . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro c. conger . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro c. makerel . . . . .	ob
Item pro c. bordis de Estlonde . . . . .	ob
Item pro sarplar' de plumis . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro pacco canevaz cordis ligato . . . . .	iiiij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala de cordewan . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala de basen' . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala de sugre in pulvere . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala de verdegriz iiij. d. vel pro sacco . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro barell' vel bala de orpement . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item pro cato argenti vivi . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro dolio noti <sup>5</sup> [sic.] . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala pionii <sup>6</sup> . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item pro bala saponis de Ispann' de Cateloign' . . . . .	

<sup>5</sup> Compare the list of dues in Boys' Sandwich, p. 436: "De chescun tonel de noys, iiij<sup>d</sup>." See also p. 556.

<sup>6</sup> Piony seed was used as a spice. It

occurs in the Liber Albus. Its virtues are given by Langham in his Garden of Health.

Item pro sarplar' lan' de Ispann'	jd
Item pro sarplar' lan' de Almann'	ijd
Item pro bala cepi fusi	jd
Item pro tymbre de greiwork' cattorum et vulpium	ijd
Item pro dolio de haberdassware pertinente ad merceriam	viijd
Item pro pipa de eodem iij <sup>d</sup> . vel pro bala	ijd
Item pro barell' de cork'	jd
Item pro bala de datis	jd
Item pro dolio olei, seym, et mel	viijd
Item pro barell' cinerum et coprose	jd
Item pro musa ejuscunque cupri	ja
Item pro m <sup>t</sup> ferri	ijd ob
Item pro c. muldwel	ja
Item pro dacre coriorum <sup>7</sup>	ijd ob
Item pro sarplar' pellium lanutarum iij <sup>d</sup> . vel pro c.	ja
Item pro qualibet bala gyngiberis, canele, galangale, brasille, cedewale, piperis, cotton, filac', nucis mug', croci, maci, gariofill', et quibibus	iiij <sup>a</sup>
Item pro dolio de sugre in pan <sup>s</sup>	viijd
Item pro pipa de eodem	ijd
Item pro barell' de eodem	ijd
Item pro bala de filath', <sup>9</sup> alym de glas, alim de plume	ja
Item pro paner' lampredum	iiij <sup>a</sup>
Item pro bala de conil' iij <sup>d</sup> . vel pro c.	ob
Item pro bala de bogea iij <sup>d</sup> . vel pro c.	ob
Item pro dolio wayd	vjd
Item vel pro quarterio	ja
De cheso <sup>7</sup> dozeyne dez pealx vitelynys cruez <sup>1</sup>	ijd

Et pro omnibus aliis bonis et mercandisiis non nominatis de valore trium denariorum et ultra, usque ad summam quinque solidorum, quadrantem; et ultra valorem quinque solidorum usque ad summam decem solidorum, obolum; et ultra valorem decem solidorum usque ad summam quindecim solidorum, obolum et quadrantem; et ultra valorem quindecim solidorum usque ad summam viginti solidorum unum denarium. In cujus rei testimonium tam sigillum commune predictæ Civitatis Nove Serum quam sigillum commune predictæ ville Suthamtone huic Indenture alternatim sunt appensa. Hiis testibus, dominis Johanni [sic] de Maultravers tunc senescallo hospitii domini Regis, Johanne de Stonore Barone de scaccario domini Regis, Philippo de la Beeche tunc vicecomite Wiltes', Reginaldo de Pavely, Roberto Seleman, Huldebrond de Londre, Johanne de Seuris tunc vicecomite Suthamtone, Johanne de Tychebourne, Johanne de Wardlyngtone, Willelmo Peverel, Militibus, Roberto de Hongreforde, Johanne de Mere, Roberto le Boor, Nicholao de Rolvestone, Radulpho de Couelestone, Ricardo de Byflet, Roberto de Thurlecombe, Andrea Payn, Ricardo de Teste Wode, et aliis. Datum apud Suthamtone die Martis in festo Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu tercio. [July 25, 1329.]

<sup>7</sup> "De qualibet dacre coriorum, ijd." Boys' Sandwich, p. 506. A Dicker consisted of ten hides, ten dickers made a last. See Ducange v. Dacre.

<sup>8</sup> Sugar imported in pane, loaf-sugar; as distinguished from sugar in powder,

mentioned previously.

<sup>9</sup> Filacium or Filaticium signifies coarse thread; in French, *filace*, mentioned above. This explanation however seems scarcely satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> This item is added by a later hand.

I am unable to find anything in the above collection of Ordinances that serves to fix the date of them. The handwriting can prove nothing more than the date of the manuscript; and even if any single provision among them can be shown to have originated in a certain year or reign, yet, as such ordinances are in effect for the most part bye-laws made from time to time by competent authority, we shall make very little progress in ascertaining the date of the general collection. Some are manifestly only declarations of the existing, and perhaps immemorial, constitution of the gild-merchant; others being additions at a later period. The law or rather usage more or less consistent with the general law of the land, sanctioned very large and arbitrary powers of local legislation in such fraternities and other corporate bodies; powers exercised for purposes often mischievous, generally selfish, and sometimes at variance with what the lawyers call common right. It was not until the fifteenth century that this practice was restrained and put under adequate control by the statute 15 Henry VI. cap. 6, extended by the subsequent act of 19 Henry VII. cap. 7. The above observations also apply to the table of Customs, which are liable to changes dictated by corresponding variations in the nature of the usual exports and imports.

Some of the tests of date to which Dr. Speed refers in his copy of the Ordinances are the following:—

The Art. 19 indicates in his opinion a date before Henry IV., because the charter of that king, 2 Henry IV., gives such forfeitures to the burgesses. This test is ambiguous, for the charter is probably only one of confirmation; and the form of conviction would necessarily adjudge the penalty to the king, though the burgesses would be entitled to claim it at the Exchequer when estreated. The handwriting, however, is conclusive against so late a date.

Dr. Speed considers the mention of the city gates in Art. 46, as showing a date after the fortification of the town in 29 Edward III. A royal grant of that date gives the right of levying tolls for ten years towards the expense of enclosing and fortifying the town. Of the gates referred to, one still remains, and seems to be substantially a work of that reign, though the armorial bearings, the painted worthies, and leaden lions that decorate the entrance can lay claim to no such ancient origin. But the crown grant seems to me only to prove, that there were walls and fortifications then in existence which the burgesses were bound to repair. The castle certainly existed long before, and the wall and towers of the enceinte still belong to the town.

On Art. 62 he observes, that it must have been inserted in or after the reign of Henry VIII., because a charter of that prince gives the prisage of wine. I have not seen this charter, but the handwriting of the Ordinances confutes this suggestion. If it contains such a grant, it was probably only by way of confirmation. The Ordinance obliges a townsman (who was not generally liable to customs) to pay port duties if he bought wine or other customable merchandise between Hirst and Langstone (*i. e.*, out of the limits of the Southampton water), and then imported them into Southampton. The object is evident; it would be a mere evasion of the duties whether payable to the town or crown.

In a note to the table of Customs, I have suggested that the reference to wool-weight of twenty-six cloves to the wey, which, according to the high authority of Sir Matthew Hale, was fixed by an act of 25 Edward III.,

shows that the tariff was framed after that year. It is, however, observable that the sack of twenty-six stone certainly existed, and was sanctioned by parliament before 25 Edw. III.; for it is referred to by the Commons as the legitimate weight in the seventeenth year of the same reign, in the Rolls of Parliament (printed copy, vol. ii. p. 142). This is a notable fact, and dictates caution in coming to the hasty conclusion that every old statute is necessarily a new law. Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of England, considers it very absurd that Becket should have opposed the Constitutions of Clarendon on the ground, among other objections, of their novelty; an objection which would of course be fatal to all modern statutes. But this was not so in our earlier legislation. To maintain ancient laws and customs, and to enforce them, was the primary object of ancient parliamentary assemblies in this as well as other countries, and any change constituted a *prima facie* reason for resisting it. The Barons at Merton did not make speeches about the reasonableness of the law which excludes legitimization "per subsequens matrimonium," nor express any special attachment to that law, but stood on the general principle, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*"

The Ordinances curiously exemplify the intimate connection between the constitution of a gild-merchant and that of a municipal corporation. They were clearly not identical, but the one may sometimes be shown to have originated in the other, as Madox has long ago observed. The gilds in the larger cities were usually distinct incorporations, but more or less associated with the general corporation, as is still conspicuously the case in the city of London. At Southampton, although the "*Gilde marchant*," the "*Franchise*," and the "*Ville*" are distinguished (see Art. 30, 44, 45, 46, 53, 77), it is not easy to say to which of these any Ordinance belongs. I have no doubt, however, that they had become in course of time so amalgamated as to be the subject of common local regulation.

The mayor is not named from first to last, but that there was a mayor is shown by the oath of office found in connection with the Ordinances, and by early public records which attest the previous existence of such a head officer. I believe "*le Alderman*," mentioned in the first article, and afterwards styled the "*chief Alderman*" and "*cheveteyn*" of the town and gild, and who was to maintain the franchise and the statutes of the gild and town, and to have the first voice at elections, &c., to have been in fact the mayor. (See Art. 27, 31, 34, 45, 53, &c.)

Besides this alderman, there were aldermen of the different districts or wards, whose duties are defined in the Ordinances, and were chiefly connected with the preservation of order and peace within their wards. (Art. 37, 38, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, &c.) They also presided at the view of frankpledge, and provided for the keeping of watch and ward, and were accountable for their neglect to the town itself. As in modern corporations, the freedom of the gild was hereditary in the course of primogeniture, except in cases where it was conferred *per favorem*, or was honorary. (Art. 10, 57.) The provisions relating to charity towards gildsmen, and to the funerals and obits at their deaths are strictly in keeping with the old Saxon theory of a gild, an association or fraternity for charitable and religious purposes and for mutual aid and protection. Of this nature are the majority of the first fifteen of the Ordinances, and to these, at least, I am inclined to assign an antiquity greater than many of the later can be entitled to claim. Like the corporation itself, they are probably immemorial. The minute regulations respecting brokers and porters are probably among the latest of the bye-laws.

## Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

May 6th, 1859.

Professor DONALDSON in the Chair.

Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries at Zürich, and Honorary Member of the Institute, communicated the following notice of some mediæval relics, preserved in the Public Library at Zürich. They appeared deserving of notice, as being associated with the memory of the great-grand-daughter of Charlemagne.

"There exists in our Library, formerly in the archives of the city, a pair of shoes, which have been traditionally regarded as having been worn by the Carolingian princess Hildegard, daughter of Louis the German, King of Bavaria and Bohemia, third son of Louis le Debonnaire, son and successor of Charlemagne. Hildegard was the first Abbess of the Abbey of St. Felix and St. Regula at Zürich, founded by her father in 853; on her death in 859 her sister Bertha succeeded her. The foundation charter and the history of that Abbey has been given in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich."<sup>1</sup>



Shoe of Hildegard, Abbess of Zurich, 853—859.

One of these curious shoes is here represented. It is of good workmanship; the upper leather formed of a single piece, with the exception of the two foremost straps, which are sewed on it. There are seven of these straps formed with loops through which the strings passed to fasten the shoe

<sup>1</sup> Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich; viii. Band, 1853, p. 15.



to the foot. The leather was stamped before it was made into a shoe, and the surface presents an ornamental pattern of black circles and gold spots, produced by leaf gold, as in illuminated MSS. The shoes were lined with green silk. The looped straps are bound with a red linen riband, to which a yellow silk riband is sewed on the outside. The soles are of thin but strong leather, and have no heel-pieces. The leather is now in very friable condition. No description or representation of these relics of ancient costume has hitherto been published, but they were noticed towards the close of the seventeenth century as preserved among the curiosities to be seen in the Library at Zürich, where, as a traveller of that period observes, "On voit jusqu'aux pantoufles de Hildegarde."<sup>2</sup>

In the curious shoes described by Dr. Keller, the tradition of the fashions of an early period is obviously shown. The sumptuously ornamented *crepidæ* and the *sandalia* of the Romans were formed with loops (*ansæ*) or eyes on their upper edges, through which a thong (*amenta*) was passed to bind them on the feet. Numerous specimens of sandals of such description have been found with Roman remains in London by Mr. Roach Smith, in Roman stations in Northumberland, and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The most remarkable examples of Roman shoes are doubtless those found in 1802 in a tomb at Southfleet, Kent, figured in the *Archæologia*. They were of purple leather, reticulated in hexagonal designs of beautiful workmanship, each hexagonal division being worked with gold.<sup>4</sup> In the Carlovingian and Anglo Saxon periods the *ansæ* were retained, and shoes were of most costly description, scarcely, however, to be compared with the *calcei fenestrati, ocellati, laqueati, &c.*, of mediæval fashions. We read of *sandalia pretiosa, displaying the most elaborate decorations*,—"cum imaginibus Regum in rotellis—cum flosculis de perlis Indici coloris et leopardis de perlis albis," &c. The subjects from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, published by the Society of Antiquaries, supply beautiful examples.

Mr. FRANKS gave a short account of the curious gold armet, discovered in a tomb at Kertch, excavated during the recent occupation by the English forces, and of which a drawing had been shown at a previous meeting. It has been recently purchased for the British Museum. On each of its extremities there are characters or symbols, hitherto unexplained, in stippled work (*opus punctatum*). Mr. Franks pointed out the resemblance of this ancient ornament to certain gold armlets found in Europe, and especially in Ireland, where they occur very frequently, varying greatly in their weight and proportions. These ornaments have been designated penannular, being formed with disunited ends, to facilitate the adjustment of the bracelet to the arm; the extremities, as shown by the accompanying woodcut, are dilated, with a slight impression on each face, which may be noticed likewise on specimens found in England and in Ireland. In Irish armlets of this class the dilated extremities are not uncommonly formed with cupped cavities, in some instances so expanded as to present the appearance of the mouth of a trumpet, or the calix of a large flower; whilst in others these concave appendages are of such exaggerated dimen-

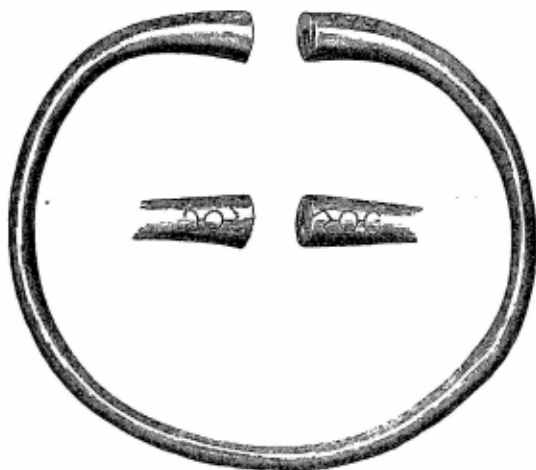
<sup>2</sup> Voyage de Suisse; Relation en douze lettres écrites par les Sieurs Reboulet et Labruno. La Haye, 1686, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of London Antiquities, collected by C. Roach Smith, p. 66, pl.

ix., and Roman London, by the same author.

<sup>4</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 222, p. xxxix.

sions, in proportion to the connecting portion, that the original type of the armlet appears to be lost. These Irish examples are sometimes delicately engraved with zigzag ornaments, such as are scored upon cinerary urns of the earliest periods. An example of singular fashion, but not solid, has been figured in a former volume of this Journal.<sup>5</sup> The armlet which accompanied a sepulchral deposit at Kertch is especially deserving of comparison with that discovered in a peat-moss near Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, and figured in the *Archæologia*<sup>6</sup>; this last is described as of pure



Gold armlet found at Kertch. Original size.

gold, very pliable, with the letters M.B., and some lines pricked or dotted on one of its extremities, as on the Kertch armlet, and on the other, *HELENVS*. F. in raised letters produced by a stamp.

Mr. ALBERT WAY communicated an account of the Golden Crowns found near Toledo, and now in the Musée des Thermes at Paris. (Printed in this volume, p. 253.)

Some Observations on Ecclesiastical Architecture as exemplified in Dorsetshire, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, were then read by Mr. Vulliamy.

Mr. HEWITT gave the following account of a remarkable fowling-piece, supposed to have been used by Charles I. in his youthful sports, at the age of fourteen.

"The flint-lock birding-piece, which I send for exhibition, is the earliest example of a flint-arm yet observed. It is dated 1614, and appears to have belonged to Prince Charles, son of James I. The stock is inlaid with silver, the principal ornaments being the rose and thistle; the rose appears also among the chasings of the barrel. These chasings on the barrel have been gilt. At the breech is the date 1614; and this is repeated on the lock. The lock is richly chased, and partly gilt; the pan has a sliding cover. The face of the steel, or hammer, is quite smooth; not, as we have

<sup>5</sup> *Archæol. Journ.* vol. vi. p. 60. This remarkable object is now in the British

Museum. It was found in the co. Cork.  
<sup>6</sup> Vol. ii. p. 41, pl. III

so often been told, furrowed in imitation of the wheel of the wheel-lock. The form of the stock is deserving of attention, for it is exactly that of many of the Affghan arms at the present day. It will be remarked that the thumb-notch is so near to the heel of the butt, that this piece could only have been used by a youth.

"From the facts already enumerated, it seems impossible to doubt that this piece belonged to Prince Charles. We have to consider the richness of the piece, chased and gilt in its metallic portion, and the stock decorated with inlaid-work; the period of its manufacture, the young prince being at that date fourteen years of age; the construction of the piece, fitted, as we see, only for a young person; and lastly, the decorations of the rose and thistle, the badges of the Stuarts, and which, so far as I am aware, could not have been assumed at this date by a person of any other family. The principal interest of the arm, however, lies in the circumstance of its being the earliest flint-lock gun yet brought to light.

"It may be further remarked that both lock and barrel bear the maker's initials stamped upon them, the letters R. A. Through the kindness of an intelligent officer of the Armourers' Hall of the City of London, I am enabled to state that in the Charter of the Gunmakers' Company, granted 13 Charles I., there appears the name of Richard Atkin, a gunmaker of London, and it seems very probable that this was the person who manufactured the royal fowling-piece under consideration."

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. WEBB.—A beautiful example of Byzantine Mosaic; its date may be assigned to the twelfth century. Two mirror-cases of sculptured ivory, date the fourteenth century; an ivory hunting horn, or oliphant, and some other choice productions of Mediæval art.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—Two remarkable miniature portraits, painted in oil upon panel. They represent Mary, Queen of England, and her consort, Philip II., King of Spain, and bear the date 1555; they are attributed to the celebrated painter of that period, Louis de Vargas, whose principal works, however, are frescoes and paintings of large dimensions in the cathedral and churches of Seville. Also a sculpture in ivory, attributed to the tenth century.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A number of beads and bugles of glass, of dark colour, apparently almost black, coated with opaque glass of a dull red colour. They were found in 1857, among white granite sand on the shores of the Isle of St. Agnes, one of the Scilly Islands.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—Examples of mediæval metal-work, consisting of keys, and various ancient relics, chiefly found in Sussex; also specimens of jewellery, rings, and other personal ornaments.

By Mr. C. FAULKNER, F. S. A.—A *misericorde*, or dagger of mercy, dug up in a field near Deddington, Oxfordshire. The blade of this weapon, which has only one edge, is 12 inches long; at the hilt it is 1 inch wide and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch thick, tapering off straight to the point. The hilt is 4 inches long, and has three brass tubes passing through it, at equal distances, each measuring  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch in length, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch wide. There also appears

to have been a fourth close under the knob, but the space this perforation may have occupied is filled up with rust. Two strips of brass extend along the back and front. On monumental brasses and sculptured effigies a weapon of this description is shown attached to the right side of the sword belt, and is found from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry VIII. Mr. Hewitt, whose knowledge of ancient armour is so well known, remarked that these daggers were in use during the whole of that period. The late Sir Samuel Meyrick, in his work on Ancient Armour,<sup>7</sup> cites a Romance as early as the time of Henry III., in which the *misericorde* is mentioned, and also in French Chronicles of the time of Edward II., and he states that "the best reason that has been assigned for the name of *misericorde* has been the peculiar use of the weapon, which is to oblige a vanquished antagonist to cry for mercy, or receive his death wound." Mills, in his History of Chivalry, says, in describing an encounter, "The only way by which death could be inflicted was by thrusting a lance through the small holes in the vizor. Such a mode of death was not very common, for the cavalier always bent his face almost to the saddle-bow when he charged. The knight, however, might be unhorsed in the shock of the two adverse lines, and he was in that case at the mercy of the foe who was left standing. But how to kill the human being inclosed in the rolling mass of steel was the question; and the armourer, therefore, invented a thin dagger, which could be inserted between the plates. This dagger was called the dagger of mercy, apparently a curious title, considering it was the instrument of death; but in truth the laws of chivalry obliged the conqueror to show mercy, if, when the dagger was drawn, the prostrate foe yielded himself, rescue or no rescue."<sup>8</sup>

**MEDIEVAL SEALS.** By Miss BARLOW, Andover, through Mrs. Baker, of Stamford.—A privy seal, consisting of an antique intaglio, mounted in an oval setting of silver. Upon the gem, which is red jasper, is rudely cut a lion passant; on the metal rim is the following inscription, in characters of the thirteenth century, + SECRETVM SERVARE VOLO. This seal was found a few years since in a ploughed field near Farnham, Surrey; a silver chain, about six inches in length, was attached to it when the discovery occurred; this the labourer refused to part with.

By Mr. READY, of Lowestoft.—Facsimiles, in gutta-percha, of the seal and counterseal of the Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, taken from a detached impression on green wax, lately obtained in Shropshire. The seal, of circular form, measures about 1½ inch in diameter. The device is a human head, with a flowing beard; on the dexter side there is a star, on the sinister, a crescent. Legend—+ s' PRIORIS : HOSPITAL' : IERL' : IN ANGL'. The head, seen in full face, and of fine character, doubtless represents the head of St. John the Baptist. The counterseal is oval, measuring about ½ inch by ⅔, and bears a small head in profile to the left, probably representing the Prior. He wears a peculiar flat cap. This seal has no legend. These curious examples are in fair preservation. A list of the Priors of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem is given in the Monasticon, Caley's edit. vol. vi. p. 799, but no mention is made of their seals.

<sup>7</sup> Critical Enquiry, vol. i. pp. 108, 156, and Glossary in vol. iii. Examples of the *misericorde*, of various periods, in the

Goodrich Court Armory, are figured in Skelton's Illustrations, vol. ii. pl. 113.

<sup>8</sup> History of Chivalry, vol. i. p. 92.

June 3, 1859.

The LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE noble Chairman, in calling the attention of the Meeting to a select series of finger-rings, of various periods, and their interesting features as characteristic of the prevalent taste and sentiment, not less than on account of the artistic perfection which they display, offered some interesting observations on the choice examples which he had brought for examination. They have been described in the privately printed Catalogue of his Collection, of which he had the kindness to present a copy to the Library of the Institute. Of several of the rings exhibited we are enabled by Lord Braybrooke's obliging permission to place before our readers representations engraved in illustration of his Catalogue. They consist of three examples of penannular rings, of gold, one of them, formed like a serpent, having been found with Roman remains. (See woodcuts.) One of the most singular Roman relics, however, in his Dactyliotheca, is a ring found in 1853, in the Borough Field, Chesterford, in one of the remarkable depositories or rubbish-pits, described in Lord Braybrooke's Memoir in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 109. This ring is of mixed metal, which shows traces of gilding. (See cut.) The bezel presents a lion passant, in relief, and to the upper side of the bezel is attached a singular chased ornament which appears to represent a vase between two animals sejant. This projecting portion was originally affixed, as it may be supposed, at right angles to the hoop of the ring, but it is now bent outwards, by some accidental injury. It is pierced with seven holes, which, as Lord Braybrooke remarked, may symbolise the constellation of the Pleiades, and the animals which appear to be feeding out of the vase have been conjectured to be bears. The signification of this curious ornament is, however, very obscure. A gold ring, similar in fashion, with the exception only that in place of the lion it has three collets for precious stones, now lost, was found at Carlisle, and is in possession of Mr. Nelson, of that city. The animals in this instance, as Mr. C. Newton has suggested, may be panthers, feeding upon grapes in the vase, and he conjectured that the device may be allusive to Bacchus. There are here nine perforations in this portion of the work. Another Roman ring, found at Chesterford (see woodcuts), is of bronze, and is a good example of the key-ring, a fashion revived in recent times. Lord Braybrooke pointed out a gold signet, engraved with the initial E ensigned with a crown, and one of the most beautiful examples of its class. Around the hoop is the motto—IN· ON· IS AL, which occurs in other instances, and also upon scrolls, with the symbols of the Holy Trinity, accompanying the sepulchral brasses of Sir John Wylcote and his wife, at Great Tew, Oxfordshire. This remarkable ring was found at Little Easton, Essex. Also a massive gold signet, found at Littlebury, in the same county. The hoop is chased with flowers (*marquerites* ?) near the head of the ring, which bears an escutcheon, charged with a device which does not appear to be heraldic, and is probably of the class designated merchants' marks. The date of the ring may be almost 1450. Among other interesting rings placed before the meeting by Lord Braybrooke were the fine specimen of a Serjeant's Ring, inscribed *Læ Regis Præsidium*, and noticed in this Journal, vol. xv. p. 164, in Mr. W. S. Walford's observations on that class of rings; also a singular



Penannular Gold Ring, found near Thaxted, Essex.



Gold Serpent-shaped Ring, found at Chesterford.



Penannular Gold Ring, from Ireland.



Ring of Bronze Gilt, found at Chesterford.

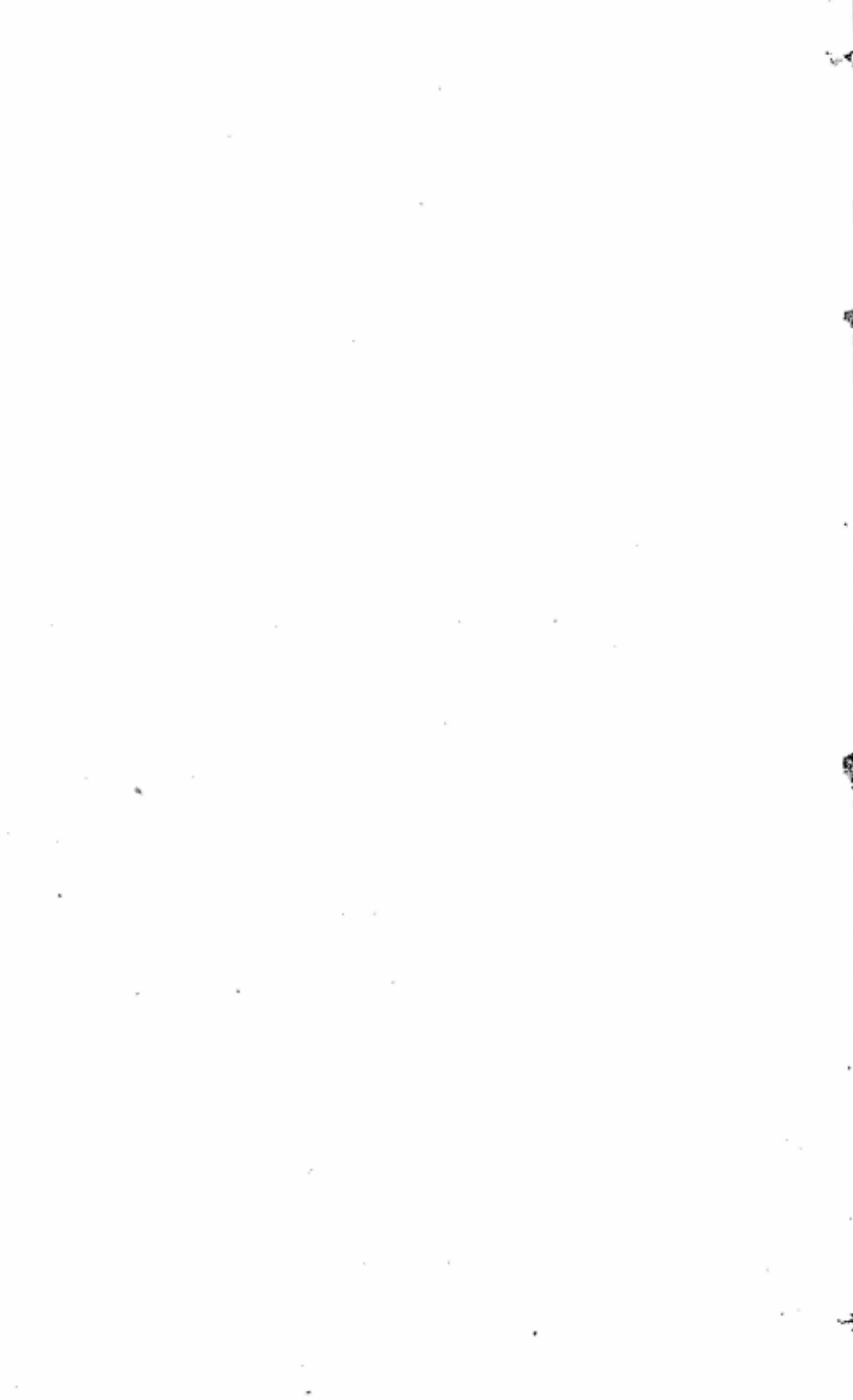


Bronze Roman Key-Ring, found at Chesterford.



Bronze Roman Ring, with a fictitious gem, found at Chesterford.

Rings preserved in the Lord Braybrooke's Collection at Audley End.



ring of bone, found, as it is believed, in Suffolk, and formerly in Mr. Whincopp's collection. On the bezel is engraved the crucifix, with the two Marys standing near the cross; and around the edge is the inscription—*IN HOC SIGNO VINCES*.

Mr. ALBERT WAY, in a letter written from Thun in Switzerland, gave the following notice of an example of the collar of SS., occurring in that country.

"During my visit last year to the North of Italy I took occasion to bring under the notice of the Institute some remarkable examples of the Collar of SS., which I had observed at Milan and at Venice, connected with memorials of certain distinguished Italians, who had, as there is reason to believe, visited our country in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. These insignia may doubtless be regarded as having been conferred as marks of royal favour towards persons of note who accompanied certain Embassies, or were received at the English Court on other occasions. No fact which tends to throw light upon the origin and use of that singular Collar can fail to be of interest to those who have investigated the curious details of the subject; and I am induced to invite attention to another instance of the introduction of this token of royal favour towards a foreigner.

"In the windows of a picturesque little church on the Northern shore of the Lake of Thun, and about two miles distant from the town of that name, there are several memorials of the family of Scharnachthal, who possessed extensive estates in that part of Switzerland, and to whom the adjoining castle of Oberhofen, now the residence of the Count Pourtalès, Prussian Ambassador at the Court of Paris, belonged. Among these achievements, remarkable as specimens of painted glass of rich colouring, there is one identified as having been placed in memory of Conrad von Scharnachthal, who was distinguished by his enterprising and chivalrous spirit, and his extensive travels throughout Europe and other countries, in which he won favour and distinction at various Courts, including that of Henry VI. in England.

"This curious painted glass has been placed so far above the eye that I was unable to examine minutely the details of its design; and I would acknowledge my obligation to the kindness of Dr. Stantz, of Berne, well known in Switzerland on account of the heraldic painted glass, almost rivalling in brilliancy that of mediæval times, produced under his direction. That gentleman placed in my hands an accurate tracing from the original, of which I am thus enabled to offer a brief description. The heraldic bearing of the family, a sable tower, occupies the greater portion of the achievement: the crest is surrounded by one of those peculiar fan-shaped ornaments, unknown in English heraldry, fringed all around with peacock's feathers. The surrounding spaces are occupied by four remarkable insignia or collars of royal livery, conferred upon the chivalrous Conrad. Of these two have been identified as the Collar of Arragon and that of Cyprus. The decorations which occupy the upper places in the achievement are, on the dexter side, a device apparently a large rose or flower of numerous petals, with a coronet in the centre, and, on the sinister side, a collar of golden SS. with a like coronet, such as is usually termed ducal, within the collar. A trefoiled ornament, apparently, is appended to the collar, the general fashion of which closely resembles that of the like insignia so frequently seen upon monumental effigies of the fifteenth century in England.



"There can be no doubt that this mark of distinction was actually conferred upon Conrad, when he visited England in the course of his chivalrous expeditions. A singular contemporary document, bearing date 1449, gives a detailed narrative of his travels. From early youth he had been attached to the court and service of Amadeus I., Duke of Savoy, and won the special regard of his son and heir Louis, by whom he was selected as his confidential esquire. Conrad's keen desire for martial renown and acquaintance with foreign manners and courts soon rendered the service of the Prince of Savoy distasteful. At an early age he set forth on his travels, and commenced by taking part in the great conflict in France between Charles VII. and the English. A great field of distinction was there presented to him: he was present at the chief engagements in the campaign of 1437, and received marks of favour from the king and the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., with whom he resided a considerable time. At the close of the war Conrad proceeded to the Court of Navarre, and subsequently visited Rhodes, where he took part in the successful defence made by the Knights of St. John against the Sultan of Egypt. He visited the holy places in Palestine, and passed several years in his journeyings throughout Europe, ever in quest of chivalrous renown. It will be needless to trace the wanderings of this remarkable traveller, as they have been chronicled in the document to which I have alluded; it is there stated that he received the insignia of royal favour from the king of Cyprus and Armenia, and from the king of Leon and Castille, in whose dominions he distinguished himself greatly in martial exercises and tournaments. He remained some time at Granada among the Moors, and became intimately conversant with their manners and chivalry. The part, however, of his singular knight-errantry which I would specially mention, is his visit to the British Islands in 1446. At the close of a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, Conrad took ship with a large fleet towards the English shores: he was there received with distinction, honoured by the sovereign with the royal collar, as recorded in the document before referred to, and erroneously explained by Swiss antiquaries as having been the insignia of the Garter. From this circumstance the statement has been made that Conrad had been elected a knight of that Order. On quitting the Court of Westminster to visit the most remarkable places in the realm, he received letters of safe conduct from Henry VI., which have been preserved, to facilitate his travels through Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Some very curious particulars are recorded in regard to the localities visited by Conrad, the wonders of Loch Lomond, the floating island still sometimes seen by the tourist, the fountain of St. Catharine near Stirling, and so forth. From Scotland he passed into Ireland, and repaired with certain noble natives of that country to the cavern known as St. Patrick's Purgatory. Of his further wanderings and ultimate return to his early patron the Duke of Savoy the document gives a curious narrative. He finally devoted himself to honorable participation in the affairs of Berne, built a house at Thun, and there died in 1472.

"The history of Conrad, thus briefly sketched, presents a very singular illustration of the manners of the period. My present object has, however, been chiefly to show the evidence that the royal livery was conferred on him by Henry VI. as a distinguished esquire of the Duke of Savoy, visiting the English court, but apparently on no diplomatic or special mission. The document, moreover, mentions that Conrad constantly wore that royal token

of favour which occupies so prominent a position in the achievement of painted glass before described. The glass was fortunately preserved when the parish church, adjacent to Conrad's castle on the Lake of Thun, was rebuilt during the last century. There can be no doubt, as I am assured, that it is contemporary with his times.

"I am indebted to the learned Swiss archæologist, Baron Gustave de Bonstetten, for directing me to the place where the memorial which I have endeavoured to describe, is to be found. I may here observe that the Baron, whose investigations of the antiquities of his country have been productive of valuable results, has entrusted to me a copy of his work on the earlier remains discovered by himself, and preserved in his museum near Thun, with the request that it should be presented to the Library of the Institute. The value of that beautifully illustrated volume was, as I remember, much commended by our lamented friend, Mr. Kemble."

Mr. WESTON S. WOLFORD, with reference to the notion of Swiss writers, to which Mr. Way had alluded, that Conrad von Scharnachtal had been elected a knight of the Garter, said that he had sought for his name in the list of knights, but no trace of the chivalrous Conrad is to be found there, or in any of our records or chronicles. He also called attention to the fact, that the Bohemian, Leo von Rosenthal, ambassador to Edward IV. in 1467, and several of his suite, received decorations, probably collars of suns and roses; and that a number of decorations were given to Leo to dispose of them in the king's name to such persons as he (Leo) thought worthy.<sup>2</sup> Mention is also repeatedly to be found in documents in the *Fœdera* of collars of gold and silver given by Henry VI. to distinguished foreigners and envoys who came to his court.

Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, of Zürich, corresponding Member of the Institute, communicated a Memoir on some pieces of plate preserved in that city, presented by Bishop Jewel and other English bishops, who had taken refuge there in the time of Queen Mary. (Printed in this volume, p. 158.)

In reference to the notices of St. Govan's Cave and Chapel, Pembroke-shire, communicated by Mr. COSMO INNES at a previous meeting (See p. 198 in this volume), Mr. Innes stated the following additional particulars. In front of the doorway there is a large block of unshaped stone, called the Bell Stone. On this, according to popular tradition, the Bell of St. Govan was placed in olden time; it had the miraculous power of returning to that position whenever it was removed, to however remote a distance. At length, through decay or mischance, the bell was destroyed, and the bell-stone still rings sonorously when tapped with a piece of stone, in memory of the sacred relic deposited formerly upon it. A like supernatural power of returning to their accustomed positions, has been attributed to certain other relics of the early preachers of Christianity in the British Isles, such as the Egg of St. Molios, formerly preserved in Arran, and noticed in this Journal, vol. xv., p. 175.<sup>1</sup>

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. NESBITT.—Two dishes of brass, damascened with silver and

<sup>2</sup> Quarterly Review, vol. xc. p. 429-30.

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the ancient hand-bells of the British and Irish churches, see Mr. Westwood's *Memoirs*, *Archæologia Cam-*

*brensis*, vol. iii. pp. 230, 301; vol. iv. 13, 167; and also the Catalogue of the Museum, Edinburgh Meeting of the Institute, pp. 33, 34.

engraved, both probably of Venetian workmanship, and of the sixteenth century; one has a pattern of oriental character, the other a pattern characteristic of Italian cinque-cento art.—An ewer of brass, of a simple jug-like form, 11½ inches high, the whole surface has been covered with ornaments and inscriptions in damascening of gold and silver, chiefly, it would seem, in the former metal; a great part of this precious coating has, however, disappeared. The extreme beauty and delicacy of the work, where it remains perfect, show that this example was one of the finest of its class. The inscriptions are in six bands, three on the neck and three on the body. Mr. Rio, of the British Museum, who has had the goodness to decipher and translate them, observes that they are in Arabic, and that they are partly in the Neskhi and partly in the Cufic character: they are all nearly to the same purport, viz., “Glory to our Lord, the Sultan, the King, the wise, the virtuous, the just, the warlike, the champion of the faith.” One, however, contains, in addition to the usual string of epithets, the name (or titles) of Al Malik al-Nasir, probably, Mr. Rio remarks, Mohammed ben Kaalaun, Sultan of Egypt, who died A.D. 1341. He further observes that “Lanci gives a fac-simile of an inscription containing that king’s name in full, which bears a great resemblance in the shape of the writing to those on the vase.”—A saucer-shaped vessel of silver, 7 inches in diameter, repoussé in a singular style, probably oriental, bearing some resemblance to the silver work of the Sassanian period. In the centre is a group of three dogs attacking a unicorn, which has impaled one of them upon his horn. This is surrounded by a border, in which are five groups divided by trees; these groups represent an eagle or falcon perching on the back of an animal, perhaps intended for an hyena, and dogs attacking a similar animal, a wild boar, a fox or wolf, a stag, and a hare. On the margin are two stamps or plate-marks, twice repeated, one of which is C M, the other the letters Kappa and Pi, with either Alpha or Lambda under them.

By Miss FEARINGTON.—A ring, described as of Roman workmanship, found near Leyland, Lancashire.—A gold ring, engraved with a figure of St. Catharine, found in 1858, in ploughing at Cuerdale, Lancashire.—A silver ring, found in 1846 in the churchyard at Exton, Hampshire.—Four united rings, probably a variety of the gimmel or token of betrothal, found near Leyland.—A ring, supposed to be of Venetian workmanship, set with a stone which has been designated a viper’s eye. It may be one of the petrified palatal teeth of certain species of fish, of which specimens, as it is stated, are found near St. Paul’s Bay in Malta, with the *linguæ serpentinae*, or serpents’ tongues, to which various talismanic virtues were ascribed in the middle ages.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A miscellaneous collection of rings, including some fine ecclesiastical examples and signet rings of various periods.

By the Rev. TULLIE CORNTHWAITE.—A document regarded as of more than ordinary interest, as making mention of Henry Percy, known as Hotspur. It is a grant dated at Blannerhaisett, now written Blennerhasset, near Wigton in Cumberland, Nov. 3, 2 Henry IV. (1401), whereby John Masone, Vicar of Aspatrike, (Aspatria in the same county), and John Barker, “capellanus,” granted and confirmed to Robert Mulcastre, knight, and Joan his wife, lands &c. in “Blannerhaisett, Upmanby, Hervibrowe, Whitehalclose,” and Wigton in Cumberland, which they had of

the gift and feoffment of the said Robert and Joan, for the term of their life, to hold of the chief lords by the services therefore due and accustomed; with remainder after their decease to Henry de Percy, eldest son of Henry Earl of Northumberland, and the heirs of his body lawfully issuing; with remainder to the right heirs of the said earl for ever. It contains a general warranty from the said grantors, and was witnessed by William de Leghe and William de Osmonderlawe, knights, William de Stapiltone, Roger de Martyndale, Robert de Carlele, Robert Heggmore, and others. There are two labels for seals, of which the second only remains. It is a small round seal with a crowned L, most probably the initial of John Barker.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A processional axe, probably belonging to a Builders' Guild, and bearing the date 1684. The haft is formed of ox bones jointed together, and covered with engraving in the style of that on the powder-horns of the seventeenth century. The subjects are the Crucifixion, with two kneeling figures; six quarter length figures in civil or military costume, which seem intended for portraits, probably of benefactors of the Guild; a full length figure of St. Thomas, holding the builder's square, with a stream of blood flowing from the lance wound in his side into a cup placed on the ground. On either side are two lilies, which with other flowers also appear elsewhere on the shaft. On an escutcheon a coat of arms may be seen impaled with a bearing supposed to have been that of the Guild. There were five other axes, of the like description, preserved with that now exhibited, each bearing a date, down to the commencement of the eighteenth century, but the earliest date is that on the present example. Two cross hammers are engraved on the butt. The blade, which is nearly rectangular, is furnished with a spike, tipped with a small brass ball to prevent accidents; it is perforated with a trefoil, and stamped with the letters C. K. The entire length of this singular weapon is 3 feet, the length of the blade being 10 inches.

By Mr. S. TYMMS.—An electrotyped facsimile of an oval medallion chased in low relief. On the dexter side is seen a long-robed personage seated; he wears a full-bottomed wig and bands; an oval buckler, which is inscribed PASSIVE OBEDIENCE, rests on his left knee. The buckler is ensigned with a mitre. Under his feet is the demon of Discord, with serpents in place of hair. Two figures in the costume of the reigns of William III. and Anne, and with their hats on their heads, appear in front of the seated person, who seems to present his buckler against one of the men, who assails him with pistol and dagger. The name BURGESS is seen above this figure: the other seems to be hastily withdrawing, and on a scroll across his left knee is inscribed the word MODERATION. This chasing, probably executed for the purpose of being mounted in a tobacco box, or the like, measures  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches by  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches. The subject is doubtless allusive to the popular commotion caused by the trial of Sacheverel, and the violent ebullition of party spirit at that period. The person designated as BURGESS has not been identified; there was, however, a dissenting minister named Daniel Burgess, whose chapel was burnt in the Sacheverel riots.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1859, HELD AT CARLISLE.

July 26 to August 3.

The proceedings of the Annual Meeting commenced in the ancient city of Carlisle on the morning of July 26. By the sanction of the Court of Quarter Sessions, the Crown and Nisi Prius Courts, most commodiously situated at the principal approach of the city, were liberally placed at the disposal of the Society, and the Grand Jury Room was appropriated to the purposes of the Reception Room. At noon the Mayor and Corporation proceeded in procession to the Nisi Prius Court, where a numerous assembly already awaited the arrival of the President from Corby Castle.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, having taken the Chair, expressed the gratification which he felt in meeting the citizens of Carlisle and realising the friendly pledge so heartily tendered to the Institute when the visit to the Great Border City had first been contemplated.

THE MAYOR OF CARLISLE then rose. On the part of the municipal authorities and the citizens of Carlisle, whom he had the honour of representing, he desired on this occasion to offer to his Lordship, and to the Society of which he was the distinguished President, a most cordial welcome. He should be very unwilling, in referring to the objects of the Institute, to take the low ground of endeavouring to find some practical utility for which to recommend the researches of the Archæologist. He should rather take the more general ground that the study of past times and races, as well in the broader features of history as in the more exact details of archæology, tend to awaken and widen men's sympathies, and to strengthen their judgment. The district in which the Society were assembled contains many precious remains of past times, many of those rude monuments of which the age, founders, and uses were involved in obscurity: not a few of those mysterious writings of our forefathers, which the more precise system of modern times was at length beginning to decipher with accuracy; and it was through members of this Society, or communications made to the Institute, that, as he believed, much valuable information upon these subjects had been elicited. There still exist extensive remains of that wonderful people who had left their traces in almost every part of the civilised world—he referred to that great Barrier, the Roman Wall, which extended from sea to sea, upon which the princely munificence of the Duke of Northumberland, and the researches of northern antiquaries in this country, of late years, had thrown so much light. He (the Mayor) trusted that from the visit of the Society much gratification would be derived, and that the results of the present meeting would prove an enduring contribution to the history of the county. The Mayor then called upon the Town Clerk to read the following address.

“To Lord Talbot de Malahide and the Members of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, of the City of Carlisle, in Council assembled, desire to give you a hearty welcome to this our ancient city, and to express the satisfaction which we feel and the sense of the honour conferred in having Carlisle elected as the place of meeting of the Institute for the year 1859.

“In welcoming your Institute to this our ancient City we would not be unmindful of the many claims which Carlisle has to recommend it to the attention of the Institute, and its peculiar appropriateness, in our opinion,

as the place of meeting for such a body. With an antiquity stretching far beyond the period to which historic record extends, and lost in the dim and misty ages of legend and tradition, Carlisle has been to Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, successively a habitation or a stronghold, and bears imprinted on its stones the evidence of their occupation.

"Though the effacing hand of time and the still more destructive effects of ruthless violence and wanton spoliation, as well as so-called modern improvement, have done much to deprive our City of its most interesting features of antiquity, yet much still remains, both in the City and the surrounding district, to awaken the interest and engage the attention of the Historian, the Antiquary, and the Architect.

"To the constitutional historian of our native country, Carlisle must ever be an object of interest. Within its walls the Parliament of England has been assembled, and here was passed the Statute of Carlisle which is still in force as one of the laws under which we now live.

"We trust that the proceedings which will take place during the ensuing week may be of use in adding to the daily accumulating stock of information which we now possess respecting the manners and customs of our forefathers and the history of their times, and of our common country; and in awakening an increased interest in the minds of the community at large, and especially in this remote corner of our isle, in the studies and pursuits which bear an important part in enlarging and elevating the mind, and withdrawing it from the too exclusive devotion to merely present and temporary concerns.

"The effect of the extension of such knowledge, we feel assured, will be to make Englishmen more sensible of the blessings they enjoy in the present day as compared with the days of their forefathers; and to fill their minds with gratitude to those sterling men who in stormy and troublous times laid deep and sure the foundations of that noble edifice of Civil and Religious Liberty under which we now repose; which, under the blessing of God, has made our country what she is, the envy and admiration of neighbouring nations, and which it is our duty, but with no irreverent hand, to strengthen and adorn, and hand down unimpaired to our children.

"We trust that the meeting at Carlisle may be one marked in the annals of the Institute as having contributed in no small degree to the objects which the Association has in view, and that you may leave our town satisfied with the results of your labours, and not regretting that you fixed upon Carlisle as the place of your annual gathering in the present year.

"Given under our common seal at the Guildhall of the said City, this  
26th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1859.

"ROBERT FERGUSON, Mayor."

The PRESIDENT, in acknowledging the Address, said—I assure you that it is with no ordinary satisfaction that the Society of which I have the honour to be President, has visited ancient and 'merrie' Carlisle. The Mayor has so impressively expressed the claims which this city and county have upon the attention of the antiquary and the historian, and the address which you have just heard enters with such ability into the subject, that it would be inappropriate at the present moment to seek to add to the impression which that address must produce, however strongly I might be tempted by the interesting nature of the subject. I may state, however, that among the many cities which we have visited in the course of our peregrina-

tions, we believe that none will have afforded us subjects for contemplation of more lasting interest than the ancient City of Carlisle. The records of Carlisle date from the remotest periods of history; this city has been distinguished during the existence of all those races that have from time to time held the mastery of this country; it stands out in bold relief during that Border warfare which forms the most romantic and picturesque episode in English history; it is hallowed by many associations, and its annals are so interwoven with the thrilling productions of the Wizard of the North that they never can be effaced from our memory. True it is, as has been observed in the address, that many of the most interesting monuments of bygone ages have been destroyed by the ruthless hand of unthinking men. We may regret the reckless injuries of times past, but whilst we lament that our ancestors did not regard such vestiges with more reverent feeling, we must rejoice that the present generation seems fully alive not only to the importance but to the interest of preserving such memorials. It is most encouraging to find such bodies as the Corporations of our towns entering upon these matters in a cordial and intelligent spirit; and whilst it is a sign of the march of civilisation and progress, it gives full assurance that the age of vandalism has passed. It is gratifying to perceive that whilst men are actively engaged in the more engrossing pursuits of life they can still take interest in those studies which tend to enlarge their knowledge of the past, and to illustrate the growth not only of national and social institutions, but of the commercial and industrial development which forms so important an element in the greatness of our country.

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE observed that it devolved upon him, in the absence of the Bishop, who he hoped, however, would be among them at a later period of the proceedings, on behalf of the Bishop, the Dean and Chapter, and the Diocese at large, to welcome the Society on this occasion. He wished much that the duty had fallen upon one more able to perform it. It had not been his lot to take part in any previous meeting of the Society, nor had he been long enough resident in the locality, to make himself well acquainted with the historical vestiges which abound on every side. But he felt it his duty and his pleasure to welcome the approach of science. It was his pleasure to meet the British Association at Cheltenham, and he recalled the week which he spent among them as one of the most agreeable and instructive of his life. He had no doubt that he should receive equal pleasure from attending the Sections and listening to the information which might be given on the present occasion. He felt that in past ages religion had suffered from being severed from science. The development of science would never be in opposition to the Word of God, and he felt assured, that whether they dived into the depths of the ocean and examined the works of the Creator there, whether they investigated the formations presented on the surface, or examined the works of man in former ages, they would only bring to light fresh evidence of the truth of that revelation which was the hope and comfort of man. It was quite true that the eccentricities and puerilities of some of the bygone professors of antiquarianism exposed them to ridicule, but he hoped that reproach had passed away. He had no sympathy with anything merely because it was old, but if from old things the archæologist could produce and throw a new light upon history, and upon the social, moral, or religious conditions of our country in times gone by, there was not a more useful study. It had been often said,



and it might be repeated with truth on the present occasion, "The proper study of mankind is man." If men from the mere structure of the English language could point out the various changes which the nation had gone through, how much more by the disinterment of the vestiges of man's industry, and of the relics of his daily life in every age, must fresh light be thrown upon the obscurities of the past. Through such studies we should doubtless more truly appreciate the blessings of the civil and religious liberty which we enjoy,—the inheritance handed down to us from those whose history we seek to bring to light.

Mr. PHILIP HOWARD said,—I have been asked to say a few words, and to express the feeling of regret which must be experienced from the absence of the Earl of Carlisle and other noblemen who have been prevented from attending on this occasion. Although engaged in the high duties of his office, my friend and kinsman Lord Carlisle will sincerely regret his inability to be present. I know that he contemplates, at least by deputy, receiving at his Border Stronghold the members of the Institute, in whose last visit to the North he so warmly participated on occasion of the meeting at Newcastle. Our able President has adverted to the improved feeling in favour of researches into antiquity. It is true, however, that we have not the same excuse for neglecting antiquity and the records of the past which might have been pleaded by our predecessors. During the harassing scenes of Border strife, and during those times of perpetual contests and bloodshed which mark the periods of '15 and '45, men of all callings were too much absorbed by political strife to be able to devote attention to the less pressing details of antiquity. Carlisle owes much of her dignity and interest to those periods of strife, but we must ever with thankful satisfaction feel that we may now cultivate the arts of progress without fear of interruption; we may now devote our minds without discomfort to the comparison of ancient with modern things, and apply ancient objects of taste to the adornment of the present age. I have been too unexpectedly called upon to permit of my entering upon this subject as it deserves, and I hope that the meeting will hear me with indulgence. I regret that that wonderful man Lord Brougham has been unable to take part with us this day, as had been anticipated; he combines every variety of knowledge, and is in fact the Hercules of Science. I am also sorry that the Earl of Lonsdale, our Lord Lieutenant, is through illness deprived of the satisfaction of attending; his historic name has long been associated with the annals of the County of Cumberland. Mr. Howard concluded by expressing his satisfaction at being enabled to participate in the proposed arrangements of the meeting, and to offer to the Institute his most hearty encouragement, and a welcome to such attractions as he might be able to present at Corby Castle.

The PRESIDENT then said,—I feel much gratified by the kind manner in which my friend Mr. Howard has spoken of the pleasure which our meeting will afford to the gentry and inhabitants of Cumberland. Lord Carlisle, I know, was particularly desirous to be present, and had it not been for the functions of his high office, he would doubtless have been among us this day. I need not say what an acquisition he would have been, how his stores of classic learning and elegant scholarship throw light and grace over every subject. The presence of Lord Brougham would likewise have been a great gratification, and I still hope he may honour this meeting with his presence. I saw him recently, and he expressed his intention to attend; but the numerous public questions of importance in which he is engaged must



necessarily render the possibility of his absence from Parliament, at this moment, very uncertain. Welcomed, however, as we have been at the outset of our visit to the great Border city, we can only dwell with satisfaction on the kindness of those who have been foremost in their personal encouragement of our cause, and hope that subjects of sufficient interest and attraction may be presented in the course of this gathering to justify the favourable feelings which have been shown towards us. I am unwilling to trespass on the time of the meeting, or touch upon many subjects which at the present time attract the attention of archæologists, but there are a few points to which I may be permitted to invite consideration. It may be well on occasions such as this to draw as it were to a focus the more striking subjects on which our attention should be concentrated, and at the same time to make honourable mention of those who have taken a prominent portion in the advancement of archæological science, and who have earned the gratitude of societies like ours. To the antiquary of the Northern Marches a subject of leading interest is presented in the great Roman Barrier, associated as it is with the early history of the country, whilst the grand conception and consummate skill displayed in that extraordinary work must ever render it the most remarkable monument of Roman enterprise in Britain. Much had been done for the illustration of its details, from the days of Horsley to those of Dr. Collingwood Bruce, but it was reserved for the Duke of Northumberland, with that noble munificence and taste by which he is distinguished, to preserve an enduring and invaluable memorial of that great work, which, under his Grace's directions, has been surveyed with most scrupulous accuracy by Mr. Maclauchlan. This survey has recently been engraved, and with the guidance of these minutely detailed maps those who may avail themselves of the present opportunity of examining the striking and picturesque vestiges of the Roman Wall, will pursue their investigations to the greatest possible advantage. His Grace has moreover been pleased to permit the original drawings of a subsequent and very important survey by Mr. Maclauchlan to be placed in the temporary Museum for our examination. In these maps, which I hope may hereafter be published, the obscure and remarkable line of Roman way extending across Northumberland from the Wall to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and known as the Devil's Causeway or Eastern Watling Street, has for the first time been accurately laid down. His Grace has also, as I am informed, most liberally directed accurate engravings to be prepared, at his expense, of all the inscribed monuments and sculptures *per lineam Valli*, and this fresh result of his munificent encouragement of archæological research will speedily be published. Another object of no slight interest to the antiquary is presented in the excavations now in progress at Wroxeter, through the spirited impulse given by Mr. Botfield, and successfully conducted under the direction of Dr. Henry Johnson and Mr. Wright. The extensive area of the great city of Uriconium, which appears to have perished in a fearful time of barbarous devastation and violence, will doubtless present remains of the greatest importance to the antiquary, and the operations have already been attended with very interesting results. There is another subject perhaps not so directly connected with this country, but of great interest to societies such as the Institute. Such institutions indeed, if destined to exert an useful and instructive influence, and to embrace the full scope of their legitimate purpose, should not limit their operations to our own Islands. It is impossible for any antiquary

fully to understand the remains of Roman art in Britain without comparing them with similar objects found in other countries under Roman dominion. Although I fully admit the necessity of directing our principal efforts to the illustration of national objects, no branch of archæology is alien to our proceedings. It is important that we should occasionally have the means of becoming acquainted with the most interesting relics of Grecian art. And here I may advert to a fact tending to show that even Greek art is not so unconnected with Britain as some might imagine. It is a curious circumstance that some of the earliest coins found in this country, those of the time of the ancient sovereigns of the Cymri, are imitations of ancient coins; and these types are not derived from what was the most natural source, the Roman, but from Greek coins. Many of these are distinctly imitations, however rude and barbarous, of coins of Philip and those of Alexander of Macedon. This is a digression, but I mention the fact to show that a Grecian subject is not inappropriate to a meeting like this. We hope to have a discovery brought before us of paramount interest, one of the most important subjects connected with Greek art. It is that noble monument, one of the wonders of the world, the Mausoleum erected by Artemisia to Mausolus the king or tyrant of Halicarnassus. Mr. Newton, a gentleman of high classical knowledge and ability, formerly connected with the British Museum, has been subsequently engaged in Asia Minor, where he has rendered invaluable services to archæology, and has exerted himself with most praiseworthy zeal in rescuing precious remains of ancient art—it is through his exertions that considerable portions of this Mausoleum have been brought to light and transported to England. They were concealed in a Turkish fortress in Asia Minor, at Budrum, the ancient Halicarnassus. These sculptures were in a Turkish fort and very difficult of access. However, through the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, they have been removed and deposited in the British Museum, and, although in fragmentary condition, they amply suffice to show that they are vestiges belonging to the best period of Greek art. Mr. Newton, who has carefully studied their peculiar features, will be prepared to bring the subject of these discoveries before the present meeting, and it cannot fail to be one of more than ordinary attraction.

Mr. J. HODGSON HINDS, Vice-President of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, observed that he desired to tender the welcome of a Society which, though not belonging to the city of Carlisle, might be said to include that city in the field of its operations—the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. That Society had had the honour of a visit from their noble friend the President of the Institute, and had the advantage of Carlisle in knowing how great gratification and instruction might be anticipated from such a gathering as the meeting of the Institute. He trusted that the good influence of that meeting would not end here. He knew no locality richer in the material for the antiquary than the county of Cumberland and the ancient city of Carlisle, and he trusted this visit might be the means of rousing a spirit in the inhabitants which would induce them to take upon themselves the investigation of the antiquities of their county, and not leave them to be sought out only from time to time when the visit of archæological explorers from a distance might occur, or to be portion of ground hitherto taken up by the Antiquaries of Newcastle. He assured them that no spirit of jealousy would be felt by that Society; they would gladly hail fellow-labourers in the field. There was another

advantage attending such local institutions. It was impossible to inspect the stores of private collectors without seeing how carelessly many valuable relics of antiquity are stowed away. Roman altars, for instance, were to be found stored in outhouses and cellars from the want of a proper place for their reception. If a local society were established in Cumberland, these might all be gathered together. It had been found in Newcastle that private collectors had readily sent their treasures to the museum at the Castle, where they knew they would be preserved and made available for public gratification; and all who take interest in the investigation of the antiquities of the Northern Marches, more especially of the extensive relics of Roman occupation, would rejoice to witness the establishment of a like depository in the city of Carlisle.

Lord TALBOT observed that the Institute had been earnestly desirous to impress on every locality which had been visited in their Annual Meetings, the importance of developing local institutions, and had ever sought to stimulate an interest in the preservation of national monuments. He trusted that the suggestions of his friend, Mr. Hinde, might not pass unheeded in the ancient city of Carlisle. He desired in conclusion to express thanks to those who had so cordially participated in the Inaugural Proceedings, and hoped that the week so auspiciously commenced might prove an occasion of general gratification.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON JACKSON having moved a vote of thanks to the noble President, the meeting then terminated.

By the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter the Temporary Museum was formed in the Fraternity, adjoining the Cathedral. Of the collection there arranged, which was remarkably rich in antiquities of local interest, a detailed Catalogue has been printed.<sup>2</sup>

At four o'clock Lord Talbot, accompanied by a numerous party, assembled upon the ramparts for the inspection of the Castle. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne had undertaken to describe the chief architectural features of this border stronghold, and he gave also a sketch of the historical incidents connected with it. He remarked that the remains sufficed to show that it had been an exceedingly interesting Castle; but it had been mutilated by repairs. Of late years, the money of the country had been recklessly spent on fortifications which in these times of improved warfare were wholly unserviceable. On account of the mutilations and reparations that had taken place the Castle of Carlisle is not found in that state of perfection in which many not less ancient fortresses still exist in other parts of the country. Much of the present state of the Castle must be attributed to the constant incursions of the Scots. They were perpetually destroying everything of the nature of a stronghold that they came across in their raids. It could not, therefore, have preserved, under any condition, that perfection which was often found in similar edifices in the south of England, which were less exposed to such attacks. The Castle was doubtless planned by William II., but whether he actually erected the fabric it was now impossible to ascertain. The principal facts stated by Mr. Hartshorne will be found appended to his Memoir on the Parliaments of Carlisle, in this volume, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> This Catalogue may be obtained at the office of the Institute, or by post from the publishers, Messrs. Thurnam, Carlisle.

It is in octavo form, so as to admit of its being bound up with the Journal.

At the Evening Meeting, which took place at the Assembly Rooms, the Chair was taken by the MAYOR of CARLISLE.

A Memoir was read by Mr. JOHN NANSON, the Town Clerk, on ancient Ordinances, Bye-laws, and other interesting matters recorded in the Corporation Books.

Mr. JOSEPH COULTHARD, jun., then read an interesting memoir illustrative of the life of Lord William Howard, called "Belted Will," from materials chiefly obtained from the MS. collections at Corby Castle.

The Rev. JOHN DAYMAN, Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, communicated a translation of a *relazione*, or report to the Doge and Council of Venice sent by their envoy in England. This interesting paper was read by the Rev. E. Venables. The document, apparently written about 1568, was found in the valuable collection of transcripts of Venetian *relazioni* in possession of Henry Howard, Esq., at Greystoke Castle, and probably obtained in Italy by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, early in the seventeenth century. The report related to the claims to the English throne that would arise on the death of Elizabeth, which the envoy anticipated would be made the excuse for political intrigue, prejudicial to the interest of the Catholic faith. He entered fully into the unhappy position of Mary, Queen of Scots, and adverted to the apprehension that her pretensions to the Crown of England, and the hatred which Elizabeth bore to her, might ultimately lead to the removal of so dangerous a rival by poison or violence.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 27.

A Meeting of the Section of History was held in the Crown Court. In the absence of Lord BROUGHAM, President of the Section, the Chair was taken by Lord Talbot de Malahide.

Mr. J. HODGSON HINDE read a Memoir "On the Early History of Cumberland." (Printed in this volume, p. 217.)

The Rev. W. MONKHOUSE read a dissertation upon "The Etymology of local names in Cumberland."

A Meeting also took place in the Nisi Prius Court. The following communications were received.

"Observations on the western part of the Roman Wall;" by the Rev. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., F.S.A. The learned historian of the Northern Barrier limited his remarks to those portions and features of especial interest, which would be brought under notice during the excursion on the following day. He very kindly expressed his desire to supply such preliminary information as might direct the visitors to the points most worthy of attention. Dr. Bruce alluded to the important light which had been thrown upon this great Roman work by the accurate Survey for which archaeologists were indebted to the munificence of the Duke of Northumberland; and he stated that through his Grace's liberality a work is in preparation, which will form a very valuable accompaniment to that Survey. This is the "Corpus Inscriptionum Valli," destined to comprise the inscribed and sculptured monuments, the whole of which had now for the first time been faithfully delineated.

"Architectural Notices of Lanercost Priory Church;" by the Rev. J. L. PETIT, F.S.A. This communication on a most interesting conventual building, which it was proposed to examine in the course of the following day's Excursion, was illustrated by numerous beautiful drawings, produced by the skilful pencil of the author, and by Professor Delamotte, F.S.A.

In the afternoon, previously to the service at the Cathedral and the examination of that structure, the members of the Institute and their friends were hospitably entertained at the Deanery, formerly part of the conventual buildings. Some vaulted chambers and other ancient portions were examined by the visitors, and especially the curious paneled ceiling of the principal chamber, which displays devices, escutcheons, quaint couplets, &c., painted upon the beams. An inscription moreover shows that the date of the work is about 1507, when Simon Senhouse was Prior.

At the conclusion of the service a very numerous party assembled in the transept, in anticipation of the observations which the Rev. Canon Harcourt and Mr. C. H. Purday had promised, in regard to the architectural history of the Cathedral and certain curious details of its decoration.

Mr. PURDAY, under whose superintendence the recent works of restoration had been carried out, first addressed the assembly, and gave an outline of the history of the fabric.

Commencing in the south transept he remarked, that this, with the nave now used as St. Mary's Church, the lower part of the tower, and portions of the north transept, were the earliest parts; they belonged to a church commenced by Walter, a Norman follower of the Conqueror, in 1092, and completed and endowed in 1101 by Henry I. They were of the simplest and most massive type of Norman architecture. The most ornamental features of this church appear to have been the doorways, of which only fragments now exist. The nave extended westward, originally consisting of seven or eight arches; these, with the exception of three, were destroyed in the Civil War. The south transept is nearly complete, except its eastern chapel, the site of which is occupied by St. Catharine's Chapel, a work of Early English date. The original chapel, however, was of the same form as the present one, the Norman ashlar existing under the later base mouldings. A square chapel in this position is an unusual feature in a Norman Church, the transept chapels generally consisting of a small circular apse opening into the main building by an arch. The north transept had an apse of this description on its eastern side, the foundations of which exist. The Norman work is much fractured, in consequence of settlements; the tower, owing to bad foundations, having sunk and broken all the arches round it. This was probably caused by a spring which runs through the transepts from north to south, and to drain this two wells were in early times constructed. The Norman work is built principally of a white stone, all the rest of the Cathedral being of red sandstone; it was coated throughout with a thin layer of rough stucco, jointed with red lines, the capitals being nicked out in colour. The north transept was burnt in 1292, and again in 1390; successive rebuildings have brought it to its present state. After the last fire it was rebuilt in the reign of Henry V. by Bishop Strickland, whose arms, with those of many old county families, existed on the flat ceiling removed during the late restoration. Bishop Strickland also erected the upper part of the tower.

Proceeding to the choir, Mr. Purday said it would be seen that this part was on a more magnificent scale than the nave and transepts. No traces existed of the Norman choir, which was apparently about half the length of the present choir, and terminated by a semicircular apse. The re-erection of the choir was probably commenced by Bishop Silvester de Everdon, who

succeeded in 1245, when the Early English style had become developed. At that time there seems to have been a project for rebuilding the whole Cathedral, and this will explain the position of the choir with regard to the nave and tower. The choir is twelve feet wider than the nave, and this difference is thrown on the north side, probably from a desire not to encroach on the contracted space occupied by the conventual buildings. Another proof that the entire rebuilding was contemplated is the singular position of a pillar and arch at the west end of the north aisle, this pillar being partly within the older Norman wall, and what would have been the east wall of the north transept is broken off and left as a buttress, the space between this and the pillar being filled with a much later wall and window. The projected rebuilding having been given up through want of funds, it happened that the tower arch remains in such an anomalous position at the west end of the choir. The Early English choir was one bay shorter than the present choir, its east end having been where the last pillar now stands. The foundations of this wall and the great buttresses were discovered during the restorations. This explains the crippled appearance of the window and groining in the last bay of the Early English work. The last arch was, as now, a narrow one, and when the additional length was added the arch was extended, and the window left as it was, thus throwing it considerably out of the centre. The Early English work is beautiful. How far it was carried up he was unable to determine, probably only to the tops of the main arches, and there temporarily roofed in. It was so much injured by fire in 1292, that its reconstruction was necessary. Here again the want of funds is proved by the slowness with which the building rose, and the curious manner in which old materials were used. The outside walls protected by the groining were little injured and were allowed to stand, but the main pillars must have been calcined by the burning beams of the roof. Accordingly, we find that new pillars were built, and the old arch stones and groining used again, accounting for the anomalous fact of old arches resting upon more recent pillars. These pillars were not at this time finished, the capitals having been left uncarved till about the close of the reign of Edward II. At this date the additional bay of the choir was added, and the work appears to have risen to the tops of the main arches, and then to have been suspended for some years. The carving in the small Decorated windows was next executed. Probably Edward II. contributed, as his portrait is carved on one of these windows on the south side. The east bay seems to have been left unroofed, as when the work proceeded again in Gilbert de Welton's episcopate (1352-1362) the groining of this part was altered, and the windows were evidently repaired in many places by letting in small pieces of stone. Bishop Welton, and his successor, Thomas de Appleby, seem to have carried on the work vigorously, and to have completed the choir, including the wooden roof, before the death of Edward III., as the arms of that king were on the old ceiling. The tracery and arch of the great east window, one of the most beautiful in England, were probably Bishop Welton's work. A curious fact with regard to this window was, that the tracery mouldings of the southern half were uncut on the inside, the window being doubtless erected hurriedly. The stained glass dates from the reign of Richard II., whose arms, with those of Anne of Bohemia, were in one of the clerestory windows, and are now restored in their old position by Mr. Harcourt. The wooden roof is in several respects unique; the hammer beams being the

most curious feature. These have been objected to by several antiquaries, who suggest that they originally stretched across the choir, forming tie-beams, and connected with the arched rib by king-posts; but they are too much thrown up at the points ever to have formed parts of tie-beams; and he (Mr. Purday) could speak positively of the absence of king-posts, as portions of the old bosses remained on the great ribs. Every portion of the ceiling has been carefully restored, and the present is as nearly as possible a copy of the old design. The great ribs are original. The old colouring was adhered to; it was principally red and green upon a white ground, the bosses gilt as at present. The present plan was adopted after many experiments. Many persons object to it as not in accordance with the rest of the building; and it must not be looked on as perfect, being only part of a scheme for decoration; much requires to be added by stained glass and by colour upon the walls, before a satisfactory general effect can be obtained. The great east window will, Mr. Purday hoped, soon be filled with stained glass, and this would be a great addition to the general harmony. The old work was coloured throughout, both wood and stone. Traces of painting were discovered everywhere; in some instances mere lines or scroll-work, or the mouldings tinted, each member having a separate colour. The choir pillars were painted white, and diapered with red roses nearly a foot in diameter, with a gold monogram, I.H.C. or J.M. (Jesus-Maria?) This was late fifteenth century work, perhaps in the time of Prior Gondibour. On the tower piers were subjects of legendary history. The stalls were probably put up in the reign of Edward III. A king's head occurs among the carved ornaments, which as Mr. Harcourt had informed him resembles authenticated portraits of that king. The tabernacle work was probably added by Prior Hathwaite soon after 1433, when he erected the old episcopal throne. The screens in St. Catherine's Chapel, and some fragments in the choir, are Prior Gondibour's work; the screen on the north side was erected by Launcelot Salkeld, the last prior, and first dean after the Dissolution.

In reference to a remark made by Mr. Purday on the ancient masons' marks which occur in all parts of the building, and seem to show sometimes by their distinctive character where a modern stone had been introduced in the midst of older work, Mr. J. H. Parker said this was the first time he had heard of any use being found for these marks; much had been said and written about them, but nothing of practical value.

The Rev. CANON HARCOURT then offered some remarks on certain decorative details in the Cathedral.

With respect to the ceiling, he observed that it had been painted after the design of Owen Jones, and nearly approached to what it was in former days; he however only recommended the present style on the understanding that the upper windows were to be filled with coloured glass, and the arches coloured. This it was hoped would ultimately be done. There were a few tracings of the original painted glass in Dugdale's Collections, which might supply designs for the restoration of the clerestory windows. In these windows in former days there were a number of coats of arms, which, as well as other heraldic decorations occurring in various parts of the fabric,

\* We may refer our readers to the more detailed account of the Cathedral given in Two Lectures on the History

of Carlisle Cathedral, by the Bishop of London, and Mr. Purday; published at Carlisle by Messrs. Thurnam.

were of especial interest as supplying auxiliary evidence in establishing the date of such portions, or ascertaining through whose liberality they had been erected. Mr. Harcourt adverted at some length to the recurrence of the bearings of the Percys and other noble benefactors. The insignia of the Earls of Northumberland, which occurred on the Tower, might be referred to the time of the father of Hotspur, who was Governor of Carlisle and Warden of the Marches in the reign of Richard II. The bearings of the Earl of Salisbury might be attributed to the Earl who was Warden in 26 Henry VI. There occurred, however, bearings of these noble families and also of the Earls of Westmoreland, which were probably to be referred to other periods.

Mr. Harcourt proceeded to notice certain peculiarities regarding the arms of Richard II. and those of Anne of Bohemia, escutcheons of painted glass in the clerestory windows, to which Mr. Purday had called attention, and which appeared to have been executed in the earlier part of the reign of Richard. He described various curious details relating to the ancient painted glass, and also the screens, and subjects taken from the legendary histories of St. Augustine, St. Anthony, and St. Cuthbert, depicted upon them. He pointed out also a sculptured head in the south aisle, which he conjectured might be a portrait of Piers Gaveston.

The Annual Dinner of the Institute took place on this day, Lord Talbot presiding. The accustomed loyal and appropriate toasts were proposed by the President, Mr. Howard of Corby Castle, Mr. Frecheville Dykes, Lord Ravensworth, the Mayor of Carlisle, and the Ven. Archdeacon Jackson. The banquet was graced by the attendance of a large number of ladies.

At nine o'clock, by the hospitable invitation of the Mayor, the numerous company proceeded to his residence at Morton, and passed an evening of social enjoyment, which his friendly welcome, and the graceful courtesies of his sister Mrs. Banner, rendered highly gratifying to his guests on this occasion.

Thursday, July 28.

This day was devoted to an excursion to certain remarkable points on the Roman Wall, with a visit to Lanercost, and to Naworth Castle, in accordance with the invitation with which the Institute had been favoured by the Earl of Carlisle. The special train conveyed a large party to the Rosehill Station, the most convenient point of approach to Birdoswald, the site of the Roman Station *Amboglanna*, where the visitors found an obliging reception from Mr. Boustead, the tenant of the farm, and the remarkable features of the Roman remains were explained by Dr. Bruce, who also guided the visitors to the recent excavations, made in anticipation of the meeting of the Institute, under direction of Mr. Coulthard, jun., and Mr. McKie of Carlisle. Some new and interesting facts were brought to light, especially an arrangement which, as was sagaciously pointed out by Mr. Parker of Brampton, appeared to have served for filtering and purifying water within the area of the Station by means of a thick stratum of charcoal and sand.

From *Amboglanna* the party proceeded to Combe Crag, and examined the inscription recently discovered upon the face of a quarry, giving the names of Faustinus and Rufus, Consuls, A.D. 210, a fact regarded as of no slight importance by those who advocate the claims of Severus to be recognised as builder of the Wall. After examining various other remarkable



traces of Roman occupation, the excursionists reached Lanercoast, and thence proceeded to Naworth Castle, where sumptuous preparations had been made for their entertainment, by the obliging care of Lord Carlisle's agent, Mr. Ramshay. At the banquet in the great Hall, Mr. P. H. Howard, of Corby Castle, presided, supported by Mr. H. Howard, of Greystoke Castle; they spared no pains to ensure the gratification of the guests, and compensate, as far as possible, for the deep regret at the unavoidable absence of the noble Earl, whose friendly courtesy and cordial participation in their proceedings had on previous occasions thrown a charm over the meetings of the Institute. After the suitable toasts and expression of the general feeling of gratification, the social gathering dispersed, and the visitors, having been guided by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne and Mr. Salvin in their examination of the highly interesting features of castellated and domestic architecture, took their departure at six o'clock for Carlisle.

Friday, July 29.

A meeting of the Section of Antiquities took place in the Crown Court, Lord Talbot de Malahide presiding. The following memoirs were read.

"Report on the Recent Excavations at Wroxeter," by the Rev. H. M. Searth. (Printed in this volume, p. 264.)

Sir CHARLES BROUGHTON, Bart., made an appeal to archæologists on behalf of the undertaking in which the Wroxeter Excavations' Committee had engaged. The works stimulated by Mr. Botfield's liberal donation had been prosecuted with much spirit; the extensive area, however, of the city of *Uricoonium* presented a field of exploration which would require large expenditure; and Sir Charles hoped that Archæological Societies might make an effort to prevail on the Duke of Cleveland, the owner of the site, to concede facilities which were indispensable to ensure the success of this interesting enterprise.

The Rev. JAMES SIMPSON, Vicar of Shap, then read a memoir entitled "Notices of early antiquities in the neighbourhood of Shap, Westmoreland, Carl Loft and the avenue of erect stones formerly existing near that town, and of other remarkable remains."

A meeting of the Architectural Section also took place in the Nisi Prius Court, and the following memoirs were read:—

"Account of Holme Cultram Abbey, Cumberland," by the Rev. Joseph Simpson, Incumbent of Holme Cultram.

"Notices of ancient fortified churches in Cumberland;" by Mr. J. A. Cory, architect, County Surveyor. (Printed in this volume, p. 318.)

Mr. CHARLES NEWTON, H.B.M. Consul at Rome, then delivered a discourse on the recent discoveries at Budrum, carried out under his direction.

Mr. NEWTON commenced his lecture on the Mausoleum by an outline of the general history of its discovery. Having been one of the seven wonders of the world, its position was long an object of curious investigation. In the middle of the sixteenth century Budrum was visited by the French traveller, Thevenot, who noticed that in the walls of the Castle there were certain marble slabs, with figures of horsemen and combats cut in relief. From that time till about the year 1770 Budrum does not seem to have been noticed by travellers, till these slabs sculptured in relief were drawn by an artist named Dalton, and engraved in one of the volumes of the *Ionian Antiquities*, the well-known publication of the Dilettanti Society.

The castle of Budrum was subsequently visited at intervals by English travellers, and, as the reliefs in its walls became more generally known, it was thought, with good reason, that as it is a matter of history that the castle of Budrum was built by the Knights of St. John out of the ruins of the Mausoleum, the sculptures in its walls must have once adorned that famous tomb. The high interest attached to these reliefs was not unappreciated by our Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whose name, so distinguished in diplomacy, receives additional lustre from the services which he has rendered to art and archaeology in protecting and furthering researches in the East. Having obtained from the Porte permission to remove these slabs, twelve in number, Lord Stratford transmitted them to England, and presented them to the British Museum, where they have been for some years. Although there was every reason for supposing that they belonged to the Mausoleum, absolute proof of the fact was wanting; and it was chiefly with a view of obtaining further evidence on the subject that in 1852 Mr. Newton went to the Levant. Various circumstances prevented him from visiting Budrum till April, 1855, when, on entering the Castle, he noticed inserted in the walls several colossal lions' heads in Parian marble. Being convinced from the style and material of these heads that they had originally formed part of the Mausoleum, and that they had been transported thence by the knights with the twelve slabs of the frieze, Mr. Newton made a representation on the subject to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and to Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary. Her Majesty's Government, with a liberality worthy of imitation by all future governments, sent out an expedition with a ship of war, an officer of Royal Engineers, four sappers, and an ample fund for the excavations. Mr. Newton, being charged with the direction of this expedition, commenced excavations at Budrum in the autumn of 1856. His object was not only to remove the lions from the walls of the Castle, but to ascertain, if possible, the site of the Mausoleum. The first clue to this site is to be found in the valuable description of Halicarnassus by Vitruvius, who, comparing the form of the city to that of a theatre, states that the Mausoleum was placed in the centre of the curve, a little above the Agora on the shore, and below the temple of Mars. Thus far the site had been marked out by the ancients; but such a general indication did not enable travellers to identify the particular spot on which the building stood. Mr. Hamilton and other topographers place the Mausoleum on an elevated platform, since ascertained to be the site of the temple of Mars. Captain Spratt, sent expressly by Sir Francis Beaufort to examine this question, preferred a mound to the east of the true site. Mr. Newton, while excavating both these sites, was led to try a third, remarkable from the circumstance that, while its position corresponded with that laid down by Vitruvius, it was covered with the ruins of a superb Ionic edifice in white marble. These architectural remains had been remarked by Professor Donaldson *in situ* many years since, and his notice of them led Mr. Newton to point out this as the probable site of the Mausoleum in a memoir in the Classical Museum, published more than ten years ago. Excavation proved that this was the true site. On the first of January, 1857, Mr. Newton commenced digging at this spot, and on the same day found a small fragment of the frieze, to which the twelve slabs previously obtained from the Castle belonged. Having identified this fragment as part of the frieze, he continued the

excavation, and, clearing away the houses and garden walls which encumbered the site, found the ruins lying in a quadrangular hollow cut in the rock. Within this sunk area was a confused mass of parts of columns, fragments of friezes and of statues; also portions of lions, of which the hind quarters found on this site have been subsequently reunited to the heads which Mr. Newton had, as before stated, seen in the Castle walls. The particulars of these discoveries on the site of the Mausoleum are given in Mr. Newton's Reports to the Foreign Office, which have been printed as a Parliamentary Paper. As we know from the statements of Pliny that the entire circumference of the Mausoleum was 411 feet, Mr. Newton, having found one angle of the basement, proceeded to look for the opposite angle, thus gradually tracing out the four sides. He then ascertained that the Mausoleum originally rested on a massive basement of green rag stone, the foundation corners of which were laid on the native rock cut in beds to receive it. The knights had carried away not only the higher part of the edifice, but the greater part of its basement, leaving a quadrangular area cut out of the native rock.

The green ragstone slabs, of which the basement was built, may be easily recognised in the walls and pavement of the Castle, which is in great measure composed of it. Mr. Newton then proceeded to give a description of the Castle at Budrum, which he illustrated by a number of drawings and photographs. He pointed out that the mediæval castles of Turkey are generally well worth studying, because they have seldom been in any manner altered by the Turks: they were abandoned by their former Christian garrisons in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is especially the case with the military architecture of the Knights of St. John both at Budrum and at Rhodes. These two examples of mediæval fortification may be regarded as transition specimens, exhibiting those characteristics which were afterwards developed on a greater scale, and with more science, in the last resting-place of the Knights of St. John, namely at Malta.

Mr. Newton then exhibited the details of the architecture in a series of drawings by Mr. R. P. Pullan, architect, remarking that decoration was but sparingly introduced, but that it was always flamboyant in character. The walls are built of the green ragstone already noticed, and of other ancient materials. At intervals occur escutcheons and names of various knights who presided over the building or repairs of the Castle. These decorations are in white marble very beautifully carved. In the windows of the Castle are a great number of names and armorial bearings of knights, facsimiles of which have been made by Corporal Spachman, R.E. It is probable that some of the families to which these armorial bearings belong might be identified, and this would be an interesting subject of inquiry for the following reason. In Guichard's "*Funeraillles des Anciens*," a work written a few years after the taking of Budrum by the Turks, it is stated that, while the knights were removing stone from the basement of the Mausoleum, they broke suddenly into a sepulchral chamber, in which was a sarcophagus of white marble, containing the body of Mausolus himself, which appears to have been clad in a robe embroidered with gold. The chamber containing this sarcophagus was ornamented with sculpture in relief. This story seems to be authenticated by contemporary witnesses known to Guichard, and it becomes an interesting subject of inquiry whether any further particulars of so remarkable a discovery have been

preserved in the archives of any family descended from those Knights of St. John who formed part of the garrison at Budrum. It is possible that, by pursuing the clue afforded by the armorial bearings, other facts relating to the destruction of the Mausoleum may be brought to light; and it is not too much to hope that fragments of its sculpture, hitherto unrecognised, exist in private or public galleries in Italy or elsewhere in Europe. Thus one slab belonging to the Mausoleum frieze has been discovered at the Villa di Negro at Genoa, and was, doubtless, brought to Europe by some knight who had sufficient taste to appreciate the beauty of the sculpture. In the same manner fragments since identified as belonging to the Parthenon were brought to Copenhagen by Count Königsmark, after the capture of Athens by Morosini in 1680.

Lord TALBOT observed that the services which Mr. Newton had rendered in the elucidation of a remarkable question of ancient art could not be too highly appreciated. The most cordial thanks of the Institute were due to one of their earliest fellow-labourers, who, on the eve of his departure for a distinguished position in a distant land, had contributed with so much kindness to the gratification of the present meeting. Their thanks must also be rendered to those noblemen who had so liberally encouraged Mr. Newton's persevering researches. The backwardness of the authorities on such occasions had been too often a cause of regret; the sanction and liberal assistance afforded by Lord Stratford, Lord Clarendon, and Her Majesty's government, in the present instance, had shown how truly the importance of Mr. Newton's purpose had been recognised.

Mr. HUGH M'KIE gave an interesting report on discoveries of ancient relics in the course of excavations and public works at Carlisle.

At the conclusion of the Sectional Meetings, a numerous party set forth under the guidance of the Rev. E. Hill and Mr. J. H. Parker, to visit Aydon Castle near Corbridge, and certain other interesting objects in that direction.

At the evening meeting the chair was taken by Mr. HODGSON HINDE. A communication was read, "On the Vestiges of the Ancient Britons and Romans in Cumberland," by the Rev. J. Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle.

At the close of that Memoir, Mr. JOSEPH COULTHARD, Jun., resumed his interesting "Notices of the Life and Times of Lord William Howard."

Mr. FRANKS then read a short account, by Mr. Albert Way, of the "Golden crowns of the time of Gothic sovereignty in Spain, lately found near Toledo." (Printed in this volume, p. 253).

#### SATURDAY, JULY 30.

The Sectional Meetings were resumed in the Crown Court; Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding. The following Memoirs were received.

"Account of the exhumation of an ancient interment in a cist, formed of the trunk of an oak, near Featherstone Castle, Northumberland;" by Mr. John Clark, Steward of the Featherstone Castle estates.

The Mayor of Carlisle, ROBERT FERGUSON, Esq., offered a few observations on the etymology of certain personal names. He instanced that of Garibaldi, and the statement recently advanced, that his descent had been traced to a Scotch emigrant, named Garry, whose Christian name was Baldey. The Italians, it was assumed, had naturally transferred these into a more euphonious appellation. A much better case, however,

seemed to be made out that Garibaldi was an Austrian. The name was certainly of southern German origin, being the ancient German Garibald, with an Italian termination. There was, among many of the name, a Bavarian Duke Garibald, in the sixth century. The etymon was appropriate, *gar*, a spear, *bald*, bold. The same name had been bequeathed both to ourselves by the Saxons, and to the French by the Franks. The Saxon form of *gar* being *gor*, and *bald* being *bold*, there was reasonable probability that our names Gorbald, and possibly also Corbould, are equivalent to Garibaldi, whilst in France the name may be traced in Garibal and Gerbault. With respect to another memorable name, that of Bonaparte, he (the Mayor) observed that, although advanced on less confident speculation, he thought its German origin might be shown, with a singularly expressive import. The name occurs in Italy also as Boniperti, which he conjectured had probably, having no meaning to an Italian, been changed to a name which had at least an appearance of meaning. This, however, might be presumed to be the ancient German Bonipert or Bonibert, which had been referred by philologists to *bona*, slayer, and *bert*, bright, famous. The appellation, "the illustrious slayer," would be one remarkably appropriate.

Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A. communicated a Memoir "On Episcopal Rings," exemplified by several very beautiful mediæval specimens.

The Rev. J. MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, communicated a Memoir "On the traces of the Anglo-Saxons and Norwegians in Cumberland."

Mr. CHARLES NEWTON, H. B. M. Consul at Rome, then resumed his discourse on his recent discoveries in Asia Minor. Mr. Newton commenced by observing that, with regard to Halicarnassus, on a previous occasion he had been unable to attempt more than a brief allusion to the structure of the Mausoleum; he would now offer a few words on that subject—not that he should attempt a restoration of the building, as he thought it would be premature till the marbles now in the British Museum had been more carefully examined. But he proposed to state certain facts which had been ascertained by excavation, and which coincided in a remarkable manner with the statements of Pliny. In order that his audience might understand his description, it would be well to state Pliny's account of the building. Nothing could be more vague than the descriptions given by the ancients. They had left no plans or elevations, but simply measurements, and these being written in Roman numerals were constantly altered in transcribing, so that the totals and the details seldom agreed, and architects, in working out restorations, were disposed to set aside the dimensions given by ancient authorities, if they interfered with their own notions. In the case of the Mausoleum this practice had been carried too far. Pliny had given dimensions both as regarded the area of the building and its height; the area being a square of 411 feet. The area, which he (Mr. Newton) laid bare, measured rather more than 470 feet, but, of course, the quadrangle cut out of the rock, on which the foundation stood, would be broader than the base of the building, measured, as it would be measured, on the stylobate of the columns on which it rested. Pliny spoke of a portion of building which he called the *Pteron*, or peristyle edifice; he stated that it measured 63 feet from east to west, and somewhat less from north to south. It has been supposed by distinguished architects that Pliny's measurement referred to the *peribolos*, and that the 63 feet represented the length of the building itself. But the excavations had shown that a

much larger area must be taken for the precinct or *peribolos*, and that the 411 feet of Pliny refer to the actual measurement of the basement; consequently the smaller dimension of 63 feet from east to west must be applied to the *cella*, or solid inner edifice, around which the columns stood. With regard to the height nothing could be more difficult than the language of Pliny. He describes the building as composed of the *Pteron*—a *cella*, or walled temple, surrounded by columns. The *Pteron* was not built, as usual in Greek temples, with a roof, but was surmounted by a pyramid, above which was placed a *quadriga*. Pliny states that the *Pteron* was 75 cubits in height, or about  $37\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and that the pyramid and chariot were  $37\frac{1}{2}$  feet, so that the height of the building was 140 feet. Now  $37\frac{1}{2}$  added to  $37\frac{1}{2}$  made 75, so that we have 65 feet to account for; and architects in restoring the Mausoleum had paid little attention to that 65 feet, supposing that there was some error in transcription. He would now state the facts ascertained by the excavations. First, as regarded the temple part, because in treating of the building they must consider that this lower part, which Pliny called the *Pteron*, was simply the body of a Greek temple, and they must consider the pyramid as the roof. In the course of the excavations a great quantity of architectural fragments had been found, and it was out of these fragments that the whole order of the *Pteron* had to be reconstructed. So far as this had as yet been done the measurements exhibited a remarkable coincidence with those of Pliny. The lecturer then exhibited three drawings by Mr. Pullan, which would give some idea of the beauty of the Greek architecture, and even in the Parthenon no architecture has been found so delicate in execution. The whole of these monuments were coloured. In many cases the colouring was perfectly fresh. There were two colours—the brightest blue, a pigment equal in intensity to ultramarine, and a red, like vermilion or some pigment of like intensity. All Greek architecture of the highest order, Mr. Newton remarked, was coloured. In the course of excavation he found portions of mouldings, capitals, and a number of parts of columns, and by measuring these, and striking a mean average, Mr. Pullan had obtained a calculation of the height of the column. This was the point that admitted of doubt; the columns being composed of several cylindrical portions they could not ascertain their height. Mr. Pullan had taken the diameter and calculated the height from other examples of the Ionic order. In that style of architecture the height of the column was always in a certain proportion to its diameter. Pliny states that in addition to the roof surmounted by the chariot, there were 24 steps of the pyramid. Now it occurred to him (Mr. Newton) that if he could find near the Mausoleum a single step, he should obtain the dimension of the pyramid by multiplying that dimension by 24. He ultimately, after two months' investigation, found a marble step, which he recognised as one of those of the pyramid. He might describe the steps as resembling, so to speak, enormous tiles,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, with flanges, one at the back and two smaller flanges at the sides. They were laid together combined, as Greek and Roman roof tiles were, in such a manner as to throw off the rain. The back flange was the peculiar feature. Very much broader than the side flange, it fitted into a groove of the pyramid step, overlapping it; so that they must conceive the whole constructed of marble tiles, so to speak, overlapping each other, and clamped together by copper bolts. Lieut. Smith measured these steps and found their height to be  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and multi-

plying that by the number of the steps, he made the whole height of the pyramid to be about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Next, as to the height of Pliny's *quadriga*, by which we must understand a chariot drawn by four horses and containing two figures. One of these was that of Mausolus. His statue had been found in fragments, and had been put together at the British Museum. The height is 10 feet. Having ascertained the height of the figure in the chariot, the next point was to find out the dimensions of the chariot; These were ascertained by the discovery of fragments of the wheel. From these data a calculation was made which gave a height of 37 feet 3 inches, within a few inches of the measurement of Pliny. Therefore, as two of Pliny's measurements proved correct, there were strong grounds for supposing that the third—the 65 feet—must have existed. He could only look for it in the basement, which, as stated in his former lecture, he conceived to be a mass of masonry, 65 feet high, towering above the plain and sustaining the temple of 36 Ionic columns, above which was the pyramid, and the magnificent group of the chariot and four horses, with Mausolus elevated high above all. And when we imagine this marble mass, decorated with magnificent architecture, and enriched with colouring, viewed against the blue sky of Caria, it must have been a spectacle such as the world had never seen, and which justified the judgment of the ancients, who called the Mausoleum one of the wonders of the world. Having expressed a hope that Mr. Pullan would be employed by the British Museum to prepare a restoration of the Mausoleum, Mr. Newton proceeded to speak of his excavations at Cnidus and Branchidæ. He described the position of Cnidus on a cape at the south-west corner of Asia Minor, among some of the most famous cities mentioned by Herodotus and Thucydides, where now the traveller is awoken by the howl of the jackal and the wolf, and amidst villages, where the inscriptions have been built into the walls with their faces inwards, and the sculptures broken up by the hammer. Cnidus was furnished with a double port, for the convenience of vessels approaching from different directions and other countries. The inhabitants seemed to have been highly civilised, carrying on commerce with Alexandria, but not renowned like the Athenians either for naval or military exploits. They were, however, distinguished in another manner among cities of antiquity. They had in their city the celebrated statue, the Venus of Praxiteles, and it must be mentioned to their credit that when Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, offered to redeem their public debt if they would give him the statue, they refused, and would not suffer it to leave the city. There is a very interesting notice of Cnidus and of this statue by the philosopher Lucian, who lived about the age of Hadrian, and who made a voyage to Cnidus with two companions, their object being to go from city to city and examine the works of art. These remarks were the more interesting because Lucian was the son of a sculptor and was himself bred up to that art. Mr. Newton regretted that the excavations at Cnidus had produced no trace of any copy of this Venus. The statue was taken to Constantinople by Alexander the Great, and was destroyed by the Crusaders; representations existed on Greek coins struck in the time of the Roman empire. Mr. Newton then described the external aspect of Cnidus, built on steep mountain shores and encircled by strong walls. In ancient times the mountain sides descending to the harbour were supported by terraces, forming magnificent platforms, and the drainage was carried by galleries to great cisterns, so that the inhabitants were never without a supply of water. This may explain



their former fertility as contrasted with the present barren appearance. Nothing could be more desolate than the scene. The features of the landscape were grander than those of Budrum but not so smiling. He should not attempt any account of the excavations; he should only notice the colossal lion and the sculptures from the *temenos* of Demeter and Persephone. This lion was discovered at the distance of about an hour to the south of Cnidus on a headland. It was lying on the rock when found. Its length was ten feet by six feet in height; this great size rendered the removal of the lion a difficult operation, its weight being eleven tons. It is to be presumed that the lion originally stood on a small tomb near which it was found; this tomb had a square Doric basement, surmounted by a pyramid. From the internal plan it is probable that the tomb was a *polyandrium*, or public monument intended to receive the bodies of a number of citizens, probably of those slain in battle. In style this lion was more severe than the Mausoleum sculptures, and he was disposed to place its date about 404 B.C. A great naval victory took place off Cnidus at that time, and Colonel Leake was of opinion that this was the only event connected with Cnidus to which the monument could be referred. The structure was of the Doric order and half finished. The non-completion of the monument may be accounted for, if we suppose it to have been commenced when some political party in Cnidus was in the ascendancy and the work may have been interrupted by their overthrow; such revolutions were common in the Greek republics. As a specimen of a Greek architectural tomb, this monument is of great interest, particularly as it is a late example of what was called horizontal vaulting, that is when one stone is placed a little in advance of another, each overlapping till they reached the crown of the vault. There was an enormous stone weighing five tons, shaped like the bung of a cask, and it is probable that this stone was placed in the centre of the vault as a key stone. With regard to the meaning of the sculpture by which it was surmounted, the use of lions in monuments might be traced throughout the ancient world; they occur in the Mausoleum, where they seemed to be used as sentinels. He thought this lion was intended to be as a watchman, looking out seaward, and it must have had a fine effect to see it on the headland. As the mariner passed he would see the Colossus at Rhodes; he would then see this colossal lion; he would perceive the city of Cos and the Mausoleum on the opposite side; he would next pass the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, and the temple of Ephesus. The route along the shore of the Archipelago would be a succession of magnificent works. The lecturer proceeded to exhibit drawings of several statues found at Cnidus; among them was that of Proserpine, identified by the pomegranate which she held in her hand and which is peculiar to this goddess. In the *temenos* of Demeter and Persephone were found several mutilated statues and heads, four marble pigs, with inscriptions on the bases, dedicated to Ceres, twelve pairs of votive breasts, and at the bottom he found layers of common glass bottles of the Roman period, and, though masses of marble had been thrown in, these bottles were not broken. The whole of the ground in the *temenos* was strewed with fragments of sculpture and terra cotta, bearing representations of women carrying pitchers, which might represent Danaïds, and also with lamps which were removed in wheelbarrowfuls. His impression was that the place had been disturbed by an earthquake, and all these objects mixed together by some convulsion of



nature. A very interesting tomb was found, it was a public monument to a person named *Lykæthios*. From inscriptions on this tomb we learn that a statue in honour of this citizen was decreed by vote of the senate and people of *Cnidus*, and that the *Aphestor*, or speaker of the senate, was charged with the duty of superintending its erection. The word *ἀπεστήρ* only occurs in a passage in *Plutarch*, in which he states that the speaker of the senate at *Cnidus* was so called. The accuracy of this statement is remarkably confirmed by the inscription discovered on the tomb. He mentioned this to show the importance of preserving every fragment of Greek inscriptions. Mr. Newton then spoke of his excavations at *Branchidæ*, now a desolate site, but once the great oracle of the *Ionian Isles*. It was one of the oracles consulted by *Croesus* before he engaged in his war with *Cyrus*. It is situated on a promontory between *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus*. The temple was of remote antiquity; it was burned by *Xerxes*, and the sacred race of priests was taken away to *Sogdiana*. It would seem as if *Xerxes* wished to extirpate the Greek religion by thus transplanting its ministers. He did not attempt any excavation of the temple, a work which would have required two years, but he had a wish to examine the *Sacred Way* which led to it. In 1857 he was able to visit this site, and he then caused photographs to be made of the statues which he found. They were peculiar, and it is curious that they bear great resemblance to *Egyptian sculptures*. There were remarkable inscriptions on these statues, some of them the earliest which had been discovered. One of the inscriptions might be placed about 560 years B.C., nearly two hundred years before the *Mausoleum*. It was a difficult inscription to decipher, and that difficulty was increased by the Greeks, who amused themselves by scoring it with their knives. At length he succeeded in reading the first line, which gave the clue to the whole; it was—"These were dedicated by,"—then followed the names of the persons dedicating; and the end was "as a tenth part to *Apollo*." *Apollo* was the deity of the oracle in the Temple of *Branchidæ*, which *Croesus* consulted; and these inscriptions are of a time shortly after *Croesus*, if not contemporary with him. On that *Sacred Way*, *Polycrates*, the tyrant of *Samos*, doubtless passed bringing his offerings, and these very statues had probably been seen by *Herodotus*. Among the names in the inscriptions was that of *Thales*; the letters were clear with the exception of the *Theta*. He would not assert that this was *Thales*, the statesman and philosopher of *Miletus* in the time of *Croesus*, but it was extremely probable. On the chair of a seated figure was found—"I am *Chares*, son of *Klesis*, ruler of *Teichioessa*. A statue to *Apollo*." *Chares* was probably one of the petty tyrants of *Asia Minor*. There was a broken slab, which had on it characters which he could hardly read. It was built into the wall. He gave directions to have the stone turned over, and to his surprise he found on the other side a perfect Greek inscription written from right to left and from left to right, in the same style of letters as on the lions, and it ran thus,—“The sons of *Anaximander* dedicated;” the artist’s name Mr. Newton read *Terpsikles*. This curious inscription supplies the name of one of the artists employed on the *Sacred Way*, and considering the little information we possess about early Greek artists, it is important to discover even a name. Mr. Newton concluded by adverting to the remarkable coincidence that they had here the name of *Thales* within two hours voyage of *Miletus*, and that of his pupil, the philosopher *Anaximander*.

Lord TALBOT, in proposing a vote of thanks to the talented lecturer,

accompanied by the expression of the high sense which, in common with all archaeologists, he must entertain of the importance of Mr. Newton's discoveries, as a memorable accession to the history of ancient art, stated his earnest hope that the trustees of the British Museum would forthwith take steps for the publication of the valuable drawings and illustrations which had been so kindly brought before the meeting by Mr. Newton.

After Mr. Newton's lecture many of the visitors proceeded to the Cathedral, where Mr. J. H. Parker offered some remarks on the chief features of the building, with the obliging desire to gratify those persons who had been unable to benefit by Mr. Purday's discourse on a previous day; he concurred in the statements then made regarding the architectural history of the fabric. He pointed out various features of interest which mark the successive periods of ancient rebuildings and restorations, with some critical observations on those of more recent times, and the interior decorations, the subject of so strong a division of opinion in the locality. Among many curious minor details, Mr. Parker called attention to early Norman fragments, erroneously regarded as Saxon, found built into the walls, including portions of the Norman font. A fragment had been found by Dr. Cellingwood Bruce in a village near Carlisle since the commencement of the meeting, and brought to the museum at the Fraternity. It might be hoped that the visit of the Institute would tend to ensure henceforth the preservation of all such vestiges, which had been too long neglected.

In the afternoon of this day the Society enjoyed a most courteous and gratifying reception from Mr. Howard and his accomplished lady at Corby Castle. After examining the valuable heirlooms, portraits, and works of art there preserved, a banquet was prepared in a marquee near the castle, and, at the close of the entertainment the acknowledgments of the numerous visitors having been expressed in hearty appreciation of so friendly a welcome, Mr. Howard led his guests to visit the picturesque banks of the Eden, the curious rock-chambers, the ancient hermitage known as Wetheral Cells, the remains of the monastery, and Wetheral Church, where they were received with kind attention by the Rev. R. L. Hodgson, the incumbent. Thus closed a week in the recollections of which the graceful hospitalities of Corby must long be retained in most agreeable remembrance.

#### Monday, August 1.

At an early hour a special train conveyed the noble President with a large company to Penrith, on a very kind invitation to the interesting residence of Lord Brougham, and to enjoy the friendly guidance of Mr. W. Brougham in a visit to various points of archaeological investigation, King Arthur's Round Table, Maybrough, the curious Pele Tower at Yanworth Hall, a building of the fourteenth century, where Mr. J. H. Parker proved a most efficient cicerone,\* Askham Hall, Brougham Castle, &c., arriving at Brougham Hall at two o'clock. A sumptuous collation was provided in the Great Hall, which is replete with curious relics of olden days. The party took their departure at a late hour towards Carlisle, highly gratified by so courteous a reception, and by their visit to the numerous and interesting sites comprised in the proceedings of the day.

\* See a full account of this building in Mr. Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*.

Tuesday, August 2.

The annual meeting of members of the Institute, to receive the Report of the Auditors and that of the Central Committee, to make selection also of the place of meeting for the ensuing year, and for other customary arrangements, took place at the Town Hall, at half-past nine. The chair was taken by Lord Talbot.

The report of the Auditors for the previous year (printed at page 214 in this volume) was read, as also the following annual report of the Central Committee, and both were unanimously adopted.

In bringing before the members of the Institute, in accordance with annual usage, a brief retrospect of the progress of the Society, and of the advance in the science of archæology which the past year had realised, the Central Committee regarded with renewed gratification the activity and intelligence evinced in the prosecution of historical and archæological investigation, both by kindred societies and through the individual efforts of their fellow labourers in the field.

In regard to the general course of the proceedings of the Institute, the constant communication of valuable facts and discoveries, the friendly co-operation of numerous zealous antiquaries, both at home and on the continent, the friendly interchange of information from all quarters, so essential to the practical working and the influence of such societies, the committee felt it needless to make any detailed statement, as on some previous occasions. The periodical publications of the Institute had moreover fully brought before the members these features of progress in the appreciation of national monuments and all the vestiges of bygone times. The wide circulation of the Quarterly Journal, of which the sixteenth volume would speedily be completed, and the minute record therein to be found of the facts and observations communicated so freely at the meetings of the Institute, had doubtless greatly encouraged the transmission of such scattered information, and the preservation of a large amount of instructive evidence.

There were certain points, however, of especial interest in the review of the previous year, which must be contemplated with more than ordinary satisfaction. It were needless to recapitulate the prejudice to archæological science, occasioned by the ancient rights of the crown in respect of Treasure trove. The evils so often discussed at previous meetings, and more recently the subject of an earnest appeal to the Upper House of Parliament, made by our noble President, are familiar to all. The arguments advanced by Lord Talbot, and his urgent remonstrances in years past, have doubtless materially tended to invite public attention, and lead the way to that satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty, which may confidently be anticipated. It has been in North Britain that more liberal concessions have at length been first publicly sanctioned by the Government. To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland it is due that the first advance has been successfully achieved, where the intricate obstacles had appeared almost insurmountable. Early in the present year that Society and the Commissioners of Supply in the different counties memorialised the Treasury on this much-vexed subject, and an official order has been promulgated recognising henceforth the right of the finders of ancient

ornaments, coins, and objects of the precious metals, in Scotland, to receive from the Treasury their actual value, on delivering them up on behalf of the crown to the sheriff of the county in which they may be found. This most important concession for the better preservation of national antiquities has been widely made known, and public notice has been very generally aroused through a valuable Memoir by an accomplished member of the Scottish Society and of the Institute, Mr. A. H. Rhind. The Scottish Antiquaries are to be congratulated on the practical results which have already followed their spirited effort, in the speedy accession of numerous valuable relics to the national collection at Edinburgh, now preserved in a suitable depository in the gallery appropriated by government to the Society's Museum, at the Royal Institution at Edinburgh.

It were much to be desired that the like concessions regarding the ancient rights of the crown should be extended to all parts of the empire; and it may be hoped with confidence that, at no distant day, the adjustment of the question may be brought to a satisfactory issue.

The visit of the Institute to the Marches of the Scottish Border cannot fail to recall to grateful remembrance the noble encouragement with which the liberal patron of the last gathering of the Society in the northern counties, the Duke of Northumberland, has continually stimulated archaeological researches. Of the survey of the Great Northern Barrier, extending from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway, the drawings, executed with singular perfection by Mr. Maclauchlan, were, with his Grace's kind sanction, submitted to the Society at a former meeting, immediately on their completion. To the favourable consideration of the same noble Patron the Institute has been indebted on the present occasion for the permission to examine the subsequent survey of Roman vestiges in Northumberland, completed within the last few weeks by Mr. Maclauchlan. It comprises the traces of occupation between the Tyne and the Tweed, in the direction of Berwick, and presents, for the first time, an accurate ichnography of a very obscure line of communication, known as the Scotch Causeway, or Devil's Causeway, the careful investigation of which may throw important light on the conditions of the county at a remote period of its history. By the kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland, the maps of this ancient way, and of the camps or strong posts of observation connected with it, have been placed in the temporary museum during the present meeting. They may be regarded as precursors of a more extensive survey of the earlier remains in Northumberland, which his Grace has directed Mr. Maclauchlan to undertake, and from which very important light must be thrown upon the obscure history of the county in the periods prior to Roman occupation, and also in Saxon times. Great as are the advantages which have already accrued to the archaeologist through the liberality of the Duke, in respect of the vestiges of Roman sway, still more important results may speedily be anticipated from the collection of inscribed monuments and sculptures, of which his Grace has directed faithful representations to be drawn and engraved at his expense, as illustrations of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Valli*. This highly valuable contribution towards an extended *Britannia Romana* will, by permission of their noble patron, be published under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

Among the works of active exploration during the past year, none is so deserving of cordial commendation as the spirited effort which has been made for a systematic examination of the site of *Uriconium*. The first

impulse was given by the liberal proposition of the president of the Shropshire Archæological Society, Mr. Beriah Botfield, M.P., at the close of 1858, and his offer of fifty guineas in furtherance of the undertaking having found a ready response in Shropshire, a committee was formed at Shrewsbury, and the excavations commenced in February last under the direction of Dr. Henry Johnson, of that town, and Mr. Thomas Wright. Of the successful issue of their efforts it were needless to make any detailed statement, since, through the kindness of Dr. Johnson and of the Rev. H. Scarth, the members of the Institute have been constantly made acquainted with the progress of these interesting explorations. The site of this so-called British Pompeii, it will be remembered, occupies an area of between 300 and 400 acres, in which doubtless, if the appeal be met with liberal co-operation, a great harvest of vestiges and inscriptions of historical value, with relics of every description, must be realised. The Duke of Cleveland, the proprietor of the site, has given his assent to the project, and it may be hoped that, as its national importance may become more apparent, his Grace may consent to concede to the Excavations' Committee all the facilities requisite for the success of their operations.

In the Isle of Wight, considerable remains of a Roman Villa have been brought to light at Carisbrooke, in consequence of the accidental notice of some broken pottery and tesserae in April last. The site has been explored by Mr. W. Spickernell and the Rev. E. B. James, Vicar of Carisbrooke, in whose grounds the discovery occurred; an extensive building, with baths, hypocausts, a mosaic floor of good character, &c., has been traced; a detailed account of this villa will speedily be published; it may be viewed with special interest as being the first Roman building found in the island of *Vectis*, in which some archæologists had been disposed to question whether any actual Roman occupation had taken place. An association, it has been stated, has been formed to meet the expenses of the complete disinterment of the remains, and to make provision for their future preservation.<sup>5</sup>

In the prosecution of historical and topographical researches in our own country certain memorable advances have of late been effected. The publications of various provincial societies may be mentioned with renewed gratification; the highly important project adopted by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, at the suggestion of the Master of the Rolls, has largely augmented the stores of materials for national history. Among the works comprised in the series, already numerous, none will be more gratefully welcomed than the Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the Early History of Great Britain, edited by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, and actually in the press. To the *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, now brought within the reach of every student, a remarkable accessory has recently been presented, in the Kalendars of the State Papers, arranged under various historical periods. In the Isle of Man, moreover, a Society has been formed for the preservation and publication of Manx documents and historical materials, hitherto insufficiently investigated.

In connection with certain objects of archæological enterprise in foreign

<sup>5</sup> A concise account of the Geology, Antiquities, and Topography of the Isle of Wight, by Mr. Ernest Wilkins and Mr. Brion, is in the press, and will con-

tain a Plan of the Villa, and a coloured representation of the Mosaic floor. It may be obtained from Mr. Brion, Newport.

lands, to which the attention of the Institute has recently been called, the valuable researches of our friendly correspondent, Mr. Frank Calvert, in the Troad and various parts of Asia Minor, claim honourable mention. The return of Mr. Charles Newton from the sphere of his distinguished enterprise in the East must be hailed with satisfaction by his fellow labourers of the Institute, the establishment of which was so largely promoted by his active and friendly co-operation. He has most kindly taken the earliest opportunity of affording to his old associates the high satisfaction of participating in the fruits of his toil at Budrum, at Rhodes, at Cnidus, and at the Temple of Branchidæ, the oracular fane of the Ionian isles. With the precious relics of Greek art transmitted by their talented friend to the national collection in this country, the members of the Institute are doubtless familiar, and the inspection of those remarkable accessions to the British Museum will have enabled them more fully to appreciate Mr. Newton's discourses on the sumptuous tomb of Mausolus or other great productions of ancient art, and to esteem his kindness in coming, on the eve of departure for a distant land, to contribute to the gratification of the present meeting.

Many who have taken part in the proceedings at Carlisle will recall the impressive appeal made by Mr. Rhind in regard to the neglected condition of the invaluable monuments of Egypt, and the fatal injuries to which they have been subjected through the reckless Vandalism of travellers and other mischievous persons. Mr. Rhind's remonstrance addressed to the Institute from Egypt in 1856 was read at one of the London Meetings, and published in the *Quarterly Journal*. It must be with satisfaction that the archæologist will learn that the Viceroy, at length aroused to the more just appreciation of the value of the monuments still existing in Egypt, has ordained that henceforth they shall be duly respected, and preserved under the immediate guardianship of the Government. His Highness has moreover given instructions that a proper depository shall forthwith be established for the reception of all ancient relics of minor dimensions. It may be earnestly hoped, that the influence of this more enlightened view of the true value of the monuments of antiquity as historical and artistic evidence may prove of lasting efficacy.

In conclusion, the Central Committee would recall with sincere regret the honoured names of those highly valued friends and coadjutors whose loss they have had occasion during the past year to deplore. In the death of the Historian of the Middle ages the literary world at large sustained a loss, irreparable, perhaps, as regards the influence of his cultivated intelligence and proficiency in the skilful concentration of historical evidence, but with far deeper feelings must the close of Mr. Hallam's life of kindly sympathies and genial cordiality be lamented by all who had the privilege of enjoying his friendship or social intercourse. Numbered among the supporters of the Institute at an early period of the existence of the Society, Mr. Hallam was ever ready to encourage and participate in its proceedings. Among others, now no more, whose friendly interest has fostered the establishment of the Institute, are to be numbered on the present occasion the Dean of Ely, who frequently gave furtherance to our purpose, and whose hearty welcome none can forget who took part in the gratifying visit to Ely, on occasion of the annual meeting at Norwich in 1847; Sir James Ramsay, Bart., one of the earliest members of the Institute; the Dean of Chichester; the Bishop of Antigua, formerly a member of the

Central Committee ; the accomplished topographer, the Rev. James Raine ; Mr. Dawson Turner, so distinguished as an investigator of the archæology of Norfolk ; the Rev. Francis Dyson, whose kind co-operation essentially contributed to the success of the Wiltshire meeting ; the Rev. Vaughan Thomas ; the talented investigator of the literature and antiquities of Spain, Richard Ford ; and Mr. Burgon, one of the most accurate numismatists of his time. With deep regret has the announcement been received, on the very eve of this meeting, of the sudden removal of one who had never failed to take part on these occasions with friendly and cheering cordiality, the talented Recorder of Clitheroe, Mr. Addison. There remains, however, one to be enrolled in this list of losses sustained by the Society since their last anniversary,—one whose memory will long be cherished in the sad remembrance and affectionate regard of many sorrowing friends. Among the foremost promoters of the purposes of the Institute, from a very early period of its establishment, none had proved more earnest and efficient than our lamented friend Mr. Gunner. The recollections of his hearty co-operation, of his intelligent and indefatigable research, and of that genial sympathy which so endeared him to his friends, are mingled with the record of the brightest days of our archæological enterprise.

It were unfitting to close this report without adverting to the auspicious circumstances by which the present meeting has been accompanied. On no previous occasion had any gathering of a similar character taken place in this part of the realm ; no kindred institutions had here been established ; scarcely had local collections of any importance been formed in a district replete with valuable vestiges of every age. The cordial interest, however, which has rewarded the endeavours of the antiquary to throw some fresh light upon bygone times in this land of stirring memories, gives an earnest that some well-directed and intelligent effort may here be hopefully anticipated, to promote in Cumberland the study and the preservation of all historical memorials and remains of antiquity.

The following list of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and that of the members of the Society nominated to fill the vacancies, was then proposed to the Meeting, and adopted unanimously.

Members retiring from the Committee :—The Earl of Ilchester, *Vice-President* ; C. Desborough Bedford, Esq. ; Sir John Boileau, Bart. ; Charles R. Cockerell, Esq. ; Joseph Hunter, Esq. ; Ambrose Poynter, Esq. ; Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.P. The following members being elected to fill the vacancies :—Sir John Boileau, Bart., F.R.S., V.P.S.A., *Vice-President* ; Humphrey William Freeland, Esq., M.P. ; Charles Sprengel Greaves, Esq., Q.C. ; Alexander Nesbitt, Esq. ; James E. Nightingale, Esq. ; the Rev. John Lane Oldham, and Edmund Waterton, Esq., F.S.A. Also, as auditors for the year 1859, F. L. Barnwell, Esq., and Talbot Bury, Esq., F.I.B.A.

The President then brought under consideration the selection of the place of meeting for the ensuing year. Several invitations had from time to time been received from localities which present to the archæologist attractions of remarkable and varied interest. It had appeared desirable, however, that the Society should, if possible, extend the range of their operations to some fresh field of research in the central parts of England. Renewed assurances of friendly co-operation had been made from Bury



St. Edmunds, from Peterborough, from Cirencester, and from Gloucester. A communication of a highly gratifying character had very recently been received from the Mayor of the last named city, expressing the kind feeling of the municipal authorities, with the desire that the Institute might determine upon Gloucester as their place of meeting. To this invitation had been added the encouraging intimation that the proceedings of the Society would be favoured with the cordial co-operation and patronage of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Ducie, and of influential persons in the county of Gloucester. No less favourable assurances had been received also from Cirencester, a locality presenting unusual objects of attraction, especially the Museum established through the liberality of the Earl Bathurst, the remarkable Roman vestiges, the tessellated floors, unequalled by any discovered in this country, and various other remarkable remains of antiquity. At *Corinium*, which might so agreeably be visited in combination with a meeting at Gloucester, the Institute would find a friendly and efficient *cicerone* in Professor Buckman, through whose vigilance and good taste the preservation of many valuable remains had there been ensured.

After some discussion it was unanimously determined that the meeting for the following year should be held at Gloucester.

These matters of business having thus been satisfactorily brought to a conclusion, a numerous assembly congregated in the Town Hall, Lord Talbot de Malahide presiding, and several communications were received, for which time had not sufficed in the regular course of the Sectional Meetings.

Mr. HENRY TURNER, member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, delivered "Some Observations upon certain Stations on the Roman Wall."

Mr. AUGUSTUS FRANKS, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, read a Memoir "On an ancient casket, formed of bone of the whale, sculptured with subjects in low relief, and bearing inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon Runes."

"Some Observations on the popular traditions regarding William Tell, especially in their analogy with incidents in the history of William of Cloudeley, and his bold adventures at Carlisle," were communicated by Professor Von Wyss, President of the Historical Society of Switzerland.

Capt. JAMES, R.E., then commenced an interesting lecture on his explorations in Armenia, in course of an expedition in which he had been officially engaged, and especially in regard to the site and vestiges of the ancient city of Arni, and the antiquities which he had there noticed. He exhibited a map of that locality, never previously surveyed, with numerous drawings and illustrations of architecture, manners, and costume, &c., in various parts of Asia.

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, the hour fixed for his departure by express train having nearly arrived, signified regret that a pressing engagement precluded the possibility of his remaining until the close of Capt. James's discourse. He could not refrain however from expressing his gratification, and the sense of the great interest of the subject which the gallant Captain had brought before them. Whilst tendering the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, Lord Talbot observed that he had given a fresh proof of the importance of the surveys made from time to time under authority of government; it must be a cause of regret that greater publicity was not given to the results, for these surveys might, through the agency of such



intelligent and energetic observers as Capt. James, become auxiliary in an eminent degree to archæological and ethnological researches. The noble President expressed also his regret not to have the occasion of more deliberately expressing, both for himself and on behalf of the Institute, the grateful sense of the friendly welcome and cordial attention with which the meeting in Carlisle had been favoured; of the value also of numerous communications made by several local archæologists, and of the liberality evinced in contributions to the Museum. In bidding farewell to his friends at Carlisle, at the close of one of the most agreeable and instructive of the meetings over which he had had the gratification to preside, Lord Talbot announced that in the ensuing year the Society would visit Gloucester; he hoped to have the satisfaction of meeting again on that occasion many of those whose kind encouragement and interest in the proceedings now claimed his hearty acknowledgments.

Mr. HODGSON HINDE having then, at Lord Talbot's request, taken the Chair, Capt. James continued his lecture. At the conclusion of his interesting statements, the chairman observed that the agreeable duty devolved upon him, in the absence of the President, to propose a vote of thanks to those through whose sanction or personal participation the meeting had proved so successful. After suitable acknowledgments to the Earl of Lonsdale, to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, to Lord Muncester, High Sheriff of the county, and more especially to the Earl of Carlisle, in whose unavoidable absence the hospitalities of Naworth had been most courteously presided over by his kinsmen, whose honoured names are associated with two remarkable localities in the county, Greystoke and Corby; to Mr. Howard also, of the place last named, where the Institute had found so graceful a welcome, and to Mr. Brougham, whose kindness and hospitality as representative of his noble brother would long be borne in pleasant remembrance. To the Mayor and municipal authorities of Carlisle, the Institute were greatly indebted. The Mayor had in the most friendly manner exerted his influence, and devoted himself with unwearied assiduity to effect whatever might conduce to the gratification of the meeting. He had proved himself an accomplished votary of several objects of enquiry associated with the purposes of the Institute, and none were more capable of appreciating the advantages of such meetings as a means of instruction or cultivation of public taste. To the Dean also, to the Archdeacon of Carlisle, and the Rev. Canon Harcourt, the warm thanks of the Society were due. Among many others whose assistance had proved of essential value as contributors of memoirs, Mr. Newton had a claim to be held in special remembrance; and he (Mr. H. Hinde) must also make honourable mention of Mr. Nanson, the Town Clerk, Mr. Coulthard, the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, Mr. Purday, Mr. Parker, the Rev. J. Maughan, the Rev. J. Simpson, Vicar of Shap, with other able fellow labourers in the field, who had kindly come forward to illustrate local history or ancient vestiges. The Temporary Museum had attracted unusual attention, and, as he believed, an unusual measure of liberality had been shown in entrusting valuable relics of antiquity or art for exhibition. The muniments of the Corporation had been freely opened; the treasures of Corby Castle were most generously placed at the disposal of the Society; Sir James Graham had permitted his stores of Roman vestiges preserved at Netherby to be brought forth; valuable objects had been kindly contributed from Greystoke Castle, from Brougham Hall, and also by Mr. Frecheville

Dykes, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Ponsonby Johnson, Col. Maclean, Mr. G. H. Head, Mr. G. Moore, and numerous other local collectors whose obliging readiness had scarcely been equalled on any previous occasion. Lastly, cordial thanks were due to the Local Committee, and to their obliging and efficient Secretary, Mr. Joseph Bendle, jun.

The vote of cordial thanks having been passed by acclamation, after a few words of acknowledgment and of friendly farewell from the Mayor, the meeting was brought to its termination.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses, and general purposes of the Institute.—The Lord Bishop of Carlisle, 10*l.* 10*s.*; the Mayor of Carlisle, 5*l.*; Lord Muncaster, High Sheriff, 10*l.*; the Dean of Carlisle, 3*l.*; the Archdeacon of Carlisle, 3*l.*; the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart., 5*l.* 5*s.*; Sir George Musgrave, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir John Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; the Worshipful C. J. Burton, Chancellor, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. Barnes, 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. L. Bonnell, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. Carrick, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; James Coulthard, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. Crackanthorpe, Esq., 5*l.*; W. J. Crowder, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Dacre, Esq., 3*l.*; A. Davidson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Dickenson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. Dobinson, Esq., 5*l.*; H. Dobinson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Frecheville L. B. Dykes, Esq., 5*l.*; Admiral Elliot, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. W. Graham, 2*l.*; Dr. Guest, 5*l.*; the Rev. W. M. Gunson, 5*l.*; the Rev. J. Vernon Harcourt, 5*l.*; Henry Howard, Esq., 5*l.*; Philip Howard, Esq., 5*l.*; Thomas Hughes, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Isaac James, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Edward Jobbing, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; the Rev. J. E. Livingston, 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. Mc Alpin, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Col. Maclean, 3*l.*; the Rev. D. Maughan, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Mayer, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; G. G. Mounsey, Esq., 5*l.*; George Mounsey, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Nanson, Esq., Town Clerk, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Hubert Rawson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. Pocklington Senhouse, Esq., 5*l.*

### Archæological Intelligence.

GLOUCESTER having been selected as the place of the Institute's Annual Meeting, in 1860, under the patronage of the Earl of Ducie the Lord-Lieutenant, and of the Lord Bishop of the diocese, any work which illustrates the history of the county in olden times has an increased claim upon our attention. We announce with pleasure the recent publication by the Rev. Samuel Lysons, a name so honoured in the annals of archæological literature, of a dissertation entitled—"The Romans in Gloucestershire, and the results of their residence in the county considered in an Historical, Social, and Religious point of view." It may be obtained in London from Messrs. Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster Row. A map is given, showing sites of Roman remains in and near Gloucester, and this memoir will be highly serviceable to our members who may desire to trace the vestiges of the ancient *Glouum*.

A concise Account of the Antiquities, Topography, and Geology of the Isle of Wight, by Mr. Ernest Wilkins and Mr. John Brion, will shortly be published (by subscription). It will contain a coloured representation of the mosaic floor lately discovered at Carisbrooke, with a plan of the Roman remains at that place, of which an account was given by the Rev. E. Venables at the Carlisle meeting of the Institute. Subscribers should address Mr. Brion, Newport, Isle of Wight.

Mr. B. B. Woodward has completed the first four numbers of his promised

History of Hampshire, a prospectus of which may be obtained on application to the author, 20, Eaton Villas, Haverstock Hill. The proposed Archæological Maps, to which we formerly invited attention (see p. 305, in this volume) will be prepared on a larger scale than was at that time contemplated, and many additional details will thus be comprised in Mr. Woodward's arduous undertaking.

Mr. Cosmo Innes, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh, whose works on Scottish Antiquities, and more especially his "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," edited for the Bannatyne Club, are held in high estimation, has completed his promised "*Scotland in the Middle Ages*." The volume contains maps illustrative of the civil and ecclesiastical divisions of North Britain in the tenth and thirteenth centuries. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

Two important works on the history of textile fabrics in ancient

times, are in course of publication on the continent, to which the attention of our readers may be invited. One of these is a "*Dictionnaire General des Tissus anciens et modernes*," by M. Bezon, produced at Lyons, and to form when completed eight vols. 8vo. with an atlas of plates. The other is a work of considerable interest and richly illustrated, relating to ecclesiastical vestments, tissues, and embroideries, &c., used in mediæval times for sacred purposes. It is published at Bonn; the first volume has appeared, and may be obtained from Mr. Russell Smith, Soho Square. It is thus entitled—"*Geschichte der Liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, von Dr. Fr. Bock;" 8vo. 1859.

Mr. W. H. Weale proposes to publish (by subscription) a series of the most remarkable Monumental Brasses and Slabs in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Belgium, France, and Switzer-

land. The work will form ten folio Parts, ranging with Messrs. Waller's admirable English Monumental Brasses. Subscribers' names are received by the author, 15, Denmark Grove, Barnsbury, London. By Mr. Weale's kindness we here submit to our readers a reduced representation of a curious Flemish brass, of very diminutive proportions, of which a rubbing was exhibited by Mr. Waller at one of our Meetings. The peculiar character of ornament and design, by which the brasses of Flemish execution in England are marked, may be discerned in this interesting little memorial, which bears the date 1415.



OF 1415. 20.

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